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ECCLESIASTICAL BIOGRAPHY;

OR,

LIVES OF EMINENT MEN,

CONNECTED WITH THE

HISTORY OF RELIGION IN ENGLAND;

FROM THE

COMMENCEMENT OF THE REFORMATION TO THE REVOLUTION;

SELECTED AND ILLUSTRATED WITH

NOTES,

BY

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THIRD EDITION,

WITH A LARGE INTRODUCTION, SOME NEW LIVES, AND MANY ADDITIONAL NOTES.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

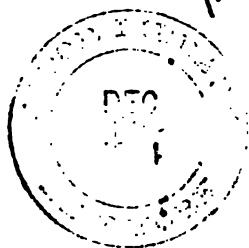
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—These, constrained to wield the sword
Of disputation, shrunk not, though assailed
With hostile din, and combating in sight
Of angry umpires, partial and unjust ;
And did, thereafter, bathe their hands in fire,
So to declare the conscience satisfied :
Nor for their bodies would accept release,
But blessing God and praising him bequeathed,
With their last breath from out the smouldering flame,
The faith which they by diligence had earned,
And through illuminating grace received,
For their dear countrymen and all mankind.
O high example, constancy divine !

W. WORDSWORTH.

THOMAS BILNEY.

The prayers I make will then be sweet indeed
If Thou the spirit give by which I pray :
My unassisted heart is barren clay,
Which of its native self can nothing feed :
Of good and pious works thou art the seed,
Which quickens only where thou sayest it may :
Unless thou shew to us thine own true way
No man can find it : Father ! thou must lead.
Do thou, then, breathe those thoughts into my mind
By which such virtue may in me be bred,
That in thy holy footsteps I may tread :
The fetters of my tongue do thou unbind,
That I may have the power to sing of thee,
And sound thy praises everlastingly !

W. WORDSWORTH.

THOMAS BILNEY.

THOMAS BILNEY was brought up in the universitie of Cambridge, profiting in all kind of liberall sciences, even unto the profession of both lawes. But having gotten a better schoolemaster, even the holy Spirit of Christ, enduing his heart by privie inspiration with the knowledge of better and more wholesome things, he came at the last unto this point, that forsaking the knowledge of mans lawes, he converted his studie to those things, which tend more unto godlinesse than gainfulnesse.

As he himselfe was greatly inflamed with the love of true religion, even so againe was in his heart an incredible desire to allure many unto the same, desiring nothing more than that he might stir up and encourage any to the love of Christ, and sincere religion. Neither were his labours vaine, for he converted many of his fellowes unto the knowledge of the gospel; amongst which number was Thomas Arthur, and master Hugh Latimer; which Latimer at that time was crosse-keeper at Cambridge, bringing it forth upon procession daies. At the last, Bilney forsaking the universitie, went into many places, teaching and preaching, being associate with Arthur, which accompanied him from the universitie.

The authoritie of Thomas Wolsey, cardinall of Yorke, at that time was great in England, but his pompe and pride much greater, which did evidently declare unto all wise men, the manifest vanitie, not only of his life, but also of all the bishops and clergie. Whereupon Bilney, with other good men¹, marvelling

¹ Other good men.] See what is said above (*Supplem. Extracts*, vol. i. p. 426,) of the communications on this subject, between bishop Fisher and the cardinal: and it is observable that in the Latin copy, Fox notices here the

at the incredible insolencie of the clergie, which they could n no longer suffer or abide, began to shake and reprove this excessive pompe² and also to plucke at the authoritie of the bishop Rome.

Then it was time for the cardinall to awake, and speedily looke about his businesse. Neither lacked he in this point a craft or subtiltie of a serpent; for he understood well enou upon how slender a foundation their ambitious dignitie v grounded, neither was he ignorant that their proud kingdo: could not long continue against the manifest word of God, esj

cardinal's intentions of a reformation. "Nihil itaque cunctatus Cardinalis, c primum hæc moveri audivit mense Decembri anno 1528, Londini frequ tissimo ecclesiasticorum collecto cœtu, promisit fore ut abusus quicunque ecclesiam Romanam subrepsissent, sedulo repurgarentur. Interim Bilnæu &c.—*Rerum in Ecclesia Commentarii*, p. 124.

It may be further proper to remark, that in the Latin copy, we have such sweeping charge as is here brought against the "vanity," &c. of "the bishops and clergy." The words there seem to apply principally, if entirely, to the order of cardinals, and to the pope. They are as follows "Ingens erat per idem tempus Thomæ Vulsæi, cardinalis Eboracensis, Anglia autoritas, sed fastus, pompa atque ambitio multo major, quæ m festam vitæ, vanitatem non modo ipsius, sed et universi ordinis, tum pontif omnium maxime, apud cordatos quosque declarabat."

² *This excessive pompe.*] Sir Thomas More, in his Apology, made after had given over the office of Lord Chancellor, appears to impute much of t pomp to the example of Cardinal Wolsey; but affirms, that even at the ti when he wrote (A.D. 1533), the evil was much abated. "Verylye for au that I can see, a greate part of the proud and pompous apparaile that m priestes in yeares not long paste, were by the pryde and oversight of so few ['in my lorde cardinal Wolsey's days,' appears in the margin], for in a manner agaynst theyr own wylles to weare, was before hys" ('Tinda "godly counsail, so by this pretty printed book privily given them in th eare, much more, I trowe, than the one half spent, and in a manner v worne oute. And I wote it is worne out with many, whyche entende b after to buy no more such agayne. And for the residue of the countena I dare bee bolde to warrant, that I can fynde of those that most maye sper which, were they sure that it shoulde in this matter do any good, would well content to wythdrawe from all theyr other countenance the chiefe p of theyr moveables, and of theyr yearely lyvelode too. and out of h bestow the one, and wyth their own hand yearely bestowe the other, oper amonge the poore. And I durst agayne be bolde to warrant, that if they dyd, even the self same folke that nowe grudge and call theym proude theyr countenance, woulde then fynde as great a grudge, and cal the hypocrites for their almes: and say that they spende upon noughty begg the good that was wonte to keepe good yeomen; and that they thereby k enseable, and also dishonour the realme."—*Works*, p. 892.

if the light of the gospel should once open the eyes of men. otherwise he did not greatly feare the power and displeasure of kings and princes: only this he feared, the voice of Christ in conscience, lest it should disclose and detect their hypocrisie and sin, and force them to come to an order of godly discipline: therefore he thought good, speedily in time to withstand these things. Whereupon he caused the said Bilney and Arthur apprehended and cast into prison.

On this, the seven and twentieth day of November, in the year of our Lord 1527, the said cardinall accompanied with a number of bishops, as the archbishop of Canterburie [Willielm Warham], Cuthbert [Tonstall], of London, John [Fisher] of Chester, Nicholas [West] of Ely, John [Voysey] of Exeter, [Longland] of Lincolne, John [Clerke] of Bathe and his associates, Henrie [Standish] of Saint Asaph, with many other both judges and lawyers, came into the chapterhouse at Westminster, where the said master Thomas Bilney, and Thomas Arthur were brought before them; and the said cardinall there enquired of master Bilney, whether he had privately or publicly preached or written to the people, the opinions of Luther or any other, contrary to the determination of the church. Whereupon Bilney answered, that wittingly he had not preached or taught any of Luther's opinions, or any other, contrarie to the catholike church. Then the cardinall asked him, whether he had not once made an oath before, that he should not preach, rehearse, or defend any of Luther's opinions, but should impugn the same every where? He answered, that he had made such an oath, but not lawfully.¹ Which interrogatories so ministred, and answers made, the cardinall caused him to sweare to answer plainly to the articles of errors preached and set forth by him; as well in the citie of London, as in the diocesse of Norwich and other places; and that he should do it without any craft, qualifying or leaving out any part of the truth.

¹ But not lawfully.] "The whole process is set down at length by Fox in his points, according to Tonstall's *Register*, except one fault in the translation. When the cardinal asked Bilney whether he had not taken an oath before, not to preach or defend any of Luther's doctrines; he confessed he had done so, but not judicially (judicialiter, in the *Register*) This Fox translates not lawfully. In all other particulars there is an exact agreement between the *Register* and his Acts."—Burnet's *History of the Reformation*, vol. i. p. 31. 1715.

Interrogatories whereupon master Thomas Artur, and master Bilney were accused and examined.

1 Whether they did beleeve with their hearts, that the assertions of Luther, which are impugn'd by the bishop of Rochester⁶, were justly and godly condemned: and that Luther with his adherents, was a wicked and a detestable heretike.

2 Whether they did beleeve that generall counsels and ecclesiastical constitutions once received and not abrogate againe, ought to be observed of all men, even for conscience sake, and not only for feare.

3 Whether they did beleeve that the popes lawes were profitable and necessarie to the preferment of godlinesse, not repugnant to the holy Scriptures, neither by any meanes to be abrogate, but to be revered of all men.

4 Whether they did beleeve that the catholike church may erre in the faith or no: and whether they thinke that catholike church to be a sensible church, which may be demonstrate and pointed out as it were with a finger: or that it is only a spirituall church, intelligible, and knowne only to God.

5 Whether they thinke that the images of saints are christianly set in the churches: and ought to be worshipped of all true Christians.

6 Whether a man may beleeve without hurt to his faith or note of heresie, the soules of Peter and Paul, and of our Ladie, either to be, or not to be in heaven: and that there is yet no judgement given upon the soules departed.

7 Whether a man may beleeve without spot of heresie, that our Ladie remained not alwaies a virgin.

8 Whether holy daies and fasting daies ordained and received by the church, may be broken by any private man, at his will and pleasure, without sinne or obstinacie.

9 Whether we are bound to be obedient unto prelates, bishops and kings, by Gods commandement, as we are unto our parents.

10 Whether they beleeve that the church doth well and godly in praying to the saints.

⁶ *Impugn'd by the bishop of Rochester.* This is the book of bishop Fisher mentioned in the preceding note. It is an able and very important work. It came out in 1513, and was in so great request that five editions were printed before the year 1525.

11 Whether they thinke that Christ only should be prayed unto. and that it is no heresie, if any man affirme that saints should not be prayed unto.

12 Whether they do thinke all true Christians to be by like right priests, and all those to have received the keyes of binding and loosing, at the hands of Christ, which have obtained the Spirit of God; and *only* such, whether they be lay men or priests.

13 Whether they beleeve with their hearts that faith may be without workes and charitie.

14 Whether they beleeve that it is more agreeable to the faith, that the people should pray in their owne tongue, than in a learned unknowne tongue; and whether they commend the prayer in a strange tongue or no.

15 Whether they would have the masses and gospels openly to be read in churches in the vulgar tongue, rather than in the Latine tongue.

16 Whether they commend that children should only be taught the Lords Prayer, and not the Salutation of the virgin, or Creed.

17 Whether they do thinke the wooden beads which the common people doth use, worthie to be denied, or not.

18 Whether they do thinke the whole Scripture ought to be translated into English; or that it should be more profitable for the people. than as it is now read.

19 Whether they would have the organs and all maner of songs to be put out of the church of God.

20 Whether they do think that it pertaineth to the bishops to punish any man with bonds or imprisonment, or that they have any temporall power and authoritie.

21 Whether they thinke that constitution to be godly, that no man should preach in another mans diocesse, without letters of commendation, and licence obtained of the bishop.

22 Whether they thinke the vowes of religious men, and private religion, to be constitute or ordained by the Spirit of God. neither by any meanes to be repugnant to a free and perfect Christian life.

23 Whether they beleeve that we should pray for the dead; or beleeve that there is a purgatorie; or that we are bound by necessity of faith, to beleeve neither of them; but that it is free without sinne. either to beleeve it or not to beleeve it.

Interrogatories whereupon master Thomas Arthur, and master Bilney were accused and examined.

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6 Whether a man may beleve without hurt to his faith or to his conscience, the soules of Peter and Paul, and of our Ladie, after their death to be in heaven: and that there is yet no hurt done unto them the soules departed.

7 Whether a man may beleve without spot of heresie, that the soules remained for ever in purgatorie.

8 Whether the new mass and fasting lawes ordained and received by the church, may be broken by any private man, at his will and pleasure, without shame or punishment.

9 Whether we are bound to be obedient unto prelates, bishops and abbots, in their commandment, as we are unto our parents, in the Lord: and whether that the church doth well and godly to require such obedience.

¹ *Interrogatories* &c. &c. &c. However? This is the book of bishop Fisher's *Interrogatories* &c. &c. &c. It is an able and very important work. It was first printed in 1534, and the great request that five editions were printed in 1534, 1535, 1536, 1537, and 1538.

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 or that there is a purgatorie; or that we are bound by
 the oath of faith, to beleieve neither of them; but that it is free
 conscience, either to beleieve it or not to beleieve it.

24 Whether they beleve that morall philosophie and naturall, do prevaile any thing for the better understanding of the Scriptures, and for the exposition and defence of the truth.

25 Whether they thinke that the popes indulgences and pardons are rather to be rejected than received.

26 Whether it be contrarie to the doctrine of Christ and his apostles, that Christians should by any meanes contend in the law, to make any manner of restitution.

27 Whether they beleve all things pertaining to salvation and damnation to come of necessitie, and nothing to be in our owne willes.

28 Whether they beleve God to be the author of all evill, as well of the fault, as of the punishment.

29 Whether they thinke masse only to be profitable to him which saith it; and whether every man may alter or leave out the rite and order of the masse, without hurt of faith.

30 Whether they beleve that there can be any moral virtues without the grace of Christian living, or that the virtues which Aristotle hath set out, are rather fained.

31 Whether they think it heresie, to teach the people, that it is free to give tithes unto priests, or to any other poore man.

32 Whether they do thinke it more Christian-like to take away the images out of the churches; or to permit them there, to adorne them and honor them.

33 Whether they thinke it the part of a Christian man, that preachers should exhort men to pilgrimage, or to the worshipping of reliques.

34 Whether that thou Thomas Bilney, being cited upon heresie to appeare before my lord cardinall, and before the day of thy appearance, not having made thy purgation upon those points that thou wast cited, hast preached openly in divers churches of the citie and diocesse of London, without sufficient licence from the bishop, or any other."

Concerning the answeres unto these articles, (gentle Reader) for so much as in the most part of them, Bilney with Arthur seemed to consent and agree (although not fullie and directly, but by way and manner of qualifying) yet because he did not expressly denie them, it shall not be needfull heere to recite them all, save only such wherein he seemed to dissent from them.

To the first and second articles he answered affirmatively.

To the third he said, " I beleve that *many* of the popes lawes

are profitable and necessarie, and do prevaile unto godlinesse, neither in any point are repugnant unto the Scriptures, nor by any meanes are to be abrogate, but of all men to be observed and revered. But touching *all* those lawes I cannot determine: for as for such as I have not read, I trust notwithstanding they are good also: and as for those that I have read, I did never reade them to the end and purpose to reprove them, but according to my power, to learne and understand them. And as touching the multitude of lawes, Saint Augustine in his time did much complaine, and Gerson also, who marvelled that we could by any meanes live in safetie amongst so many snares of constitutions, whereas our forefathers being pure before their fall, could not observe one only precept."

To the fourth article he said, "that the catholike church can by no meanes erre in faith, for it is the whole congregation of the elect, and so knowne only unto God, which knoweth who are his: otherwise, no man should be ascertained of another mans salvation, or of his owne, but only through faith and hope. For it is written, (Eccles. 5.) *No man knoweth whether he be worthie of hatred or love.*—It is also sensible, and may be demonstrate so far forth as it is sufficient to establish us in all things, that are to be beleevd and done. For I may truly say of a generall councill being congregate in the Holy Ghost; 'Behold heere the catholike church,' denominating the whole by the most worthie part."

To the fifth article, he answered affirmatively in these words, *Cum sint libri Laicorum, adorare oportet, at non imaginem, sed prototypum.*

To the sixth article he answered, "that he did not beleieve that they are in heaven, being so taught by the Scriptures, and holy fathers of the church."

To the seventh article he said, "that it is not to be thought contrarie."

To the eighth article, whether a man may not observe the feasts and fasts of the church prescribed, he thought "that there is no man, but he ought to observe them."

To the ninth article he said, "that we are like wise bound as unto parents."

To the fourteenth article he answered thus: "The fourteenth chapter of St. Paul in his first epistle to the Corinthians, mooveth me to beleieve, that it is best, that the people should have the

*Lords Prayer, and the Apostles Creed in English, so that their devotion might the more be furthered by the understanding thereof, and also that thereby they might be the more prompt and expert in the articles of their faith: of the which it is to be feared, a great number are ignorant*¹. Surely I have heard many say, that they never heard speake of the resurrection of the bodie, and being certified thereof, but they became much more apt and readie unto goodnesse, and more fearefull to do evill."

To the fifteenth article he said, "he would wish that the gospels and epistles should be read in English. *For I would (saith Paul, 1 Cor. 14.) rather have five words, &c. That the church might be edified, &c.* And Chrysostome exhorteth his hearers to looke upon bookes, that they might the better commit unto memorie those things which they had heard. And Saint Bede did translate Saint Johns Gospell into English."

Touching the eighteenth article, for the translation of the scripture into English, "concerning *the whole*, he did partly doubt. Notwithstanding, he wished that the gospels and epistles of the day might be read in English, that the people might be made the more apt to heare sermons.—But heere some will say, there might also be danger for errour. Whereunto he answered: But good and vigilant pastors might easilie helpe that matter, by adding the plaine interpretation of the fathers in the margents, in English, upon the darke and obscure places, which would put away all doubts. O how great profit of soules should the vigilant pastors get thereby, which contrariwise through their slothfulness bring great ruine and decay!"

To the five and twentieth article, as touching pardons², he

¹ *See ignorant.*] See before, vol. i. Thorpe, p. 310, and n.

² *[As touching pardons.]* There was no point from which Luther derived with greater success the eloquence with which he thundered against the Vatican, than that of the antichristian doctrine of pardons and indulgences, and the disgraceful traffic in the sale of them, so prevalent in his days. But that part of the history of the Reformation needs not to be enlarged upon in this place. Only it may be proper, by a few domestic anecdotes and authorities, to show what progress the same pernicious doctrine and practice had made in this country.

In the latter end of the year 1500, being the year of jubilee, pope Alexander VI sent a commissary into this kingdom, to distribute, as he called it, *the heavenly grace*, to all such as, prevented by any forcible impediment, could not be present at Rome to receive the benefit there. The articles contained in this bull, with the sums of money required of each person in proportion

said. — that as they be used, and have too long been, it were better that they should be restrained. than that they should be

to his means, to intitle him to partake in the promised advantages, are given by Weever in the discourse prefixed to his *Funeral Monuments*, p. 158—162, *edit.* 1767. In Becon's *Reliques of Rome*, Works, vol. iii. fol. 205—207, and in Bp. Burnet's *Hist. of the Reformation*, vol. ii. p. 138—140, (Records,) may be found an account of the chief indulgences granted by different popes to those who shall say devoutly certain prayers therein specified. One of the most common purposes for which they were made use of was the raising of money and other supplies for the building of monasteries, abbeys, and churches. Of this it would be easy to produce many examples. But we must confine ourselves within narrow limits. In the year 1112, previously to the erection of the abbey at Crowland, the abbot obtained of the archbishops and bishops of England an indulgence for remitting the third part of all penances enjoined for sins committed, to every person who should help forward that good work: and with this indulgence he sent the monks abroad into all quarters to gather money, who returned after great success. On the day appointed for laying the foundation there was a very numerous appearance of nobles, prelates, and commons; and after mass and anthems sung, the abbot himself laid the first stone, and the nobles and others, according to their degrees and quality, couched their stones respectively, and laid upon them sums of money; others gave their deeds of lands, advowsons of churches, certain measures of wheat, or engaged to pay so many labourers, masons, carpenters, &c. till the work was finished. The common people and townships, for their parts, offered with a zealous devotion, some money, others certain days of labour; some the building of whole pillars, others a certain extent of the walls, windows, &c. all striving to outvie each other. After this, the abbot in a solemn speech, commending their bounty, and granting to them and theirs all spirituall benefits in the church, and a participation in the merit of all the prayers, fastings, &c. gave his blessing to the assembly, and dismissed them, well satisfied with their work, to their respective homes. See Staveley's *History of Churches in England*, p. 57.

But these pardons were not always converted to purposes so beneficial; since by them, as Wickliffe assures us, many men were deceived, and "trusten to flee to heaven withouten pain, and therefore dreden sin the less." Lewis's *History*, p. 139. They were often made the incentive to unguinary wars, crusades, and idle pilgrimages. And in many ways, among private individuals, they encouraged the grossest errors and immoralities. "Yea it is well known that their pardons and other of theyr tromperie hath bene bought and sold in Lombard-strete, and in other places, as thou wylt bye and sell an horse in Smith-field." *Lamentations against the City of London*. Signat. c. 8. A. D. 1548. "In times past (says bishop Grindal) men made preparations before death, but (God knoweth) farre out of square. Some redeemed for money great plentie of indulgencies from Rome, and he that had the greatest plentie of them, to bee cast with him into his grave, when he was buried (*whiche I myselfe have sene done*) was counted the best prepared for death." *Sermon at the Funeral Solemnity of the Emperor Ferdi-*

any longer used as they have been. to the injurie of Christs passion."

Touching the six and twentieth article, he said, "that it is not against the doctrine of Christ and his Apostles, to contend in the law, so it be done with charitie, if St. Augustine, and the reverend father Marcus Marulus did not erre, which granted that libertie to the weake Christians: albeit that true Christians ought to give eare unto St. Pauls saying; *Why do ye not rather suffer injurie?* (1. Cor. 6.) And to Christ himselfe, which saith: *He that would contend with thee in the law, and take away thy coate, give him thy cloke also.*"

Touching the eight and twentieth, he answered, "~~that~~ God is the author of the punishment only, but not of the offence, as Basilius Magnus teacheth in his sermon upon these words of the prophet, (Amos 3.): *Non est malum in civitate quod non fecit dominus.* And Saint Augustine in another place (as I remember) prayeth; *That he be not led into that temptation, that he should beleve God to be the author of sinne and wickednesse.*"

Heere insueth a brieve summarie or collection of certaine depositions, deposed by the severall witnesses aforenamed, upon certaine interrogatories ministered unto them, for the inquirie of Master Bilneyes doctrine and preaching.

"First it was deposed, that in his sermon in Christs church in Ipswich, he should preach and say, our Saviour Christ is our

and, preached in St. Paul's Cathedral, Oct. 3, 1564. Signat. D. c. But perhaps no use was ever made of them which can be accounted more melancholy than the following. Proclamation was occasionally made at the burning of the martyrs, "that whosoever did bring a faggot or a stake to the burning of a hereticke should have forty daies of pardon. Whereby it came to pass, that many ignorant people caused *their children to beare billets and faggots to their* ~~ring.~~" Fox's *Acts*, p. 897. See also Fox, p. 1105, and p. 1120.

It is observable, that even a man of so much learning and understanding bishop Fisher, enumerates "indulgences and pardons" among the grounds hope that the Lady Margaret, mother of king Henry VII., whose con-
sor he was, had been "borne up into the country above by the blessed angels." "For yf" (says he in her *Funeral Sermon*) "the herty prayer of many persones, yf her owne contynuall prayer in her lyfe tyme, yf the sacraments of the chirche orderly taken, yf *indulgences and pardons graunted* yf divers popes, yf true repentaunce and teeres, yf fayth and devocyon in ryte Jhesu, yf charyte to her neighbours, yf pyte upon the poore, yf for-

mediatour betweene us and the Father: what should we need then to seeke any saint for remedie? Wherefore, it is great injurie to the blood of Christ, to make such petitions, and blasphemeth our Saviour.

That man is so unperfect of himselfe, that he can in no wise merit by his owne deeds.

Also, that the comming of Christ was long prophesied before, and desired by the prophets. But John Baptist being more than a prophet, did not only prophesie, but with his finger shewed him, saying: (John 1.) *Ecce agnus Dei qui tollit peccata mundi*. Then if this were the very Lambe which John did demonstrate, that taketh away the sins of the world, what injurie is it to our Saviour Christ, that to be buried in Saint Francis cowle⁹ should

gyvenesse of injuries, or yf good werkes be available, as doubtless they be, grete lyklyhode, and almoste certayn conjecture we may take by them, and all these that so it is in dede." P. 35, 6. Baker's edit. 1708.

⁹ *To be buried in Saint Francis cowle.*] The friars succeeded in persuading the people, "that they could get a *great thing* of the pope, or of cardinals in England, *better cheap* than other procurators could." (Wickliffe *against the Friars*, p. 60, A. D. 1608): and by these means they gradually usurped and drew away from the secular clergy and the parochial churches, to themselves and their own abbeys, the administering of the several sacraments, hearing of confessions, and burials of the dead, especially of all the wealthy part of the community; together with such other religious offices, as might be converted to purposes of gain. "Friars drawn to them confession, and burying of riche men, by manie subtil means, and masse-pence, and trentals, but they will not come to poore mens *Dirige*, ne receive them to be buried amongst them." (Wickliffe *against Friars*, p. 28). By having his grave within the precincts of the abbey, they made the rich man believe, that he should partake of the merit of all the masses, prayers, fastings, and other good works which should continue, till the day of doom, to be performed in that holy spot. But to be buried in a cowl or hood, and the rest of a friar's habit, especially if accompanied and corroborated by a letter of fraternity, this was a sure protection against all manner of harm. "They techen lords and *sumefiche* (especially) *ladies*, that if they dien in *Francis's habite*, they shoulde never come to Hell, for virtue thereof." Wickliffe in Lewis's *History*, p. 22. In Pierce the Ploughman's Creed, we have an incomparable description of these arts of the friars. One of them is supposed to be wheedling a man out of his money: and among other equally strong arguments, having told the person of whom he is begging, that the order are now building a magnificent abbey, for which he is employed to gather the means, he promises,

"And mightest thou amenden us with moneye of thyn owen,
Thou shouldest knely before Christ in compas of gold
In the wyde window westward wel neigh in the mydel;

remit foure parts of penance ! What is then left to our Saviour Christ, which taketh away the sins of the world ? This I will justifie to be a great blasphemie to the blood of Christ.

Also, that it was a great folly to go on pilgrimage ; and that preachers in times past have been Antichrists, and now it hath pleased God somewhat to shew forth their falshood and errors.

Also, that the miracles done at Walsingham, at Canterburie, and there in Ipswich, were done by the diuel, through the sufferance of God, to blind the poore people : and that the pope had not the keyes that Peter had, except he follow Peter in his living.

Moreover, it was deposed against him, that he was notoriously suspected as an heretike, and twice pulled out of the pulpit in the diocesse of Norwich.

*And Saint Francis hymselfe shall folden thee in his cope,
And present thee to the Trinite, and praye for thy synnes.
Thy name shall noblich ben wryten and wrought for the nones,
And in remembrance of thee yrad (read) there for ever "*

See Lewis's *History of Wickliffe*, p. 307.

" King John, being buried at Worcester, under the high altar, was wrapped in a *monk's cowl*, which the superstition of those times accounted sacred. And I find also, that some of the honourable family of the Hastings were interred in habits of the friars minors, in their convent church at Coventry." *Stavely's Hist. of Churches in England*, p. 265. In truth it is certain that the practice was a very frequent one. King John died in the year 1216. Thus early then the custom must have begun. It is referred to, along with other superstitions of a like nature, in the following extract from a sermon, which has been already cited, preached on occasion of the funeral solemnity of the emperor Ferdinand, by Grindall, then bishop of London. " In times past men made preparacions afore death, but (God knoweth) farre out of square. Some redemed for money great plentye of indulgencies from Rome, and he that had the greatest plentie of them, to be cast with him into his grave when he was buried, (whiche I myself have sene done) was counted the best prepared for death. Others made provisions or foundacions to have great number of masses said for them after death, thereby to be the sooner delivered out of purgatorie. Other there were that thought it a more reasonable and speedye waye to quench the fire of purgatory afore they fel into it ; and therefore they procured a great number of masses and trentals to be said for them afore death. Some of those that have bene learned, the more was the pity, have died in an *observant or gray friars cowe*, and afterward bene buried in the same, and so thought themselves well prepared. But alas ! al these preparacions were preposterous." *Funeral Sermon*, signat. D. 3. b. A. D. 1564. But the largest and best account, and exposure of this lamentable folly, may be read in Erasmus's Colloquy, intituled *Exequia Seraphica*.

Also it was deposed against him, that he should in the parish church of Willesdon, exhort the people to put away their gods of silver and gold, and leave their offerings unto them, for that such things as they offered, have been knowne oftentimes afterward to have been given to the stewes. Also that Jewes and Saracens would have become Christian men¹ long ago, had it not been for the idolatrie of Christian men in offering of candles, waxe, and money to stockes and stones."

Over and besides these cavilling matters, articulated and deposed against him, heere follow certaine other articles, whereupon he was detected, gathered out of his sermon, which he preached in

¹ *Would have become Christian men.*] See Becon's works, vol. iii. fol. 49 and 51. A. D. 1564. But arguments of this kind must not be carried too far. The reason of Jews and Saracens will not always be *right* reason; and a fit pattern for christians to conform themselves to. An argument very like the above has been not unfrequently urged by Socinian writers against the doctrines of the Trinity, the divinity of Christ, the atonement, &c. If we would make Christianity palatable (say they) to Jews and Mohammedans, we must not press these high and unintelligible notions. See Leslie's *Theological Works*, Horaley's *Tracts*, &c.

And yet, it is an historical fact, that Jews and Turks have often been scandalized by, and often expressly avowed their detestation against several of the corruptions of Popery. Sir Edwin Sandys, speaking of his own experience in Italy, and of the impediments to the conversion of the Jews, which he noticed in that country, besides others, adds the following. "A scandal also is their vowing, and praying to angels and saints; which the Jews hold to be a duty peculiar unto God only; and that it hath so been esteemed among them in all ages. Yea, and they note, that the Christians pray more oft, and more willingly to Christ's mother, than unto Christ himself, or unto God. But the greatest scandal of all is their worshipping of images; for which both Jews and Turks call them the idolatrous Christians. And this is so much the greater, and of more indignity, for that they generally conceive it to be a thing which *Christ himself expressly commanded*,—that the decalogue should be recited *with omission* of the second precept: as one of their greatest Rabbins contested with me, being induced into that error by *some ostentation* of the Christians, which he had seen with that fault. . . . And for their coming to the Christian sermons, they say, that as long as they shall see the preacher direct his speech and prayer to that little wooden crucifix, which stands on the pulpit by him; to call it his Lord and Saviour, to kneel down to it, to embrace and kiss it, to weep upon it (as is the fashion of Italy);—this is preaching sufficient for them, and persuades them more with the very sight of it to hate the Christian religion, than any reason that the world can allege to love it.—And these be the scandals, which as *I have heard* themselves allege, they take on that side." *Europe Speculum*, p. 244—7.

the parish church of Saint Magnus, in Whitson weeke, in the yeere of our Lord, 1527.

Certaine other Articles producted against Master Thomas Bilney.

"First he said, pray you only to God, and to no saints, rehearsing the Letanie; and when he came to *Sancta Maria, ore pro nobis*, he said, stay there¹.

"He said, that Christian men ought to worship God only, and no saints.

"He said, that Christian people should set up no lights² before

¹ *Stay there.*] This is the petition in the Romish Litanies which follows next after that to the Trinity. It is succeeded by many others addressed to many different saints. Bilney does not mean that the invocation of the virgin may be retained; but that we should stop immediately after the petition to the Trinity. "If there be but one mediator of God and men, the man Christ Jesus, where is our blessed ladie? Where is then saint Peter and other saints?" Bilney in Fox's *Acts*, p. 913. Among the erroneous opinions complained of to the prelates by the lower house of convocation, June 23, 1534, as commonly preached, taught, and spoken, to the slander of this noble realm, disquietness of the people, and damage of Christian souls, this was one: "Item, it is preached against the Litany, and also said, that it was never merry in England sithence the Litany was ordained, and *Sancta Maria, Sancta Catharina*, &c. sung and said." Wilkins's *Concilia*, vol. iii. p. 805.

² *Should set up no lights.*] The offering, finding, and setting up of wax tapers before images was a *good work*, from which no one was excused. And in this way, though the cost was easy to every separate individual, yet upon the whole to some churches it became a source of very considerable profit. In the Northumberland Household Book, p. 338, we find that the earl paid yearly for "the upholding of a light of wax," before the blood of Hales, our lady at Walsingham, saint Margaret in Lincolnshire, and our Lady of Doncaster, the several sums of 10s., 6s. 8d., 10s., and 13s. 4d. In what estimation the people were taught to regard this act of devotion, may be collected from the following story, which continued to be read in churches, even till after the death of Bilney. On this account the extract is historically important, and the insertion of it may therefore be excused. In many other respects, it is painful to have to dwell thus long upon scenes so humiliating. But the purpose of the editor in these compilations will be much misunderstood, if it be not believed, that while he has also other salutary objects in view, he is peculiarly solicitous by them to turn the reader's thoughts upon himself, and upon that deceitfulness of sin, which will insinuate itself into the purest profession of religion. "Thou standest by *Faith*. Be not high-minded, but fear."

"Also ther was a woman of evyll lyvyng, and she dyd never good dede in her lyfe, but only founde a candell brennyng before our lady. So it happed

ages of saints : for saints in heaven need no light, and the have no eyes to see.

he said, as Ezechias destroyed the brasen serpent that Moses by the commandement of God, even so should kings and

he was deed, fendes came to her, and toke her soule. And when they came, there came two aungels, and rebuked the fendes, why they were for to take the soule, without dome. Than sayd the fendes, ther none" (so doom) : " she dyde never good dede. Than sayd the take and brynge the soule before our lady. And so they dyde. But was founde that she dyde never good dede, she must nedes go to [Than sayd our lady, *She founde a candell brennyng afore me*, and it her wyll whyle she lyved. And therfore I wyll be as kynde to her, as to me. And bad an angel take a grete serge" (*taper*) " and lyght et it before her in helle. And our lady charged and commaunded he sholde no fende come there nye; but let it stonde brennyng for re, to comforte all that ben in hell. Than sayd the fendes, they had rather) " leave the soule, than do so. Than badde our lady take the and bere it to the body agayne. So they dyd. And when she was he bethought her oon her streyght dome there as she was at; and *he shrove her to a preest*, and lyved longe after; and she amended her was ever after a good woman, and an holy." *Festival*, fol. 91, imby Richard Faques. Compare same work, fol. 24.

is enough in the above narration, without going any further, to shew reformers had good reason to condemn the *abuse* of this, and other caremonies, as they were taught and practised in those times. Let see, what could be pleaded in their defence, in a work which had respect to the opinions of Bilney, by a most ingenious and powerful writer. " Christ also promised that saint Mary Magdalene shoulde be worshouroughe the world, and have here an honourable remembrance, for bestowed that precyouse oyntement uppon hys holy hed. Which thing consider, it maketh me mervaille of the madnesse of these heretyques, he against the olde auncient customes of Christes chyrch, mockinge nge up of candels, and with folish faceries" (*jestings—facetie*), " and nous mockery demaunde, *Whether God and hys saintes lack lyght, her it be nyght with them, that they cannot se without candle*. They well aske, what good dyd that oyntment to Cristes hed? But the es grudge at the cost now, as theyr brother Judas dyd than; and say better spent in almes upon a pore folke: and thys saye many of them an neyther finde in theyr harte to spende upon the one nor the other. ne spend some tyme upon the one for none other entente, but to the : they may the more boldlye rebuke and rayle against the other. But all, by that ensample of the holy woman, and by these wordes of our lerne that God deliteth to se the fervent hete of the hartis devotion t by the body, and to do him service with all such goodes of fortune hath given a man." Sir Thomas More's *Dialogue concerning Heresies*. 18. Works, p. 118.

princes now adaies destroy and burne the images of saints set up in churches.

“ These five hundred yeeeres there hath been no good pope, nor in all the time past, we can find but fiftie? for they have neither preached, nor lived wel, or conformable to their dignitie: wherefore till now they have borne the keys of Simonie. Against whom, good people, we must preach and teach unto you. For we cannot come to them, it is great pitie: they have sore slandered the blood of Christ.

“ The people have used foolishly of late, pilgrimages, which for them had been better if they had been at home.

“ Many have made certaine vowes, which be not possible for them to fulfill, and those nothing meritorious.

“ The preachers before this have been antichrists, and now it hath pleased our Saviour Christ, to shew their false errours, and to teach another way, and manner of the holy gospell of Christ, to the comfort of your soules.

“ I trust that there shall and will come other besides me ⁴, which shall shew and preach to you the same faith and maner of living, that I do shew and preach to you, which is the verie true gospell of our Saviour Christ, and the mind of the holy Fathers, whereby you shall be brought from their errours, wherein you have been long seduced: for before this, there have been many that have slandered you, and the gospell of our Saviour Christ, of whom spake our Saviour, Matth. 18. *Qui scandalizaverit unum de pusillis istis, qui in me credit,*” &c.

These and many other such like depositions were deposed against him by the deponents and witnesses before sworne, which wholly to recite, would be too long and tedious: wherefore these shall suffice at this time, being the principall matters, and in maner the effect of all the rest.

⁴ *Will come other besides me.*] Thus it was objected also against Thomas Arthur, Bilney's friend and companion in these examinations, that he said, “ Good people, if I should suffer persecution for the preaching of the gospel of God, yet there are seven thousand more that would preach the gospel of God, as I do now. Therefore good people, good people, (which words he often rehearsed, as it were lamenting) thinke not that if these tyrants and persecutors put a man to death, the preaching of the gospel therefore is to be forsaken.”—This article he confessed that he spake in like words and sense, saving that he made no mention of tyrants. Fox's *Acts*, p. 911.

The fourth day of December, the bishop of London with the other bishops his assistants, assembled againe in the chapter house of Westminster; whither also master Bilney was brought, and was exhorted and admonished to abjure and recant: who answered, that he would stand to his conscience.—Then the bishop of London with the other bishops, *Ex officio*, did publish the depositions of the witnesses, with his articles and answeres, commanding that they should be read. That done, the bishop exhorted him againe to deliberate with himselfe, whether he would returne to the church, and renounce his opinions or no, and bad him to depart into a void place, and there to deliberate with himselfe. Which done, the bishop asked him againe if he would returne. Who answered; *Fiat justitia, et judicium in nomine Domini*: and being divers times admonished to abjure, he would make no other answer, but *Fiat justitia, &c.* And, *Hæc est dies quam fecit Dominus, exultemus & lætemur in ea*, Psalm. 118. Then the bishop, after deliberation, putting off his cap, said; *In nomine Patris & Filii & Spiritus sancti. Amen. Erurgat Deus & dissipentur inimici ejus*: and making a crosse on his forehead and his brest, by the counsell of the other bishops, he gave sentence against master Bilney, being there present, in this maner.

“I, by the consent and counsell of my brethren heere present, do pronounce thee Thomas Bilney, who hast been accused of divers articles, to be convict of heresie; and for the rest of the sentence, we take deliberation till to morrow.”

The fifth day of December the bishops assembled there againe; before whom Bilney was brought, whom the bishop asked if he would yet returne to the unitie of the church, and revoke his heresies which he had preached. Whereupon Bilney answered, “that he would not be a slander to the gospell, trusting that he was not separat from the church; and that, if the multitude of witnesses might be credited, he might have thirtie men of honest life on his part, against one to the contrarie brought in against him:” which witnesses, the bishop said came too late; for after publication, they could not be received by the law. Then Bilney alleging the storie of Susanna and Daniel, the bishop of London still exhorted him to returne to the unity of the church, and to abjure his heresies, and permitted him to go into some secret place there to consult with his friends, till one of the clocke at the afternoone, of the same day.

At this time the bishop of London againe asked him whether he would returne to the church and acknowledge his heresies: but he answered, that he trusted he was not separat from church, and required time and place to bring in witnesses: and was refused. Then the bishop once againe required of him whether he would turne to the catholike church. When he answered that if they could teach and prove sufficiently hee was correct, he would yeeld and submit himselfe, and desired to have time and space to bring in againe his reasons: and other answers he would give none.

Then the bishop put master Bilney aside, and took counsel with his fellowes; and afterward calling in master Bilney, asked him againe whether he would abjure: but he would make other answers than before. Then the bishop with the counsel of the rest did decree and determine that it was not lawfull to receive a petition which was against the law; and inquiring of him whether he would abjure, hee answered plainly, no, and desired to have time to consult with his friends in whom his trust was: and being once againe asked whether he would returne instantly desired thereunto, or else the sentence must be pronounced: he required the bishop to give him licence to deliberate himselfe untill the next morrow, whether he might abjure heresies wherewith he was defamed, or no. The bishop granted him, that hee should have a little time to deliberate with his friends in London: but Bilney required space till the next morrow to consult with master Farmer and master Dancaester. But the bishop would not grant him his request, for feare lest he should appeal. But at the last, the bishop inclining unto him, granted him two nights respite to deliberate: that is to say, till Saturday at nine of the clocke afore noone, and then to give a plaine and definite answer, what he would doe in the premisses.

The seventh day of December, in the yeere and place afore said, the bishop of London, with the other bishops being assembled, Bilney also personallie appeared. Whom the bishop of London asked, whether he would now returne to the unitie of the church and revoke the errors and heresies whercof he stood accused, detected, and convicted. Who answered, that now he was assisted by master Dancaester and other his friends, he would submit himselfe, trusting that they would deale gentlie with him in his abjuration, and penance. Then he desired that he might read his abjuration: which the bishop granted. When

had read the same secretly by himselfe, and was returned, being demanded what he would doe in the premisses, he answered, that he would abjure^e and submit himselfe; and there openly read his abjuration, and subscribed it, and delivered it to the bishop, which then did absolve him: and for his penance enjoined him, that he should abide in the prison, appointed by the cardinall, till he were by him released: and moreover the next day he should goe before the procession, in the cathedrall church of S. Paul, bare-headed, with a fagot on his shoulder, and should stand before the preacher at Pauls Crosse, all the sermon time.

To the Reverend Father in Christ, Cuthbert, Bishop of London, Thomas Bilney wisheth health in Christ, with all submission due unto such a prelate.

"In this behalfe (most reverend father in Christ) I thinke myselfe most happie, that it is my chance to be called to exami-

^e *That he would abjure.*] This abjuration is printed from bishop Tonstall's Register, by Collier, in his *Eccles. History*, vol. ii. p. 25, as follows:

"In the name of God, Amen. I, Thomas Bilney, priest, before you, right rev. father in God, confessing and knowledging the true catholick and apostolick faith of holy church, intend by the grace of God, hereafter ever to persevere and abide in the true doctrine of holy church, and to detest and abjure all manner of heresies and articles following, whereupon I am now defamed, noted, vehemently suspected, and convicted; that it is to say, that men should pray only to God, and to no saints. Item, that Christian men ought to worship God and no saints. Item, that Christian men ought to set up no lights before images of saints. Item, that men do not well to go on pilgrimages. Item, that man in no wise can merit by his own deeds. Item, that miracles daily shewed, be wrought by the devil by the sufferance of God. Item, that no pope has such power and authority as Peter had, except he be of like purity of life and perfection as Peter was. And in these articles, and in all other, I here expressly consent unto our mother the holy church of Rome, and the apostolick doctrine of the same, and both in mouth and heart make knowledge, that whosoever hereafter doth preach, teach, or affirm, any of these articles, or any other heresies, contrary to the determination of the holy church, is worthy to be excluded from the communion of the same. And in case hereafter I do teach, preach, hold, or affirm any of these foresaid heresies, or any other, contrary to the determination of holy church, which by the grace of God I intend never to do, then I shall submit myself to the correction of my ordinary, according to the holy canons: and for these my trespasses and offences, I desire of you penance, which I promise by these holy evangelists and contents of this book by me bodily touched, truly to do, observe and fulfil. In witness whereof, to this my present abjuration, I have subscribed my name with my hand, and set to the sign of the cross."

nation before your reverence, for that you are of such wisdom and learning, of such integritie of life (which all men doe confesse to be in you) that even your selfe cannot chuse (if yee doe not too lightly esteeme Gods gifts in you) as often as you shall remember the great things which God hath done unto you, but straightwaies secretly in your heart. to his high praise, say: *He that is mightie hath done great things unto me, and holy is his name.* I rejoyce, that I have now happened upon such a judge, and with all my heart give thanks unto God, which ruleth all things.

“ And albeit (God is my witnesse) I know not my selfe guiltie of any errour in my sermons, neither of any heresie or sedition, which divers doe slander mee of, seeking rather their owne lucre and advantage, than the health of soules; notwithstanding I doe exceedingly rejoyce, that it is foreseene by Gods divine providence, that I should bee brought before the tribunall seat of Tonstall, who knoweth as well as any other, that there will never be wanting Jannes and Jambres, which will resist the truth; that there shall never bee lacking some Elymas^a, which will goe about to subvert the straight waies of the Lord; and finallie, that some Demetrius, Pithonisse, Balaams, Nicolaites, Cains, and Ismaels, will be alwaies at hand, which will greedilie hunt and seeke after that which pertaineth unto themselves, and not that which pertaineth to Jesus Christ. How can it then bee, that they can suffer Christ to be truelie and sincerelie preached? For if the people begin once whollie in every place, to put their confidence in Christ, which was for them crucified, then straightwaies that which they have hitherto imbraced instead of Christ shall utterly decay in the hearts of the faithfull. Then they shall understand that Christ is not in this place, or in that place, but the kingdome of God to bee in themselves. Then shall they plainely see that the father is not to be worshipped, neither in the mount of Samaria, neither at Hierusalem, but in all places, in spirit and truth. Which thing if it come once to passe, the beasts of the field will thinke all their gain and lucre lost. In whom the saying of Ezechiel (Ezech. 34.) is fulfilled: *My sheepe are dispersed because they had no shepheard, and are devoured of the beasts of the field, and strayed abroad. My flocke hath erred and wandred in every mountaine, and upon every high hill, and is*

^a Some Elymas] Acts, chap. 13. Pythonissa Acts 16. Nicolaites. Apocap. 2. Fox.

dispersed thorowout all the earth, and there is no man which hath wought to gather them together: no, there was no man which once wought after them. But if any man would seeke to reduce those which were gone astray, into the fold of Christ, that is, the unitie of faith; by and by, there rise up certaine against him, which are named pastors, but indeed are wolves, which seeke no other thing of their flocke, but the milke, wooll, and fell, leaving both their owne soules, and the soules of their flocke unto the divell.

“ These men, I say, rise up like unto Demetrius, crying out, *This hereticke disswadeth and seduceth much people every where, saying, That they are not gods, which are made with hands,* (Acts 19.) These are they, these I say (most reverend father) are they, which under the pretence of persecuting heretikes, follow their owne licentious life: enemies unto the crosse of Christ, which can suffer and beare any thing rather, than the sincere preaching of Christ crucified for our sinnes. These are they unto whom Christ threatneth eternall damnation, where he saith, *Woe bee unto you scribes, pharises, and hypocrites, which shut up the kingdome of heaven before men, and you yourselves enter not in, neither suffer those which would enter, to come in.* These are they which have come in another way, to the charge of soules, as it appeareth. *For if any man (saith Christ) come in by me, he shall be saved, and shall come in and goe out, and find pasture,* (John 10.) These men doe not find pasture (for they never teach) and draw others after them, that they should enter by Christ, which alone is the doore, whereby wee must come unto the Father: but set before the people another way⁷, perswading them to come

⁷ *Set before the people another way.*] This is illustrated by a passage from another letter of Bilney to bishop Tonsal. “ But here, whether Christ have been a long time heard, I know not, for that I have not heard all the preachers of England; and if I had heard them, yet til it was within this yeere or two, I could not sufficiently judge of them. But this I dare be bold to affirme, that as many as I have heard of late preach, (I speake even of the most famous) they have preached such repentance, that if I had heard such preachers of repentance in times past, I should utterlie have been in despaire. And to speak of one of those famous men (not uttering his name): after he had sharply inveighed against vice, wherein he pleased every godly man, farsomuch as it could not bee sufficientlie cried out upon, hee concluded; *Behold,* (said he), *thou hast lien rotten in thine owne lusts, by the space of these sixty yeeres, even as a beast in his owne dung, and wilt thou presume in one yeere to go forward toward heaven, and that in thine age, as much as thou wentest backwards from heaven towards hell in sixty yeeres?* Is not this think

unto God through good works, oftentimes speaking nothing at all of Christ, thereby seeking rather their own gaine and lucre, than the salvation of soules : in this point being worse than they which upon Christ being the foundation, doe build wood, hay, and straw. These men confesse that they know Christ, but by their deeds they deny him.

“ These are those physitions, upon whom that woman which was twelve yeeres vexed with the bloudie flixe, had consumed all that shee had, and felt no helpe, but was still worse and worse, untill such time as at the last, shee came unto Christ, and after shee had once touched the hem of his vesture, through faith, shee was so healed, that by and by she felt the same in her bodie.—O mightie power of the Highest ! which I also miserable sinner have often tasted and felt. Which before that I could come unto Christ, had even likewise spent all that I had upon those ignorant physitions, that is to say, unlearned hearers of confession, so that there was but small force of strength left in me, (which of nature was but weake) small store of mony, and very little wit or understanding : for they appointed mee fastings, watching, buying of pardons, and masses : in all which things (as I now understand) they sought rather their owne gaine, than the salvation of my sicke and languishing soule.

“ But at the last I heard speake of Jesus, even then when the new Testament was first set forth by Erasmus. Which when I understood to be eloquently done by him, being allured rather for the Latine, than for the word of God, (for at that time, I knew not what it meant) I bought it, even by the providence of God, as I doe now wel understand and perceive : and at the first reading, as I well remember, I chanced upon this sentence of Saint Paul (O most sweet and comfortable sentence to my soule !) in his first epistle to Timothy and first chapter ; *It is a true saying and worthie of all men to be imbraced, that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners, of whom I am the chiefe and principall.* This one sentence, through Gods instruction and inward working, which I did not then perceive, did so exhilarate my hart, being before wounded with the guilt of my sinnes, and

you a goodly argument ? Is this the preaching of repentance in the name of Jesus ? Or rather, to tread downe Christ with Anti-Christ's doctrine ? For what other thing did he speak in effect, than that Christ died in vaine for thee ? He will not be thy Jesus or Saviour : thou must make satisfaction for thyself, or else thou shalt perish eternallie.” Fox's *Acts*, p. 918.

being almost in despaire, that immediately I felt a marvellous comfort and quietnesse, insomuch, *that my brused bones leapt for joy.* (Psalm 50.)

“ After this, the scripture began to be more pleasant unto me than the honie or the honie comb : wherein I learned that all my travels, all my fasting and watching, all the redemption of masses and pardons, being done without truth in Christ, which onelie saveth his people from their sinnes : these, I say, I learned to be nothing else but even (as S. Augustine saith) a hastie and swift running out of the right way ; or else much like to the vesture made of fig leaves, wherewithall Adam and Eve went about in vaine, to cover them ; and could never before obtaine quietnesse and rest, untill they beleaved in the promise of God, that Christ the seed of the woman, should tread upon the serpents head. Neither could I be relieved or eased of the sharpe stings and bitings of my sinnes, before that I was taught of God that lesson, which Christ speaketh of in the third chapter of John ; *Even as Moses exalted the serpent in the desert so shall the Son of man be exalted, that all which beleve on him should not perish, but have life everlasting.*

“ As soone as (according to the measure of grace given unto me of God) I began to tast and savour of this heavenly lesson, which no man can teach but onely God, which revealed the same unto Peter ; I desired the Lord to increase my faith. And at last, I desired nothing more, than that I being so comforted by him, might be strengthened by his holy Spirit and grace from above, that I might teach the wicked his waies, which are mercie and truth, and that the wicked might be converted unto him by me, which sometime was also wicked. Which thing, whilst that with all my power I did endeavour, before my lord cardinall and your fatherhood Christ was blasphemed in me, (and this is my onelie comfort in these my afflictions) whom with my whole power I do teach and set forth, *being made for us by God his father, our wisdom, righteousness, sanctification and redemption, and finally, our satisfaction. Who was made sinne for us, (that is to say, a sacrifice for sinne) that we through him should be made the righteousness of God. Who became accursed for us, to redeeme us from the curse of the law : Who also came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance ; the righteous (I say) which falslie judge and thinke themselves so to be ; (for all men have sinned and lacke the glory of God ; wherby he freely*

forgiveth sins unto al beleivers, through the redemption which is in Christ Jesus) because that all mankind was grievouslie wounded in him which fell amongst theeves betweene Jerusalem and Jericho.

“ And therefore with al my whole power, I teach that al men should first acknowledge their sinnes and condemne them, and afterward hunger and thirst for that righteousnesse, whereof St. Paul speaketh ; (Rom. 3.) *The righteousnesse of God by faith in Jesus Christ, is upon all them which beleve in him, for there is no difference, all have sinned, and lacke the glory of God, and are justified freely through his grace, by the redemption which is in Jesus Christ.* The which, whosoever doth hunger or thirst for, without doubt, they shall at the length so be satisfied, that they shall not hunger and thirst for ever.

“ But forsomuch as this hunger and thirst was wont to bee quenched with the fulnesse of mans righteousnesse, which is wrought through the faith of our owne elect and chosen works, as pilgrimages, buying of pardons, offering of candles, elect and chosen fasts, and oftentimes superstitious, and finallie all kind of voluntarie devotions (as they call them^{*}) against the which Gods word speaketh plainelie in the fourth of Deuteronomy and in the twelfth, saying, *Thou shalt not doe that which seemeth good unto thy selfe, but that which I command thee for to doe, that doe thou, neither adding to, neither diminishing any thing from it :* therefore I say, oftentimes have I spoken of those workes, not condemning them (as God I take to my witnesse) but reprovving their abuse, making the lawfull use of them manifest, even unto children; exhorting all men not so to cleave unto them, that they being satisfied therewith, should loath or wax wearie of Christ, as many doe. In whom I bid your fatherhood most prosperouslie well to fare.

“ And this is the whole summe. If you will appoint me to dilate more at large the things here touched, I will not refuse to doe it, so that you will grant me time : for to doe it out of hand, I am not able for the weaknesse of my body : being readie alwaies if I have erred in any thing, to bee better instructed.”

^{*} *Voluntarie devotions (as they call them).*] “ *Voluntary works besides, over and above God's commandments, which they call works of supererogation,*” &c. Article 14th of the Church of England.

After his abjuration made, about the yeere of our Lord 1529. the said Bilney took such repentance and sorrow, that he was neere the point of utter despaire; as by the words of M. Latimer, is crediblie testified; whose words for my better discharge, I thought heere to annexe, written in his seventh sermon preached before K. Edward, which be these:

“I knew a man my selfe, Bilney, little Bilney, that blessed martyr of God, who what time he had borne his fagot, and was come againe to Cambridge, had such conflicts within himselfe (beholding this image of death) that his friends were afraid to let him be alone. They were faine to be with him day and night, and comfort him as they could, but no comforts would serve. And as for the comfortable places of scripture, to bring them unto him, it was as though a man should run him thorow the heart with a sword.—Yet afterward for all this, he was revived and tooke his death patientlie, and died well against the tyrannicall see of Rome.”

Againe, the said M. Latimer speaking of Bilney in another of his sermons preached in Lincolnshire, hath these words following; “That same M. Bilney, which was burnt here in England for Gods words sake, was induced and perswaded by his friends to beare a fagot at the time when the Cardinall was aloft, and bare the swinge. Now when the same Bilney came to Cambridge againe, a whole yeere after, he was in such an anguish and agonie, that nothing did him good, neither eating nor drinking, nor any other communication of Gods word: for he thought that all the whole scriptures were against him, and sounded to his condemnation. So that I many a time communed with him (for I was familiarie acquainted with him) but al things whatsoever any man could allege to his comfort, seemed unto him to make against him. Yet for all that, afterward he came againe; God indued him with such strength and perfectnes of faith, that he not only confessed his faith in the gospell of our saviour Jesus Christ, but also suffered his bodie to be burned for that same gospels sake, which we now preach in England.”

Furthermore, in the first sermon of the said M. Latimer before the dutches of Suffolke, hee yet speaking more of Bilney, inferreth as followeth; “Here I have (saith he) occasion to tell you a storie which happened at Cambridge. M. Bilney, or rather St. Bilney, that suffered death for Gods words sake, the same Bilney was the instrument whereby God called me to knowledge. For

I may thanke him next to God, for that knowledge that I have in the word of God. For I was an obstinate papist as any was in England: insomuch that when I should be made bachelor of divinitie, my whole oration went against Philip Melancthon and against his opinions. Bilney heard me at that time, and perceived that I was zealous without knowledge, and came to me afterward in my studie, and desired me for Gods sake to heare his confession. I did so: and (to say the truth) by his confession I learned more⁹ than afore in many yeeres. So from that time forward I began to smell the word of God, and forsake the schoole-doctors and such fooleries." And much more hee hath of the same matter, which yee may see hereafter in the life of master Latimer.

By this it appeareth how vehementlie this good man was pierced with sorrow and remorse for his abjuration, the space almost of two yeeres, that is, from the yeere 1529. to the yeere 1531. It followed then that he by Gods grace¹ and good coun-

⁹ *I learned more.*] See Index, under *Confessions, private*.

In his *Conferences* with Ridley, Latimer gives us the following good-humoured account of this affair. "Sir, I begin now to smell what you meane. By travelling thus with mee, you use me as Bilney did once, when he converted me. Pretending as though hee would be taught of me, he sought waies and meanes to teach me;—and so do you. I thank you therefore most heartilie."

¹ *He by Gods grace.*] There is another passage, which, beyond doubt, relates to Bilney. I give it therefore here: not, however, merely on that account, but also for its intrinsic importance and value; inasmuch as it records a very affecting and instructive case in moral and pastoral theology.

"What is this same sinne agaynat the Holy Ghost? an horrible sinne that never shal be forgiven, neyther in this worlde, nor in the worlde to come. What is this sinne? For all impenitencie, and (some saye) impugning of the truth.

"One came to me once, that dispayred, because of sinne agaynst the Holy Ghost. He was sore troubled in his conscience, that he should be damned, and that it was not possible for him to be saved. I sayd to him; What, man, (quoth I) comfort yourself in these wordes of the apostle, *Christus est propitiatio pro peccatis nostris*. And agayne; My Father hath for thys purpose sent me into the worlde, that he whiche beleveth in me may not perish, but may have the life everlastyng. Also, in what houre soever the sinner shall mourne for sinne, he shall be saved. I had scriptures enough for me, as I thought: but say what I coulde say, he coulde more agaynst himselfe, that I coulde saye at that time to do him good withal I was fayne to take another day, and did so. Let me goe to my booke (quoth I), and goe you to your prayers, for ye are not altogether without fayth. I got me to my

me at length to some quiet of conscience, being fullie re-
to give over his life for the confession of that truth, which
hee had renounced. And thus being fully determined in
mind, and setting his time, hee tooke his leave in Trinitie
at ten of the clocke at night, of certaine of his friends, and
that he would goe to Jerusalem: alluding belike to the
and example of Christ in the gospell going up to Jerusa-

: I read many doctours, but none could content me; no expositour
lease me, nor satisfie my minde in the matter. And it was with me as
with an scholer of Cambridge, who beyng demaunded of his tuteur howe
he understode his lesson, and what it meant; I know (quoth he) what it
is, but I cannot tell it; I cannot expresse it. So I understode it well
, but I could not well declare it. Nevertheless I will bungle at it
as I can.

Now, to tell you, by the way, what sinne it was that he had committed: he
fallen from the trueth knowne. And afterward he fell to mocking and
g of it. And this sinne it was that he thought to be unforgiveable.
unto him, that it was a vehement manner of speaking in scripture:
(oth I) this is not spoken universally; nor it is not ment that God doth
forgive it; but it is commonly called irremissible, unforgiveable;
; that God doth seldome forgive it. But yet there is no sinne so great,
d may forgive it, and doth forgive it to the repentant heart, though in
it sound that it shall never be forgiven. As *Privilegium paucorum non
regulam universalem*; the priviledge of a fewe persons doth not destroy
universal rule. For the scripture sayth, *Omnes moriemur*, we shall dye
one of us: yet some shall be rapt and taken away, as S. Paule sayth.
irremissible sinne, an unexcusable sinne, yet to hym that will truly
it is forgivable; in Christ it may be remitted. If there be no more
; man forgiven ye may be that same one man. *Where iniquity hath
and there shall grace abound*. Thus, by little and little, this man came
bled conscience agayne, and tooke comfort in Christes mercy. There-
sayre not, though it be sayd it shall never be forgiven. Despaire
at this one thing I say, Beware of this sin that ye fall not into it. For
knowne no more but this man, this one man, that hath fallen from
th, and hath afterward repented, and come to grace agayne. I have
; many since: God hath opened myne eyes to see a little: I have
; many (I say) that knew more than I, and some whom I have honored,
ve afterwarde fallen from the truth; but never one of them, this man
that have returned to grace, and to the trueth agayne. . . .

d thus I gather of this irremissible sinne agaynst the Holie Ghost,
; scripture sayth, It is never forgiven, because it is seldom forgiven.
leede I think that there is no sinne, whiche God doth so seldome, nor
ly forgive, as this sinne of falling away from the truth, after that a
ce knoweth it. And indeede this tooke best place with the man that
told you of, and best quitted his conscience."—*Last Sermon before
ward*, fol. 113, 4.

lem. what time hee was appointed to suffer his passion. And so Bilney meaning to give over his life for the testimonie of Christs gospel, told his friends that he would goe up to Jerusalem, and so would see them no more; and immediatly departed to Northfolke, and there preached first privlie in housholds to confirme the brethren and sisters, and also to confirme the anchresse² whom he had converted to Christ. Then preached he openly in the fields, confessing his fact, and preaching publicly that doctrine, (which he before had abjured,) to be the very truth, and willed all men to beware by him, and never to trust to their fleshly friends in causes of religion. And so setting forward in his journey toward the celestiall Jerusalem, he departed from thence to the anchresse in Norwich, and there gave her a New Testament of Tindals translation, and the Obedience³ of a Christian man; whereupon he was apprehended and carried to prison there to remaine, till the blind bishop⁴ Nixe sent up for a writ to burne him.

In the meane season, the friers and religious men, with the residue of their doctors, civil and canon, resorted to him, busilie labouring to perswade him not to die in those opinions, saying, he should be damned bodie and soule, if hee so continued. Among whom, first were sent to him of the bishop, doctour Call minister, (as they call him) or provinciall of the Gray friers, and doctor Stokes an Augustine frier, who lay with him in prison in disputation, till the writ came that he should be burned. Doctour Call by the word of God, through the meanes of Bilneys doctrine, and good life, whereof hee had good experience, was somewhat reclaimed to the gospels side. Doctor Stokes remained obdurate, and doth yet to this day; whose heart also the Lord, if it bee his will, reforme, and open the eies of his old age, that he may forsake the former blindness of his youth! Another great doer against him was one Prier Bird, with one eie, provinciall of the

² *The anchresse.*] "And being there" (at Norwich) "secretly kept by a certayne space, he had in the whyle resorte unto an ancesse, and there began secretly to sow his cockle, and brought unto her divers of Tindalles bookes." *Sir Thomas More's Works*, p. 349.

³ *The Obedience.*] A valuable treatise by Tindal. See his *Works*, p. 97—123. A. n. 1572. fol.

⁴ *The blind bishop.*] "Episcopus Norwicensis, Ricardus Nixus, cæcus, atque utrumque oculo captus; nec interim animo minus quam corpore luscivus." *Latin copy*, p. 124.

white friers. This Bird was a suffragane in Coventrie, and after, bishop of Chester, and was he that brought apples to Boner, mentioned⁵ in the storie of Hawkes. Another was a blacke frier, called Hodgekins, who after, being under the archbishop of Canturburie, married; and afterward in Queen Maries time, put away his wife. These foure orders of Friers were sent (as is said) to bait Bilney; who notwithstanding, as he had planted himselfe upon the firme rocke of Gods word, was at a point and so continued unto the end.

But here now commeth in Sir Thomas More⁶ trumping in our way, with his painted card, and would needs take up this Thomas Bilney from us, and make him a convert after his sect. Thus these coated cardes, though they could not by plaine scriptures convince him being alive, yet now after his death by false play they will make him theirs whether he will or no. This sir Thomas

⁵ *Brought apples to Boner, mentioned.*] “The next daie came thither an old bishop, who had a pearle in his eye, and hee brought with him to my lord a dish of apples, and a bottle of wine: for he had lost his living, because he had a wife.” Fox’s *Acts*, p. 1442. Bird was deprived in the beginning of the reign of queen Mary, being a married ecclesiastic; upon which he conformed to the old religion.—Whether Fox means that there was any further mystery in these apples which he brought along with him, I am not able to say with confidence. But perhaps they might be a-kin to a very choice stock, mentioned in one of his sermons by old Latimer. “There was a patron in England that had a benefice fallen into his hand; and a good brother of mine came unto him and brought him thirty apples in a dish, and gave them to his man to carry them to his master. It is like he gave one to his man for his labour, to make up the game; and so there was thirty-one. This man commeth to his mayster, and presented him with the dish of apples, saying, Syr, such a man hath sent you a dish of fruite, and desireth you to be good unto him for such a benefice. Tush! tush! (quoth he) this is no apple matter. I will none of his apples. I have as good as these, or as he hath any, in mine owne orchard. The man came to the priest agayne, and tolde him what his master said. Then quoth the priest, Desire him yet to prove one of them for my sake, he shall finde them much better than they looke for. He cut one of them: and found ten pieces of gold in it. Mary, quoth he, this is a good apple. The priest standing not farre off, hearing what the gentleman sayd, cryed out and answered, They are all one apples, I warrant you Syr; they grew all on one tree, and have all one taste. Well he is a good fellow: let him have it, quoth the patron, &c.—Get you a graft of thys tree, and I warrant you it shall stande you in better stede than all S. Paules learning.” Latimer’s fifth Sermon before King Edward, fol. 65. Edit. 1584.

⁶ *Commeth in sir Thomas More.*] See preface to the *Confutation of Tyndales Answer*. Works, p. 349, 50. Also, p. 587.

More in his railing preface before his booke against Tindal, d challenge Bilney to his catholike church, and saith, that onely at the fire, but many daies before both in words and writ he revoked, abhorred, and detested his heresies before holden.

Be it granted that Bilney at his death, did hold with masse, with confession, and with the authoritie of the Rom church, being an humble spirited man, and yet no further brougl yet all this notwithstanding proveth not that he recanted. so much as he never held nor taught any thing before against premisses, therefore he could not recant that which he never hold.

The whole summe of his preaching and doctrine procee chiefly against idolatrie, invocation of saints, vaine worship images, false trust to mens merits, and such other grosse po of religion, as seemed prejudiciall and derogatorie to the bloo our Saviour Jesus Christ. As touching the masse, and sacram of the altar, as he never varied from himselfe, so he never diff therein from the most grossest catholikes. And as concern his opinion of the church of Rome, how blind it was at that ti may sufficiently appeare by his owne answeres in time of his a ration, written with his owne hand in Latine, which I hav shew, as followeth^{*}: “Credo plerasque leges pontificias u esse, necessarias et ad pietatem quoque plurimum promoven nec sacris scripturis repugnantes, imo ab omnibus plurimum ob vandas, &c. De omnibus non possum pronunciare, utpote c non legi; et quas legi nunquam in hoc legi, ut reprehenderem, ut discerem intelligere, ac pro virili facere, et docere. De mult citate legum questus est suo tempore S. Augustinus, et i Gersonus, qui miratur quomodo nos, post lapsum, inter tot laq Constitutionum tuti esse possimus, quum primi parentes ad puri, et ante lapsum, unicum preceptum non observarint.”

Moreover, concerning the authoritie of the keyes, thus

^{*} *No further brought.*] This was in the natural course of things; that emancipation from long established errors, both in the cases of *indiv* and in the *general* mind of the community, should be progressive and gra It was not till several years after the date here alluded to, that even Cra himself was “brought” to forsake the mass, &c.

^{*} *As followeth.*] These are the same as are given above in English, p Answer to 3d Art. But, whether there is so much blindness, and g ignorance, in these particular citations, as Fox pretends, may, perhaps justly doubted.

writeth. answering to his twelfth article; "*Soli sacerdotes ordinati rite per pontifices, habent claves, quarum virtute ligant et solvunt (clave non errante), quod et facere eos non dubito, quamlibet sint peccatores. Nam Sacramentorum efficaciam non minuit, nedom tollit ministrorum indignitas, quamdiu ab Ecclesia tolerantur.*" &c.

By these words of Bilney written by him in Latine, although it may be thought how ignorant and grosse he was after the rudenesse of those daies, yet by the same notwithstanding it may appeare, how falsely he is noted and slandered to have recanted the articles, which he did never hold or maintaine otherwise in all his life. And therefore (as I said) though it be granted that Bilney was assoiled, was confessed, and houseled before his burning, yet all this argueth not that he recanted.

Now for testimonie and wnesse of this matter, to be produced, for so much as master More alleageth none to prove that Bilney at his death did recant; I will assaye what testimonies I have on the contrarie side, to avouch and prove that Bilney did not recant.

And for so much as Bilney was a Cambridge man, and the first framer of that universitie in the knowledge of Christ, and was burned at Norwich, being not very far distant from Cambridge; there is no doubt, but among so many friends as he had in that universitie, some went thither to heare, and see him. Of whom one was Thomas Allen, fellow then of Pembroke Hall, who returning the same time from Bilneyes burning, declared to doctor Turner, deane of Wels, being yet alive, (a man whose authoritie neither is to be neglected, nor credit to be distrusted) that the said Bilney tooke his death most patiently, and suffered most constantly, without any recantation, for the doctrine which he before had professed.

In the citie of Norwich, Necton and many other be now departed, which were then present at the burning of Bilney: nevertheless some be yet alive, whose witnesses, if need were, I could fetch with a little labour, and will (God willing) as time shall require. In the meane time, at the writing hereof, heere was one Thomas Russell, a right honest occupier, and a citizen of

¹ *Non minus.*] See Art. XXVI. of the Church of England. "Of the unworthiness of the ministers, which hinders not the effect of the sacrament." See also above, *Life of Wickliffe*, vol. i. p. 214, note.

Norwich, who likewise being there present on horsebacke at the execution of this godly man, beholding all things that were done, did neither heare him recant any word, nor yet heard of his recantation.

I could also adde hereunto the testimonie of another, being brother to the archbishop of Canturburie, named master Baker, a man yet alive, who being the same time present at the examination of Bilney, both heard him, and saw him, when as a certaine frier called him heretike. Whereunto Bilney replying againe, made answer, If I be an heretike (saith he) then are you an antichrist, who of late have buried a certaine gentlewoman with you in St. Francis cowle¹, assuring her to have salvation thereby. Which fact, although the frier the same time did deny, yet this cannot be denied, but Bilney spake these words: whereby he may easily be judged to be far from the mind of any recantation: according as by the said gentleman, it is also testified, that after that, he never heard of any recantation that Bilney either meant or made.

If I should recite al, which heere might be brought, I might sooner lacke roome in my booke to containe them, than names enow to fill up a grand jurie.—But what need I to spend time about wnesse, when one master Latimer may stand for a thousand, one martyr to beare witnes to another. And though my friend Cope², pressing me with the authoritie of M. More, saith, that he will beleeve him before me: yet I trust, he will not refuse to credit this so ancient a senior, father Latimer, being both in Bilneyes time, and also by Bilney converted, and familiarly with him acquainted; who being the same time at Cambridge, I suppose would inquire as much, and could know more of this matter, than master More.

Touching the testimoniall of which Latimer, I have noted before, how he in three sundrie places of his sermons, hath testified of good Bilney, of that blessed Bilney, of Saint Bilney, how he died patiently against the tyrannicall see of Rome, &c. And in another sermon also, how the said Bilney suffered his bodie to be

¹ *St. Francis cowle.*] See above, p. 15, and Index, art. *St. Francis' cowle.*

² *My friend Cope.*] *Dialogi sex contra summi pontificis, monasticæ vitæ, sanctorum sacrarum imaginum oppugnatores et pseudomartyres.* A. D. 1566. Antwerp. The work, however, though published under Cope's name, was not written by him, but by Nicholas Harpsfield. Tanner's *Bibliotheca*, Wood's *Athenæ*, &c.

burned for the gospell sake, &c. Item, in another place, *how the said Bilney suffered death for Gods word sake.*

I may be thought perhaps of some, to have stayed too long about the discourse of this matter. But the cause that moved, and halfe constrained me thereunto, was sir Thomas More, sometime lord chancellour of England, and now a great arch pillar of all our English papists, a man otherwise of a pregnant wit, full of pleasant conceits, also for his learning above the common sort of his estate, esteemed industrious no lesse in his studies than well exercised in his pen. Who if he had kept himself in his owne shop, and applied the facultie, (being a lay man,) whereunto he was called, and had not overreached himselfe to prove masteries in such matters, wherein he had little skil, lesse experience, and which pertained not to his profession, he had deserved, not only much more commendation, but also longer life.

But for so much as he, not contented with his owne vocation, hath with Oza reached out his unmeet hand to meddle with Gods arke-matters, wherein he had little cunning; and while he thinketh to helpe religion, destroyeth religion, and is an utter enemy to Christ, and to his spirituall doctrine, and his poore afflicted church: to the intent therefore, that he being taken for a special ringleader, and a chief stay in the popes church, might the better be knowne what he is, and that the ignorant and simple may see what little credit is to be given unto him, as well in his other false facing—out of matters, as namely in this present historie of Bilneyes recantation: I have diligently searched out and procured the true certificat of master Bilneyes burning, with all the circumstances, and points thereto belonging, testified not by somesayes and hearesayes (as master More useth) but truly witnessed, and faithfully recorded by one*, who as in place and degree he surmounteth the estate of master More (though he were lord chancellour) so being also both a spirituall person, and there present the same time, comming for the same purpose the day before, to see his burning, was a present beholder of things there done, *αὐτόπτης τε καὶ μάρτυς* of his martyrdome, whose credit I am sure will counterpease with the credit of master More. The order of which martyrdome was this, as followeth.

Thomas Bilney, after his examination and condemnation before doctour Pelles, doctour of law and chancellour, first was degraded

* Recorded by one.] “Dr. Parker, archbishop of Canturburie.” Fox.

by suffragan Underwood, according to the custome of their popish manner, by the assistance of all the friers and doctours of the same suite. Which done, hee was immediately committed to the lay power, and to the two sheriffes of the citie, of whom Thomas Necton was one. This Thomas Necton was Bilneyes speciall good friend, and sorie to accept him to such execution as followed. But such was the tyrannie of that time, and dread of the chancellour and friers, that hee could no otherwise doe, but needs must receive him. Who notwithstanding, as he could not beare in his conscience himselfe to be present at his death ; so, for the time that he was in his custodie, he caused him to be more friendly looked unto, and more wholesomely kept, concerning his diet, than he was before.

After this, the Friday following at night, which was before the day of his execution, being Saint Magnus day and Saturday, the said Bilney had divers of his friends resorting unto him in the Guildhall, where hee was kept. Amongst whom one of the said friends finding him eating of an alebrew⁴ with such a cheerefull heart and quiet mind as hee did, said, that he was glad to see him at that time, so shortly before his heavie and painfull departure, so heartily to refresh himselfe. Whereunto he answered, " Oh," said he, " I follow the example of the husbandmen of the countrie, who having a ruinous house to dwell in, yet bestow cost as long as they may, to hold it up ; and so do I now with this ruinous house of my bodie, and with Gods creatures, in thanks to him, refresh the same as yee see." Then sitting with his said friends in godlie talke, to their edification, some put him in mind, that though the fire which hee should suffer the next day, should be of great heat unto his body, yet the comfort of Gods Spirit should coole it to his everlasting refreshing. At this word the said Thomas Bilney putting his hand toward the flame of the candle burning before them (as also he did divers times besides) and feeling the heat thereof, " O " (said he) " I feel by experience, and have knowne it long by philosophie, that fire by Gods ordinance is naturally hot ; but yet I am persuaded by Gods holy word, and by the experience of some spoken of in the same, that in the flame they felt no heate, and in the fire they felt no consumption : and I constantly beleevv, that howsoever the stubble of this my bodie shall be wasted by it, yet my soule

⁴ *An alebrew.*] An ale-posset.

and spirit shall be purged thereby ; a paine for the time, whereon, notwithstanding followeth joy unspeakable." And heere he much entreated of this place of Scripture, (Esay 43.) *Feare not, for I haue redeemed thee, and called thee by thy name, thou art mine owne. When thou goest thorow the water, I will be with thee, and the strong floods shall not overflow thee. When thou scalkest in the fire, it shall not burne thee, and the flame shall not kindle upon thee, for I am the Lord thy God, the holy one of Israel.* Which he did most comfortablie entreate of, as well in respect of himselfe, as applying it to the particular use of his friends there present, of whom some tooke such sweet fruit therein, that they caused the whole said sentence to be faire written in tables, and some in their bookes. The comfort whereof (in diuers of them) was never taken from them to their dying day.

The Saturday next following, when the officers of execution (as the maner is) with their gleaves and halberds were readie to receive him, and to leade him to the place of execution without the citie gate, called Bishop's gate, in a low valley, commonly called the Lollards pit, under Saint Leonards hill, environed about with great hilles (which place was chosen for the peoples quiet sitting to see the execution) at the comming forth of the said Thomas Bilney out of the prison doore, one of his friends came to him, and with few words, as he durst, spake to him and prayed him in Gods behalfe, to be constant and to take his death as patiently as he could. Whereunto the said Bilney answered, with a quiet and milde countenance, "Ye see when the mariner is entred his ship to saile on the troublous sea, how he for a while is tossed in the billowes of the same, but yet in hope that he shall once come to the quiet haven, he beareth in better comfort, the perils which he feeleth : so am I now toward this sayling, and whatsoever stormes I shall feele, yet shortly after shall my ship be in the haven ; as I doubt not thereof by the grace of God, desiring you to helpe me with your prayers to the same effect."

And so he going forth in the streets, giving much almes¹ by

¹ *Giving much almes.*] "When the time and day appointed came that hee should suffer, the shiriffes of the city with their officers and a great number of the poore simple barbers, with rustie bills and pollaxes, went to the Northgate, and there tooke out the said George Marsh, who came with them most humbly and meekely, with a locke upon his feete. And as he came upon the way towards the place of execution, some folks proffered him money, and

the way, by the hands of one of his friends, and accompanied with one doctour Warner, doctour of divinitie and parson of Winterton, whom he did chuse as his old acquaintance, to be with him for his ghostly comfort; came at the last, to the place of execution, and descended downe from the hill to the same, apparelled in a lay mans gowne with his sleeves hanging downe, and his armes out, his haire being pitiously mangled^o at his degradation (a little single bodie in person, but alwaies of a good upright countenance) and drew neere to the stake prepared, and somewhat tarrying the preparation of the fire, hee desired that hee might speake some words to the people, and there standing, thus he said:

“ Good people, I am come hither to die, and borne I was to live under that condition, naturally to die againe; and that ye might testifie that I depart out of this present life as a true Christian man in a right beleefe towards almightie God, I will rehearse unto you in a fast faith, the articles of my Creed;” and then began to rehearse them in order as they be in the common Creed, with oft elevating his eyes and hands to almightie God; and at the article of Christs incarnation, having a little meditation in himselfe, and coming to the word *crucified*, he humble

looked that he should have gone with a little purse in his hand (as the manner of felons was accustomed in that citie in times past, at their going to execution, to the ende *to gather money to give unto a priest to say trentals or masses for them after their death*, whereby they might, as they thought, be saved :) *but Marsh said* he would not as then be troubled with meddling with money, but willed some good man to take the money, if the people were disposed to give any, and *to give it unto the prisoners, or poore people*. So hee went all the way unto his death, with his book in his hand, looking upon the same; and many of the people said, This man goeth not unto his death as a theife, or as one that deserveth to die. Fox's *Acts*, p. 1423. Martyrdome of George Marsh.

^o *His haire being pitiously mangled.*] Previously to excommunication and burning, the ecclesiastics, whether secular or religious, underwent the ceremonial of degradation from their ecclesiastical orders, the particulars of which varied according to the order and degree in the church to which the person had attained. This marring of the hair, of which we shall meet with several other instances in the progress of our history, is sufficiently illustrated by a passage in the ceremonial of the degradation of William Sawtre, A. D. 1400. “ Also we have caused thy *crowne*, and ecclesiastical *tonsure* in our presence to be *rased away*, and utterlie to bee abolished, like unto the forme of a *secular lay man*: and heere doe put upon the head of thee the aforesaid William, the cap of a lay secular person.” Fox's *Acts*, p. 476. *State Trials*, vol. i. p. 173. 8vo. 1816

bowed himselfe and made great reverence; and then proceeded in the articles, and comming to these words, *I beleeeve the catholike church*, there he paused and spake these words, "Good people I must heere confesse to have offended the church, in preaching⁷ once against the prohibition of the same, at a poore cure belonging to Trinity-Hall in Cambridge, where I was fellow, earnestly entreated thereunto by the curate and other good people of the parish, shewing that they had no sermon there of long time before: and so in my conscience moved, I did make a poore collation unto them, and thereby ran into the disobedience of certaine authoritie in the church by whom I was prohibited: howbeit I trust at the generall day, charitie that moved me to this act, shall beare me out at the judgment seat of God:" and so he proceeded on, without any manner of words of recantation, or charging any man for procuring him to his death.

This once done, he put off his gowne, and went to the stake, and kneeling upon a little ledge comming out of the stake, whereon he should afterward stand to be better seene, he made his private prayer with such earnest elevation of his eies and hands to heaven, and in so good quiet behaviour, that he seemed not much to consider the terrour of his death, and ended at the last, his private prayers with the 143. psalme, beginning, *Heare my prayer O Lord, consider my desire*: and the next verse he repeated in deepe meditation thrice: *And enter not into judgment with thy servant, for in thy sight shall no man living be justified*: and so finishing that psalme he ended his privat prayers.

After that, he turned himselfe to the officers, asking them if they were readie, and they answered, Yea. Whereupon he put off his jacket and doublet, and stood in his hose and shirt, and went unto the stake, standing upon that ledge, and the chaine was cast about him; and standing thereon, the said doctour Warner came to him to bid him farewell, which spake but few words for weeping.

Upon whom the said Thomas Bilney did most gently smile, and inclined his bodie to speake to him a few words of thanks, and the last were these, "O master doctor, *Pasce gregem tuum, Pasce gregem tuum, ut cum venerit Dominus, inveniat te sic facien-*

⁷ *In preaching.*] It may be proper to notice, in passing, how different this submission to lawful authority) is to the doctrine and practice of many of the early followers of Wickliffe.—(Compare Art. XXIII. of the Church of England.

tem. That is, *Feed your flocks, feed your flocke, that when the Lord commeth, he may find you so doing :* and farewell good master doctor, and pray for me :” and so he departed without any answeare, sobbing and weeping.

And while he thus stood upon the ledge at the stake, certaine friers, doctors and priors of their houses being there present (as they were uncharitable and maliciously present at his examination and degradation,) came to him and said ; “ O master Bilney the people be perswaded that we be the causers of your death, and that we have procured the same, and thereupon it is like that they will withdraw their charitable almes from us all, except you declare your charitie towards us, and discharge us of the matter.” Whereupon the said Thomas Bilney spake with a loud voice to the people, and said ; “ I pray you good people be never the worse to these men for my sake, as though they should be the authors of my death ; it was not they :” and so he ended.

Then the officers put reed, and fagots about his bodie, and set fire on the reed, which made a very great flame, which sparkled and deformed the visour of his face, he holding up his hands and knocking upon his brest, crying sometimes *Jesus*, sometimes *Credo*. Which flame was blowne away from him by the violence of the wind, which was that day and two or three daies before notable great, in which it was said that the fields were marvellously plagued by the losse of corne : and so for a little pause, he stood without flame, the flame departing and recouring thrice ere the wood tooke strength to be the sharper to consume him : and then he gave up the ghost and his bodie being withered bowed downeward upon the chaine. Then one of the officers with his halberd smote out the staple in the stake behind him, and suffered his bodie to fall into the bottom of the fire, laying wood on it, and so he was consumed.

Thus have ye (good Readers) the true historie, and martyrdome of this good man.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

What was philosophy in this extraordinary man, would be frenzy in one who does not resemble him, as well in the cheerfulness of his temper, as in the sanctity of his life and manners.

ADDISON.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE following *Life of Sir Thomas More* is now for the first time submitted to the public. It was transcribed, by permission of his Grace the archbishop of Canterbury, from a volume of manuscripts (No. 179) in the Lambeth Library.

It was the Editor's original intention to have contented himself with a republication of the *Life of Sir Thomas*, composed by his son-in-law, William Roper, a valuable and authentic piece of biography, and now not frequently to be met with. But, finding in the archiepiscopal library two lives of Sir Thomas More, neither of which had hitherto been printed, it became his duty, at least to peruse those histories, for the sake of extracting from them (under the favourable permission, so generously conceded) such parts as might seem subservient to his present design. One of these volumes, he was gratified to find, was of very considerable antiquity, being written during the reign of Q. Mary, about the same time with the account by Roper, and probably in some part of the year 1556; for the author speaks of the collection of Sir Thomas's English Works, as then preparing for publication; which in the title-page bears date A.D. 1557. In many parts this writer¹ treads closely in the footsteps of William Roper;

¹ *This writer.*] From the words cited, this appears to be the same *Life* as that which is quoted by the Cambridge antiquary, Mr. Thomas Baker (from a copy in the library of Emanuel College in that University), in Burnet's *History of the Reformation*, vol. iii. p. 400. Appendix.

In the course of my notes I have not hesitated to speak of it as the work of Nicholas Harpsfield; and on the following evidence. Harpsfield is mentioned as one of the biographers of Sir Thomas More, in the preface to the *Life* now printed. The writer (whose name we are in quest of), near the end of his volume, promises a special work on the Divorce between Henry VIII.

insomuch that if Roper's (as seems probable) was the earlier production, he must have had a copy of that work lying before him : but he has also communicated several additional particulars.

The other Life (No. 179), which was written towards the end of the reign of Q. Elizabeth (A.D. 1599), by a zealous papist, the Editor found possessed the advantage of combining in one narrative almost every thing of any value, that is to be found in the two Lives of Roper and Harpsfield, (already described) and often in the very same words ; with the addition also of further materials collected from Stapleton and other sources.

On these accounts he presumes that his Readers will not regret the change which has been made in favour of this subsequent performance.

The author's name does not appear. At the end of the preface he subscribes Ro : Ba : That preface, which is long and not interesting, the Editor has taken the liberty to omit. The rest, with one exception, mentioned in the notes, is given entire².

The preface is preceded by the following commendatory epistle, written by a friend of the author.

TO MY DEARE AND THRICE DEAR FRIEND R. R.

Of all mortall, most beloved, and most worthie to be beloved of Mee.

THE Collector of these papers communicated to me this first copie with especiall charge to recommend them to my best, chief and choysrest friend. The fairest flowre of my garland is a red rose : therefore to thee sweet Rose, by hest is this homage more than dewe. Fair is the carnation for his vermilion blush ; delightful is the pansie for his interchangeable colours. The daysie, the primrose, the hyacinth, the pyana, for varietie of hue want

and queen Catherine. But Nicholas Harpsfield is known also to have composed a tract on that argument. (Tanner's *Bibliotheca*, p. 381.) And therefore the presumption is very strongly confirmed, that Harpsfield and the author of this Life were the same person. The Harleian MS. 6253 has, at the end of the preface, the initials of his name, N. H. L. D. There is another copy among the Sloanian MSS., No. 1705, but it is imperfect at the beginning, and has besides great omissions.

² *Is given entire.*] There are two manuscript copies of this work in the British Museum, viz. Harleian 1372 (fol. 131), and Sloanian 828. The former copy has not the preface.

not their prayse. The corsmary, sweet margeram, balme, lavender, though not so beautifull, yet sweet and odoriferous is their scent. The fume of hilicampana is very pleasing. The forme and fashion of the rose royall, french-marygold, cariophilone, munckes-hoode, and columbine is very admirable : yet many a shrub excels all these in vertue. But the aromaticall red rose, for composition and forme gives place to none ; for scent and beautie to be compared with the best ; but for medicinable vertue and operation, none so much in request as the red rose, distilled, preserved, conserved, pulverised, for eyes, for head, for stomache, for heart ; of all hearbes and flowers the prime and soveraigne, Wherefore in this respect also this little booke, being a sweet posie of select and fragrant flowres, an epitome of celestiall vertues, springing in the paradise of delights, *the Life of Sir Thomas More* ; the walks whereof are paved with camimile of humilitie ; the borders are set with patience, enamiled with pinckes and violetes of rich povertie ; the knots are all of thyme, intermingled with germander ever the same ; and here and there hysope of mortification ; the rowes and hedges musk roses and rosemary of sweet conversation ; the vacant plots are spangled with flowres, the golden marygold of obedience, hearts-ease of a settled conscience, flowers of Jerusalem of his desire to be in heaven ; white lilies, puritie of his intentions ; red roses, the glorie of his death.

So, most faire and comfortable of all flowres, I nothinge doubt the acceptance of this jewell. Symbolizing natures are easily combined. A saints life is a welcome theame to a saintlike ~~man~~. Make happie thy good beginnings ; knit up the end like ~~the~~ rest ; so shalt thou everlastingly live in blisse. And for ~~the~~ obtayninge thereof I will not faile to pray. Farewell. Marche the 25. 1599.

Thine, *os, cor et manus,*

B. R.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

BOOK FIRST.

1. THOMAS MORE was borne in London¹, the principall citie of this noble realme of England, of a verie worshipful familie. His fathers name was John More, a man pleasant and wittie in his conceits. Verie cunning and expert he was in the lawes of the realme. For his worthiness and well-deserving parts he was advanced to be one of the judges of the Kings Bench, and to the worshipful degree of knighthode.

His mothers name is unknowne². Brothers he had none. Sisters two: Joane married to Richard Stafferton, an ancient gentleman in his countrie; and Elizabeth wife to John Rastall of equal calling.

His mother, the first night after her marriage, sawe in her sleepe the number of children she should have, written as it were in her marriage ring; and the formes, shapes, and countenances of them all. One was very dim and obscure, and could skarcelie be discerned; for of one she suffered by an untimelie byrth an aborsement. Another she saw full bright and beautiful, and fairer than all the rest; whereby no doubt was this lampe of England prefigured.

One tyme as his nourse (and this is much to be noted) ridd over a water, having this young babe in her armes, she was by reason of the stumbling of her horse, in daunger of drowning.

¹ Borne in London.] A.D. 1480. See *Life of Sir Thomas More*, by his Great Grandson, *Thomas More, Esq.* p. 6. edit. 1726.

² Name is unknowne.] She was a daughter of — Handcombe, of Holywell, in Bedfordshire.

And that she might the better save herself and her child, on a sudden (she) did cast the child from her over the hedge. She after coming to the place with great feare, found the child without bruse or hurt, smiling and laughing on her. This, no question, was no obscure presage³ of his future holiness.

2. The childe encreasing in age, his father, for his great care and wisdom, provided him a maister, one Nicholas Holt, a learned and discreet man, in St. Antonies schoole⁴ in London. There he learned the principles of the Latyn tongue⁵; where in short tyme he farr exceeded all his equals. His father, seeing his towardness, provided that for his better education, he should be brought up⁶ in the house of the wise and learned prelate Cardinal

³ *No obscure presage.*] This is tolerably modest, and yet neither Roper nor Harpsfield tell us any thing of this story. But Fanaticism is not wont to stop at these low flights.

It may be worth the reader's remarking, that by means of the successive lives which have been written of Sir Thomas More, we possess a curious specimen of the aversion which Popery has from reforming itself; or rather of its propensity to accumulate falsehoods and forgeries, even amid surrounding reformation and refinement. Sir Thomas More is deservedly a favourite character with Romish biographers. Yet in Roper and Harpsfield, his earliest historians, there is scarcely any thing supernatural. Stapleton, who wrote (A. D. 1588), about thirty years afterwards, and at a distance from the scene of action, being in exile at Douay, has detailed several miraculous stories: but Mr. More, Sir Thomas's great-grandson, whose *Life* of his ancestor came out in the year 1627, goes much further. We shall content ourselves with citing one very short specimen.

"It was also credibly reported, that two of John Haywood's sons, Jasper and Ellis, having one of the teeth of Sir Thomas More betwene them, and either of them being desirous to have it to himselfe, it suddenly, to the admiration of both, parted in two."—More's *Life of Sir Thomas More*, p. 304. See also p. 276, on the money miraculously supplied for the purchase of his winding-sheet, &c. In an edition of this *Life*, A. D. 1828, very strong evidence has been adduced to prove that it was written not by a great-grandson, Thomas, but by a younger brother of the same family, of the Christian name of Cresacre, &c. Ellis Haywood wrote a work in Italian, which he entitled "*Il Moro*," in honour of Sir Thomas. May not we easily believe that, but for the iniquity of the times, in another generation Sir Thomas More would have been canonized, and worshipped?

⁴ *St. Antonies schoole.*] Which was at that time the most eminent of any in London.—Knight's *Life of Colet*, p. 8.

⁵ *The Latyn tongue.*] Greek was yet no part of the institution in Grammar schools. There is no provision for the teaching that language even in the statutes of Wolsey's new establishment at Ipswich, so late as in the year 1528. See Strype's *Eccles. Mem.* vol. ii. p. 94. Records.

⁶ *Brought up.*] See before, *Life of Wolsey*, vol. i. p. 484, n. (*).

Morton, archbishop of Canterburie ; who being a man of deep judgment sone espied his pregnant and quicke wit. On a Christmas tyme. Thomas, being verie young, upon a sudden amongst the players⁷, without any fore-thinking on the matter, he would play a part with them ; and with a verie good grace and liking. For he did it so fitly and so pleasantly, that all the auditours had more pleasure and admiration at him, than all the rest. But especiallie the cardinal, who afterwarde would often tell the nobles sitting at table with him, where young Thomas waited on him. " Whosoever liveth to trie it, shall see this childe prove a notable and rare man." So the bishop, having conceived such expectation, was verie careful to have him aunswerable unto it ; that this goodly bud might grow to a faire flowre, and in tyme burghon⁸ forth his expected fruit.

So he caused this youth to be sent to Oxforde ; where for the short tyme of his abode (being not there fullie two years) he wonderfullie profited in the knowledge of Latyn and Greeke tongues, and noe little in the knowledge of phylosophie. His maister in the Greek was Thomas Linacre of great fame and experience. In the tyme of his abode there his father so used the matter, to the end he should onelie follow his learning and studie, that he allowed him but onelie necessaries ; no not a pennie he would give him to spend in waste or pastimes. So shortened of money, the fit and forceable instrument to effect everie evell, he was rid of manie occasions that hinder good proceedings. This frugalitie of his father he afterwards often remembered and commended.

3. The father minding that the sonne should tread after his steppes, called young Thomas from the universitie, and caused him to settle his minde whollie upon the studie of the lawes of this realme. Which studie he commenced first at New Inne, one of the inns of chauncerie. After, he was admitted to Lyncolnes inne, where he made such encrease of his cunning, that in little tyme he attained to that degree, which his elders in manie yeares

⁷ *Amongst the players.*] We are not to wonder at plays being acted at Christmas time, even by the household of the archbishop of Canterbury. It is well known what is the case with respect to this practice in the statutes of the colleges of both universities.

⁸ *Burghon.*] To spring, to bud ; French, *bourgeonner*.

" And tools to prune the trees, before the pride

Of hasting prime did make them burgein round."

Spenser's *Faëry Queen*.

studie could not atchieve, to be an utter barrister.—Now is the common-lawe of this realme so intricate, various and obscure, as it would requier a whole and entire man, all his life tyme or most part thereof, to come to anye excellencie therein. After this, by the whole bench of Lyncolnes inne it was thought meet to make him reader in Furnival's inn, wherein he spent three yeares and more to great profit of divers. But though his profit herein was both substantial and speedie, yet continuallie he allotted himselfe tyme to followe his studies commenced in Oxforde.

He red openly * in St. Laurence church in London, St. Austins booke *De civitate Dei*, and that performed so profoundly and exactlie, that all that heard him gave him singular commendations. His lesson was much frequented, and honored with the presence of the chiefe and best learned in the citie. Master Grocine, a man of great learning, would often come to hear him. This Grocine read at the same tyme the bookes of Dionysius Areopagita, but with a lesse audiorie than master More had. More in his reading proved himselfe a divine, a philosopher, an historian : for he must be furnished with these arts, that will read and expound these bookes of St. Austines, as he did.

He was seene in geometrie, arithmitique, musick, and spake French well : the knowledge whereof, though he were in France some tyme, according to a laudable custome of our countrie, speciallie in the better sort, to send their children thither to

* *He red openly.*] “ About this time it was almost come to a custom for men of distinguished parts and learning in that University” (Oxford) “ to set up voluntary lectures, by way of exposition or comment on some celebrated writer ; to which the students would repair more or less, according to the opinion they had of the men, and their performances. Amongst others, we are certain Mr. Thomas More did read upon St. Austin's book, *De Civitate Dei*, while a very young man, to a great auditory ; the seniors and grave divines not being ashamed to learn divinity from so young a layman.” Knight's *Life of Dean Colet*, p. 30. We have already seen mention made of the Lecture read in St. Paul's Church, London, by William Grocine, upon the Books of Dionysius Areopagita, *De Hierarchia Ecclesiastica*. See vol. i. Supplementary Extracts. Indeed, says Dr. Knight, “ it is plain that the Public Lecturers, both in the Universities, and the Cathedral Churches, took the liberty of reading upon any book rather than the Holy Scriptures, till Dr. Colet reformed that practice, and both in Oxford, and in St. Paul's, brought in the more useful way of reading and expounding St. Paul's Epistles, or some other parts of Scripture.” Knight's *Life of Colet*, p. 67. See also *Life of W. Cecil, Lord Burghley*, edited by Arthur Collins, p. 6, and given below in this Collection.

learne the language and guise of that countrie, yet the most he got was by his own industrie here in England. In poetrie he had a good grace. In his verse, whether it were English or Latyn, he shewed as much pietie and devotion, as witte and art. His epigrams were so well liked of amongst learned men, that Beatus Rhenanus¹ and Leodegarius a Quercu² preferred him before all the poets of that time. His felicitie in prose was much greater, yea even at this tyme, though he were young, and much occupied and distracted with other studies.

4. You have hearde of his learning, and of what expectation his beginnings were. If haplie virtue paced not equallie with these studies and rare knowledge, it might happe all these good parts to be drowned. For knowledge without virtue is as a ring in a swines nose; or as a good dish of meat of a sluts cooking. Of such knowledge St. Paule telleth us the effect, *scientia inflat*, knowledge doth puffe up, that is, makes us proud, disdainful, and ministereth occasions of many synnes. But *his* age and virtue equallie encreased.

In his youth or tender years he used to weare a cilice or hair-shirt, and lay many nights on the ground, often on a borde; or else he used a blocke under his head. His sleepe was very short, seldom or never above foure or five houres. He had great delight to heare Gods word preached; and for that, exceedingly loved doctor Collet, deane of Paules, who was a very spirituall and devoute man in his speache and sermons. He made and translated many spirituall works in this age; as the Life of John Picus, earle of Mirandula; his Epistles, and the Twelve Rules of a good life of the same earles. He made a very devoute booke intituled *De quatuor novissimis*³, wherein he describeth vice and virtue even to the quick: but this work was never finished.

¹ *Beatus Rhenanus*.] So well known by this Latin appellation that his vernacular name is not known: his father was Antony Bilde, of Rheinach.

² *Leodegarius a Quercu*.] i. e. Léger Duchesne, the apologist for the massacre of St. Bartholomew.

³ *De quatuor novissimis*.] Founded on the text "*In omnibus operibus tuis memorare novissima tua*." Eccclus. vii. 40. There were two very popular works on the same subject in Latin, which probably gave to Sir Thomas the idea of his English book—1. The "*Cordiale de quatuor novissimis*," attributed by Fabricius to Henricus de Hassia, of which many editions were printed (see Panzer, vol. v. p. 165.), and of which an English version by Antony Widvile, Earl Rivers, was printed by Caxton in 1479. Lord Rivers

It seemed probable by some apparent conjectures that he had a mind to be a priest, or to have accepted the habit of some religion. For he continued, after his reading above-said, some foure yeares or more very orderly in great devotion and prayer in the Charter House in London amongst the monks, but without any manner of vow or profession. Some perhaps will say, seeing the *contemplative* life farre exceeds the *active*, according to that of our Saviours saying, *Maria optimam partem elegit, quæ non auferetur ab eâ*, Marie hath chosen the best parte, which shall not be taken away from her; why did not he followe that inclination or inspiration to be religious? Perhaps the tymes fitted not in England to have cloysterers aunswerable to their rules, for that at that tyme they were much debased from their former sanctitie, which soone after appeared by their waste, and havocke made of those places: or else God peculiarie chose this man in another kinde of life, therein to serve him more for the glorie of his holy name, the churches benefit, and his own soules good. And as God appointed that worthy man John Fisher, bishop of Rochester, to be the champion of the clergie, so he reserved Thomas More in the degree of the laitie, to be the proto-martyr of England that suffered for the defence of the union of the catholicke church.

5. About this tyme he was chosen a burgesse of the parliament, in the latter dayes of king Henry the seventh. He was then at the age of six or seven and twentie⁴. At this parliament there was concluded a marriage betweene James the fourth, king of Scots, and Ladie Margaret, eldest daughter to our said king; and because great charges would thereby growe to the king, he demaunded of the parliament about three fifteens. Now considering it was an ancient custom at all tymes, for such and the like causes more than ordinarie, to presse the Commons; but especiallie seeing this contract seemed to importe verie much the good and quiet of this realme, it was thought there would be noe

translated it from the French, which exists amongst the MSS. of the Old Royal Library in the British Museum. (19 C. III.)—2. "*Sermones quatuor novissimorum peritiles et necessarii*," this also has been often printed. In the Catalogue of the Printed Books in the Museum both works are erroneously attributed to Thomas Aquinas.

⁴ *Six or seven and twentie.*] At the time of the death of Henry VII. More was about eight and twenty years old. But in the year 1503, when the marriage took place between the Princess Margaret and James the Scottish king, his age could not be more than two and twenty.

resistance made to their demandaund. Howbeit Thomas More misliked the matter; and of that his so doinge gave openlie such and so good arguments, that they of the Lower House were all of his minde, and thereby the bill was quite overthrowne. Forthwith Mr. Tyler¹, one of the privie chamber, that was there present, resorted to the king declaring that a beardlesse boy, called More, had done more harme than all the rest, for by his meanes all the purpose is dasht.

The remembrance of this displeasure sunk deeplie into the kings heart, and bred great indignation against master More, readie upon anie occasion to burst out against him. But yet the king forbore, least he might seeme to infringe the ancient libertie of that place, which would have bin odiously taken, or haply because master More had then little to lose. Yet was there a causelesse quarrel devised against his father, whereby he was committed to the Towre; from whence he could not get discharged, without paying a fine of a hundred pounds. Neither yet was the sonne forgotten, but privie wayes were sought to entrap him, whereby the king upon some better colour might fasten his displeasure upon him. This well knew master More, and ever after lived in feare of the kings indignation; and supposing his abode here in England would be to his further daunger, resolved to live beyond the seas. But the kings death not long after ensuing, prevented that designement.

6. All this while Thomas More was unmarried, and seemed to have liked well to have led a single life. But in conclusion he fell to marrying, and tooke to wife the daughter of one Mr. Colt², a gentleman of Essex, who had three daughters very virtuous and well-liking. And albeit his mind served him most to settle his affection on the second sister, for that he thought her fairest and best favoured, yet when he considered it would be a grief to the eldest to see her youngest sister preferred before her, he then, of a certaine pitie, framed his fancie towards the eldest. Yet he discontinued not his studies in the lawe, but still applied the same untill he was called to the benche; and he red there twice in Lincolnes inne, which is as often as ordinarilie any judge doth.

After his marriage he placed himselfe in Bucklersburie, where

¹ Mr. Tyler.] Sir William Tiler. See Carlisle's *Inquiry*, &c., p. 21.

² One Mr. Colt.] See p. 109.

he had by his wife three daughters and one sonne, whose name was called John More, after his grandfather's name. The daughters were thus disposed of: Margaret after married to Mr. William Roper; Cicilie married to Mr. Giles Heron; Elizabeth was wife to William Daunsey: which children he brought up in virtue, and knowledge both of the Greeke and Latyn tongue. He would often say to his children, "virtue and learning must be their meate, play but as it were the sauce." Of his care in this point we shall hereafter, as occasion serveth, speak more at large.

7. Whilst he would plead anie man's cause, this was his custome: to give such faithful and good counsaile that the client might soone perceive he sought not his owne private commoditie. —First he would persuade them to make up the matter, and agree amongst themselves. If so be they would not, then he shewed them which way with least charge and trouble they might wage law. And never he tooke cause in hand, that he did not seriouslie and advisedlie examine the justice and equitie thereof. And if he found it to halt therein, he would tell his client he would not meddle⁷ in that matter, for all the good in the world.

⁷ *He would not meddle.*] "We talked of the practice of the law. Sir William Forbes said, he thought an honest Lawyer should never undertake a cause which he was satisfied was not a just one." "Sir, (said Mr. Johnson), a Lawyer has no business with the justice or injustice of the cause which he undertakes, unless his client asks his opinion, and then he is bound to give it honestly. The justice or injustice of the cause is to be decided by the judge. Consider, Sir, what is the purpose of courts of justice? It is that every man may have his cause fairly tried, by men appointed to try causes. A Lawyer is not to tell what he knows to be a lie. He is not to produce what he knows to be a false deed; but he is not to usurp the province of the jury and of judge, and determine what shall be the effect of the evidence; what shall be the result of legal argument. As it rarely happens that a man is fit to plead his own cause, lawyers are a class of the community, who, by study and experience, have acquired the art, and power of arranging evidence, and of applying to the points at issue what the law has settled. A Lawyer is to do for his client all that his client might fairly do for himself, if he could. If by a superiority of attention, of knowledge, of skill, and a better method of communication, he has the advantage of his adversary, it is an advantage to which he is entitled. There must always be some advantage, on one side or other; and it is better advantage should be had by talents than by chance. If Lawyers were to undertake no causes till they were sure they were just, a man might be precluded altogether from a trial of his claim, though, were it judicially

Now, for his good skill and sinceritie, the citie wherein he first breathed gave him his first office. For he was made under-sheriffe of London, when he was not above twenty-eight yeares of age; which office as it is very worshipful, so it is not verie combersome. In this place he dispatched more matters than ever did any before. No man ever used himselfe more sincere and upright than he, and lesse exacting; for often he forgave his owne fee. Yet by this office, and learned counsaile, (for there was not any matter of weight or importance in any of the prince's courts, that he was not retained for counsaile on the one partie or the other) without grudge of conscience, or injurie to anie man, he gained above four hundred pounds yearlie.

The citie dearlie loved him, and for his wit, learning and experience had him in great esteem; in so much that the English merchants, and the strangers of the Stilyarde^a, sent him twice as ambassador beyond the seas, althoughe he neither desyred nor liked to be imployed in such offices: for he was wont to say, "he liked not to be banished from his owne countrie, and shut up in a towne, where perhaps neyther the land nor the ayre be very good and wholesome." But especially he misliked these embassages, as subject to contentions and altercations, which of his owne nature he did much abhorre, but especially in a strange countrie with great princes; and where he suffered no little damages. For though he were worshipfully provided for, for the defraying of his charges, yet he suffered by his absence far greater losses. And therefore he would merrilie say, "that there was great difference betwixt a lay-man and a priest to be sent in ambassage; for a priest need not to be disquieted for wife, children and familie: for the first two they lacke, the other they may take all with them. And though I am not an evil husband, father, or maister, yet I cannot so fashion my houshold that my absence shall as well instruct, please, and provide for them as my presence." Yet he many tymes was sent in most honorable embassages^b by the king his maister. Twice he was joined in commission with car-

examined, it might be found a very just claim." Boswell's *Tour to the Hebrides*, p. 14. See also below, *Life of Sir Matt. Hale*, or Index, *Barristers*.

^a *Strangers of the Stilyarde.*] The merchants of the Hanseatic League, who resided in the Stilyard in London, and enjoyed great privileges.

^b *Honorable embassages.*] In April 1519 he was joined in commission with Thomas Ruthall, bishop of Durham; Cuthbert Tunstal, and Richard Pace, to treat with the commissioners of Charles V. and see the next page.

~~John Wolsey~~¹: when he went into Flanders to Charles the fifth, and at other tyme in France. He was ambassador when ~~the famous~~ peace betwene Charles the emperor Ferdinando king of the Romanes, and Francis the first of France, anno 1529², ~~was made~~. Yet these paines he most misliked: but being once set upon him, he fore-stood nothing for the happie expedition of the same. And so he demeaned him selfe for the merchants, ~~that at his returne~~ he purchased to him selfe great credit and estimation, both with them and the king; who at his home-coming offered him for recompence an annual pension duryng his life, which though it were both honorable and commodious, yet he refused it, lest the citizens might conceive some sinister suspicion, that when any controversie should happen concerning their privileges betwene the king and them, (as often it happened), that he would not have been himselfe upright, being as it were fed and hired with the pension.

Moreover this king Henry was in hand with cardinal Wolsey to procure him unto his service. The cardinal did not ~~shrink~~ the matter, but dealt with him incontinently, and in very ~~secret~~ manner, to serve the king; saying it was meet and convenient, and it could not be but for his advancement to do so. Yet he was very loath to change his estate, and so wrought the cardinal by his faire speeche, that by him the king was satisfied at that tyme. But his estimation and fame every day so increased, that after a while the king would by no manner of ~~persuasion~~ be induced to forbear his service. And this was upon this occasion.

There chanced a great ship of burden of the popes to arrive at Southampton, the which ship upon some title the king ~~adjudged~~ as a forfeiture. The popes ambassador then resident in the realme, upon suit got a graunte of the king, to retaine for his maister some learned in the lawes and custumes of the realme; and that the matter might be openlie heard and debated in his ~~owne~~ presence. Amongst all the lawyers choice was made of Mr More, as one esteemed not partial, and verie skilful in theise ~~affayres~~. He in the presence of the lordes of the council, in the Starre Chamber, where the matter was heard, so learnedlie and

¹ With cardinal Wolsey.] See Cavendish's *Life of Wolsey*, vol. i. p. 485.

² Anno 1529.] He was joined in commission with Cuthbert Tunstal,

³ London, Dr William Knight, and John Hackett.

substantiallie argued in the defence of his cause, that he wonne to the pope his ship, and to him selfe great renoune and prayse in the mouthe of everie one.

Upon this the king entertained him for him selfe, and gave him this notable and worthie lesson, "that in all his doings and affaires touching the king, he should first respect God, then the king his maister." This lesson he willinglie heard, and most effectuallie performed. At this first entrance into the kings service, he was made master of the requests, and within a month after knight, and one of the kings privie council. And in a short tyme, after the death of Mr. William Weston, undertreasurer of the exchequer. And upon the death of Sir Richard Wingfield he was channocellor of the dutchie: and after the death of the lord cardinal¹, highe chauncellour of England, the first lay-man that ever possessed that place in king Henry the eighths tyme.

9. It may seem strange, that Mr. More should be thus advanced, for he alwaies shewed himselfe to have more respect to weal publike, than to the kings gaine or pleasure. But it followeth, that either the king was at this tyme a marvelous good prince, or that he had not that experience of his upright and plaine dealing; and this can I hardly believe. For he could not but know, how in his father's tyme, in a parliament, whereof we spake before, he had demened himself in hindering the bill of three fifteenths that it passed not. But especialee, that which I shall now declare unto you, he could not but remember.

In the fourteenth yeare of his majestie's reigne, a parliament was summoned, where the commons chused Mr. More for their speaker, and presented him in the parliament house; where he disabled himself², as a man unmeet for that office. Among other things he brought forth a storie of the noble Hannibal, "to whome at a certaine tyme, Phormio made a solemne declaration concerning chivalrie and the feates of warre, which was

¹ *After the death of the lord cardinal.*] More correctly, "after the disgrace of the Lord Cardinal," for it was in Michaelmas term, 1529. Wolsey died 29th Nov. 1530.

² *Disabled himselfe.*] "The Commons chose for their Speaker Sir Thomas More. He according to the usage, disabled himself, both in wit, learning, and discretion, to speak before the King." Stowe's *Annals*, p. 519. edit. 1615.

liked by many. But Hannibal, being demanded what he thought thereof, answered, 'I never heard a more proud arrogant foole, that durst take upon him to instruct the flower and maister of chivalre in his owne profession.' So (quoth Sir Thomas), I may well looke for the same rebuke at the king's hands, if I should arrogate so much as to speake before him of the weelding and governinge publike affaires; seeing that he is so wise, learned, and expert in matters of his estate. Wherefore my humble petition is, that the commons may freely chuse some other for their speaker." But the cardinall answered, "that the king had sufficient proove of his every way sufficientie, and that the commons could not chuse a meeter man." In the end, when the king would not consent to the election of any other, he spake to his Grace in form following.

"Sith I perceive, my renowned soveraigne, that it standeth not with your highness' pleasure to reforme this election, but have by the mouth of the most reverend father in God, the legate, your high chauncellor, given your most royall consent, and have of your benignitie determined farre above that I may beare, to enable and repute me meete; rather than you would seeme to impute unto your commons any note of indiscretion for their unfit choice; I am therefore, and shall be alwaies readie obedientlie to conforme myself to the accomplishment of your soveraigne command; in most humble manner beseeching your most noble majestie, that I may, with your grace's favour, before I enter further thereunto, make my humble intercession unto your highness for two lowlie petitions; the one privatelie concerning myselfe, the other for the whole assemblie of the commons house. For myselfe, gracious soveraigne, that if it mis-happen me, in any thing hereafter on the behalfe of your commons in your highness' presence to be declared, to mistake my message, and for lacke for good utterance, and mis-rehearsal to pervert and impaire their prudent instructions, it may then like your noble majestie, of your abundant grace, with the eye of your accustomed pittie to pardon my simpleness, giving me leave to repaire againe to the commons house, and there to confer with them, and to take their substantial advice, what things, and in what wise I am to utter; to the intent their prudent devices and affaires be not by my simpleness and follie hindered and impaired: which thing if it should mis-happe (as it were well liekelie, if your gracious benignitie releved not my oversight,) it would be, during

my life, a perpetual grudge and heaviness to my heart. The help and remedie, in manner afore remembered, is, most gracious soveraigne, my first lowlie suit and humble petition to your noble grace.

“ My other humble request, most excellent prince, is this. That, for as much as there be of your commons, here by your highness’ commandment assembled, a great number which are, after accustomed manner, appointed to treat and devise of the common affaires amongst themselves apart: and albeit, most deare and liege lord, that according to your prudent devise, by your honorable writs every where declared, there hath been as due diligence used, in sending up to your highness’ court of parliament, the most discrete persons, out of everie quarter, that men could esteeme fit; whereby it is not to be doubted, but that there be here present a verie substantial assemblie of right wise and politique persons, yet, most victorious prince, sith amongst so manie wise men, neither is everie man wise alike, nor amonge so manie all alike well witted, is everie man alike well spoken; and it often happeneth, that likewise as much follie is uttered with painted and polished speeches, so many men, boysterous and rude in language, yet give right good and substantial counsaile: sith also, in matters of great importance, the minde is often so occupied in the matter, that a man rather studieth *what*, than *how* to say, by reason whereof the wisest man and best spoken in a whole countrie fortuneth sometimes, while his mind is fervent in the matter, somewhat to speake in such wise as he would after wish to have been uttered otherwise, yet his meaning no worse when he spoke it, than when he would so gladlie change it: Therefore, most gracious soveraigne, considering that in your highness’ court of parliament, there is nothing uttered but matters of weight and importance, concerning the realme and royal estate, it could not faile but to let and put to sylence from giving their advice and counsaile manie of the discreet commoners, to the great hinderance of publique affaires, except everie man there were utterly discharged of all doubt and feare, how anie thing that should happen them to speake, should happen of your highness to be taken: and in this point, though your well known and approved benignitie putteth everie man in right good hope, yet such is the weight of the matter, such the reverend drede, that the timorous hearts of your natural subjects conceive towards your highness’ majesty, most renowned soveraigne, that they can-

not in this pointe find themselves **satisfied**, except your gracious bountie herein **declared**, may put away the scruple of their time-
rous mindes.

“ May it therefore like your abundant grace, our most benigne king, to give to all your commons here assembled, your most gracious licence and pardon, freely without all doubt of your dreadful displeasure, everie man to discharge his conscience, and boldly in any thing incident amongst us to declare his advice ; and whatsoever happen any man to say, that it may like your noble majestie, of your inestimable goodness, to take all in good parte, interpreting every man’s words, how uncomely soever they be couched, to proceed yet of good zeale towards the profit of your realme, and the honour of your royal person ; the prosperous estate and preservation whereof, most excellent soveraigne, is the thing which we all, your most humble loving subjects, according to our bounden dutie, of natural alleageance, most highlie desyre and pray for. *Dixi.*”

At this parliament cardinal Wolsey found himselfe much agrieved with the burgesses thereof, that there was nothing said or done therein but that it was immediately blowne abroad in every alehouse. It fortuned at that parliament a great subsidie to be demaunded, which the cardinal, fearing would not passe the commons house, determined for the furtherance thereof to be there personally himselfe : before whose coming they themselves much debated, whether it weere better to receive him with a few of his lords, or with all his traine. Most were of opinion the first were the best. At last Mr. More said in this manner. “ Maisters, for as much as my lord cardinal lately, you wote well, laid to our charge the lightness of our tongues, for things uttered out of this house, it shall not be amisse, in my minde, to receive him with all his pompe^s, with all his maces, his pillars, his poll-axes, his crosses, his hatt, and the great seale too ; to the intent, that if he finde the like fault hereafter with us, we may be the bolder, from ourselves, to lay the blame upon them whom he bringeth with him.” Whereunto the whole house agreeing, he was received accordingly. Where, after he had, in a solemn oration, by many reasons proved, how necessarie it was the demaund to be graunted ; and further shewing that lesse would not serve to maintaine the princes purpose, he, seeing the com-

^s *With all his pompe*] See Cavendish’s *Life of Wolsey*, vol. i. p. 488—90.

panie sit still silent, and aunswering nothing, contrarie to his expectation, shewed themselves not verie forward to incline to his request, said unto them, "Maisters, you have many wise and learned men among you; and sith I am from the king's own person sent hither unto you, for the preservation of yourselves and all the realme, I thinke it mete you give me some reasonable answer." Where everie man holding his peace, then began he to speake to one Mr. Marnee; who making no answer, he severallie asked the same question of divers others, accounted the wisest amongst them; to whom then none of them all woulde yeeld so much as one word, being before agreed as the custom was, by their speaker to make answer, "Maisters," quoth the cardinal, "unlesse it be the manner of your house, as of likelihoode it is, by the mouthe of the speaker, whom you have chosen for trustie and wise, as indeed he is, in suche causes to utter your mindes, here is, without doubt, a marvelous obdurate silence;" and thereupon required aunswere of Mr. Speaker. Who first reverently, upon his knees, "excused the silence of the house, abashed with the presence of so noble a personage, able to amaze the wisest and best learned in the realme; and after many probable arguments, that for them to make aunswere was neither expedient, nor agreeable to the auncient libertie of the house; in conclusion, for himselfe he shewed, that althoughe they had all with their voices trusted him, yet except every one of them would put into his head all their several witts, he alone was unmeet, in so weightie a matter, to make his grace aunswere." Whereupon the cardinal displeased, sodenlie arose and departed.

This the cardinal forgot not; for the next daie sending for him, in his gallerie of White-Hall, at Westminster, he uttered unto him what he conceived. "Would to God," quoth the cardinal, "you had been at Rome, Master More, when I made you Speaker." "Your grace not offended, so would I my lord" (quoth he): "for then should I have seene those holie places, that I have often and much desired." And after some walkes in silence, to winde such matters out of the cardinal's head, he began to talke of the gallerie, and saide, "I like this gallerie of yours, my lord, much better than that of Hampton Court." So, wisely he brake off the cardinal's unpleasante talke; so that the cardinal, as it seemed, wist not what to say to him, but flung from him without anie more speaking; and for revengement of his displeasure, counselled the king to send him ambassador into

Spaine, that there he might either die, or not retorne againe in haste. But that journey tooke not effect, through his owne entreatie, and sweet demeanoure to the king.

The truth is, the cardinal never loved him ; yea rather feared him, least in tyme the fame of his wit, learning, and virtue should blemish and dimme the glorie of his owne prayses. For the cardinal, though he were adorned with manie good qualities, yet he was of an exceeding ambitious humor, and aspiring nature ; and so in love with his well-doing, that he fell into a certaine phrensie of over-weening of him selfe.

All these things considered, that the cardinal never trulie loved him, nor the king could conceave anie great hope that he would be corrupted to speake against good and equitie, I say it was not a little strange to see Mr. More thus advanced. But the providence of Almighty God so appointed that so great a light should not be put under a bushel, but reared on the hills of worldlie felicitie, to shine unto them who wilfully have extinguished their owne lampes and eyes, and yet possesse the same rooms, but with far different conditions.

10. Thomas More, being in the king's service, never was there any one man that the king used more familiarly. The king, upon holy dayes, when he had done his devotions, did often send for him unto his traverse, and there sometime of matters of astronomie, geometrie, divinitie, sometymes in matters of state, to sit and confer with him. And other whiles he would in the night have him up to his leads, there to discourse with him the diversities, courses, motions, and operations of the stars and planets. Both the king and the queene tooke great comforte and pleasure in his merrie and pleasant conceited witt. They would verie often call for him, in the tyme of their supper, to be merrie, and recreate themselves withal. Whome when Sir Thomas perceived his talke so much to delight, that he could skarce in a moneth get leave to goe home to his wife and children⁶, or to be absent two dayes together from the court, but that he was sent for againe, he much mislyked this restraunte of his libertye, and beganne thereupon somewhat to dissemble his nature, and by little

⁶ *To his wife and children.*] " Thus he represents to his friend Peter Gyles the manner of his treating them : *Nempe reverso domum, cum uxore fabulandum est, garriendum cum liberis.*" *Roper's Life*, p. 33. *Jortin's Life of Erasmus*, vol. iii. p. 310. Appendix.

and little to disuse himselfe from his accustomed myrth, so that he was not from thenceforth so ordinarilie sent for.

Yet the king took such pleasure in his companie, that he would oftentimes on a suddaine come to his house at Chelsey, to talke and be merrie with him. Whither on a tyme unlooked for, while Sir Thomas was chancellour of the duchie he came to dynner to him; and after dinner in a faire garden walked with him by the space of an howre, holding his arme about his neck; of all which favours he made no other account, than a deepe wise man should doe, and as the nature and disposition of the king, which he well perceived, did require. Wherefore even at this tyme, when flattering fortune seemed most to smile upon him, and all things seemed as faire as faire might be, or he could wish, he well considered the brittle estate of men that be in the highest favour of princes. Wherefore, when after the king's departure, his sonne in law, Mr. William Roper, verie glad to have seene this, came to him saying, "Sir, how happie are you, whome the king hath so familiarly entertained, as I never sawe him to doe the like to any, except to the lord cardinall, with whome I saw his grace once walke arme in arme!" Sir Thomas aunswered in this sorte: "I thanke God, sonne William, I find his grace my very good lord and maister; and I doe believe he doth as singularlie favour me as he doth any subject within this realme. Howbeit sonne Roper, as I shall tell thee, I have noe cause to be proude of it; for if my head would wyne him a castle in France, it should not faile to flie from my shoulders, as fast now as it seemeth to sticke."

Thus Sir Thomas spent twenty yeares or more in the king's service, with as great countenance and well liking of his grace as ever did any; yet in the end he was but evil recompenced, as hereafter it shall appeare.

BOOK THE SECOND.

1. As we have spoken of his offices, and carriage in publique affaires, and for his countrie, so now it is meet to recount his secret and domestical life with his wife, children, frendes, and others.

First, in Sir Thomas is principallie to be considered, as the soule and heade of all his doings, that alwayes he had a special care and regard to God-ward, and to keepe his conscience syncere and upright.

It was his custome to rise every daie verie earlie; and on his knees, after he had commended himself to God, he said his Mattins, the Seven Psalmes⁷ the Litanie with the Suffrages, often the *Dirige*, and the Gradual Psalmes, and certaine other devout prayers, both in Latyn and Englishe, of his owne making. Besides, he selected certaine psalmes out of the psalter, and made himselfe a prettie little volume⁸; and to reade all, or most parte thereof, everie morning, he seldome omitted. After all this, every day, feast and ferie, he heard masse with reverence and devotion; and before the end, for to receive the benediction of the priest, he would in noe case departe, though the king had sent for him, once, twice, and thrice. He was wont to say he would come to the king presentlie, "after I have done my dutie and devoire both to his and my maister, the King of kings."

He was very desirous to be solitary, and sequester himselfe from worldly companie, the better to recollect himselfe to God. And

⁷ *The Seven Psalmes.*] These psalms, otherwise called the seven *penitential* psalms, are inserted in all Primers, and were often commented upon by ancient devotional writers. Dante translated them into Italian verse. They are the 6th, 31st, 37th, 50th, 101st, 129th, and 141st. The suffrages are the *Suffragia Sanctorum*, or short prayers to the saints. The *Dirige* also constitutes a part of the Primer. It is now corrupted into "Dirge." Of the fifteen Gradual Psalmes, or, as they are called in our Bibles, "Songs of Degrees," being Psalms 120—134, see Durandi *Rationale*, lib. v. cap. 2. numb. 39.

⁸ *Prettie little volume.*] The custom of using the Psalter in an abridged form is of great antiquity: the *Psalterium abbreviatum* attributed to St. Jerome occurs in very many of the old service books and books of devotion. Even to a few verses great value was attached. In a "prettie little volume," a "Psalterium" put forth by Casper Hochseder at Nuremberg in 1497, (certainly one of the smallest books printed in the fifteenth century, for it is only 2½ inches in height by 1½ inch in width), is this strange story told of St. Bernard of Clairvaux, "Legitur in vita sancti Bernhardi abbatis Clarevallii, quod demon semel sibi apparuit, dicens se scire octo versus in psalterio, quos qui quotidie diceret, tanti meriti acquireret ac si totum psalterium Daviticum decantasset; et cum beatus Bernhardus instaret ut sibi eosdem versus ostenderet, ille vobis facere recusaret: tunc beatus Bernhardus, 'Scio,' inquit, 'quid faciam: nam quotidie legam totum psalterium, deinceps sicque prædictos versus non obmittam.' Quod cum audisset demon, ne tantum bonum facere poterit sibi, hos versus ostendit."

therefore to satisfie the better this his good purpose, he builded at Chelsey, a good distance from his mansion-house, a place which was called the New building, wherein was a chapel, a librarie, and a gallerie; in which, as his use was upon other daies to occupie him in prayer and studie, so on the Fridaies there usuallie he continued from morne till night, and oftentimes all night, spending his tyme in devoute prayers and spiritual exercises. He used often to punish his body with discipline*, especiallie every Fridaie, great saints eves, and at the fower tymes of ember weeke, with whippes made of knotted cords. He used to weare a cilice, yea often when he sate as high chancellor in judgment seat. But because he would not be noted of singulartie, he conformed himselfe outwardlie to other men of the same state and vocation. This no person did know but¹ his daughter Margaret, whome he best trusted; causing her sometymes, as need required, to wash his shirt of haire. Once it chanced as he sate at supper in the summer tyme, single in his doublet and hose, wearing upon the same shirt of haire, a plaine linen shirt, without ruff or collar, that his sonne Johns wife spied the same, and beganne to smile at it. His daughter Margaret, marking the matter, presentlie told her father of it. He, being sorrie that it was seene, straight amended it, but spake not a word thereof.

* To punish his body with discipline.] "Then shalt thou understand, that bodily pain (*penance*) stont in *discipline*, or teaching by word or writing, or by ensample. Also in *wearing of heer* or stamin, or of habergeons on her naked flesh for Christes sake; and that such maner penaunces ne make not thine heart bitter or angrie, ne annoyed of thy selfe; for better is to cast away thine heer, than to cast away the sweetnesse of Jesus Christ.—Then is *discipline* also, in knocking of thy breast, in *scourging with rodde*s, in kneeling, in tribulation, suffering patiently wrongs that been doen to thee; and also in patient suffring of sicknesse, or lesing of worldly goodes, or cattel, or wife, child, or other frendes." Chaucer's *Parson's Tale*, p. 197. edit. 1687.

¹ Did know but.] Thus we saw in the Life of Wolsey that "in afternoons he would sit in contemplation with one of the most ancient fathers of the Charter House in their cells, who converted him, and caused him to despise the vain glory of the world; and gave him shirts of hair to wear, the which he ware divers times after." And again; with regard to the secrecy practised in this discipline;—"in which bag was no other thing inclosed, but three shirts of hair, the which he delivered unto his chaplen and ghostly father secretly." And again; after his death, it was found "he had upon him, next his body, a shirt of hair, (besides his other shirt, which was of very fine holland), which was not known to any of his servants, being continually about him in his chamber, saving to his ghostly father."

In his parish church at Chelsey he builded a faire chapel, and endowed it with many rich ornaments; and to the church where he dwelt he gave copes, chalices, images, &c. And he would often say, "let good folkes give apace, for there will be found too many that will take away as fast." So much he loved the beantie and glorie of the house of God, that if he had seene a faire and comelie man of personage, he would say, "it is pittie yonder man is not a priest, he would become an aultar well." The like he would say of jewels and precious stones; and in his *Answers to the Supplication of Beggars* he exhortes gentlemen and ladies to give to the church their rings, bracelets, borders, and the like; "for by keeping them," quoth he, "they but minister matter for vanitie, and so for punishment; in giving them, procure merit and spiritual benediction."

And, the more to doe honour to God's service, he used, yea when he was lord chancellour, to sit and sing in the quire with a surplice on his backe. And once it happened, that the duke of Norfolk, coming to Chelsey to dyne with him, found him in that manner. After service going home with him, arme in arme, he said after this fashion, "Gods bodie, Gods bodie, lord chancellour, a parish clarke, a parish clarke"; you dishonour the king and his office." "Nay," quoth Sir Thomas smiling upon the duke, "your grace may not thinke, that the king, your maister and myne, will be offended with men for serving of God, his maister; or by this my present behaviour account his office dishonoured." Sir Thomas spake both devoutly, and like a wise man.

And this was one virtuous and godly custome of his, that when he had committed to him any matter or office of importance, he

¹ *A parish clarke.*] "So we rede of Kynge Roberte of Fraunce, that was a connyng man, and so devout toward Goddes Sarvice, that he wolde be in eche feaste in some Monastery for Divine Service. And not only he wolde synge with the monkes, but also he wolde *do on a cope*, and stande and synge as a Chantoure in myddes of the Quier. Whereof it hapned on a tyme whan he beseged a Castel that was rebel agenst him, and the feast of Saynt Anyan fell to be the same tyme at Orleauce; he lefte his hoste at sege, and went thyder, and toke a cope, and songe in the middes of the Quier, as he was wonte to do. And when he came to *Agnus Dei*, and had begonne it thrice with an hygh voyce, knelyng downe at each tyme on hys knees, the walles of the Castell, that was besieged, fell downe soddenly to the grounde: and so the Castel was destroyed, and his enemyes overcomen.—And thus ye may see, that there is no better armure of defence agenst all enemyes, than devout syngyng of our Lordes service." *Mirror of our Lady*, fol. 13. A. D. 1530.

would goe to the church, and would be confessed, heare masse, and be houseled; and commend the matter to God, whose glorie he principallie intended in all things he tooke upon him. He would often goe on pilgrimage to holie places, but allway on foote². In his processions in the Rogation week, he would be present. And once when the procession was to goe (according to the custome) to the confines of the parish, for his state and dignitie he was requested to ease himselfe with a horse. He answered, "God forbid he should follow his maister³ on horse-back, when *he* went on foote." And this was much worth the noting: such reverence he bore to holy and sanctified places, that there he would neither talke nor confer of any temporal matter, though the matter were of weight and speedie, and his leisure at other tymes but very short.

2. There was nothing in the world that more pleased and comforted him, than when he had done some good deed to other men; of whom some he relieved with his money, some by his authoritie, some by his good worde, some with his good counsaile. Never was there anie man that sought relief and help at his hands, that went not from him cheerful. For he was, as a man may say, the publike patrone of the poore, and thought he had procured himself a great benefit or treasure, as often as he could by his counsaile or other wise, pleasure and ease the mind of anie man in anie difficult matter, either ghostlie or bodilie; or if he could pacifie any that were at variance and debate. He would before he was chancellour goe by obscure places and lanes, and give his almes verie liberallie, not by the pennie or half-pennie, but sometymes five, ten, twenty, thirty, forty shillings, according to everie ones necessitie. He often invited his poore neighbours to his table, and would be merrie and pleasant with them. But

² *But allway on foote.*] "Quod in Anglia (says Stapleton) vix plebei faciunt." *Tres Thome*, p. 88.

³ *Follow his maister.*] This refers to the Crucifix, or else to the elements of the Eucharist, both of which (at different periods,) were wont to be carried in the front of these processions. Stapleton, I see, adopts the former interpretation. *Tres Thome*, p. 87. "Non tantum proponunt panem eucharisticum divino cultu adorandum, sed etiam illum in equo gradario, quocunque ipsi iter faciunt, ut olim ignem Persicum aut Isidis sacra circumferunt. *Juelli Apolog.* Christian Institutes, vol. iv. p. 394. This "equus gradarius" was only for occasions of special pomp and solemnity. See Harding *against Jewell*, and Jewell's *Defence*.

those that were riche and of wealthe seldom were invited. In Chelsey he hired a house for lame, poore and old men, and kept them at bed and at borde, at his owne cost and charges.

3. Sir Thomas was of a mild, gentle and patient nature. He never hated any. For he would say, "Either he whom I hate is good or bad.—If he be good, then am I naught to hate him. If he be ill, either he will amend, and so be saved; or else persevere ill, and so everlastinglie perish. If he shall be saved, why should I hate him whom eternallie I must love, like, and delight in? If he shall be damned, his torments and paines shall be so great and intolerable, that rather we have cause to pitie and have compassion for his miserie, than to add affliction to affliction, in hating and envying him." Mr. William Roper, for sixteen yeares space he lived in his house, never sawe him so much as once in anie fume or choler.

On a tyme, when he was lord chancellour of England, the water bailiffe of London, sometyme his servant, having heard, where he was at dynner, certaine merchants falsely to slander and raile against his old maister, waxed so discontented therewith, that he came hastilie to Sir Thomas, and told him what he had heard. "And were I, Sir," quoth he, "in that authoritie and place that your lordshippe is, surelie such men should not be suffered, so villanouslie and falslie to misreporte me: wherefore I would wish that they were called to their answer, and accordingly punished for theire ill tongues." Sir Thomas smiling upon him said, "Why, Mr. Water-baylie, will you have me punish those, by whome I receive more benefit, than by you all that be my friendes? Let them, in Gods name, speake as lewdlie of me as they list, and shoote never so manie arrowes at me; so none hit me, what am I the worse for that? But if they should hit me, then it would not a little trouble me. I have more cause, I assure you, Mr. Water-baylie, to pitie, than to be angrie with them: and I pray you, do you the like."

He would never sinisterlie or suspiciouslie take anie thing written, done, or spoken against him, perverting and wringing it to the worst, but make alwaies the best of every matter: and when the *thing* could not be defended, he would defend the *intent*, except it were too apparent evil.

If it happened anie learned man to resort to him from Oxforde, Cambridge, or elsewhere, as divers did, some for desire of his acquaintance, some for the famous reporte of his wisdom and

learning, some for his counsaile in law matters, and to fall into argument and dispute with him; he would gladlie accept of such discourses, and therein he would shew such skill that few were found comparable unto him. And at length, if he perceived they could not holde further disputation without some inconvenience, lest he should discourage or make them blush, he would, as one that sought not his owne glorie, seeme to be conquered: and to animate them in their studies, he would seeme more desirous to learn of them than to teache.

A little before⁵ he was chancellour, it happened by negligence of one of his neighbours carts, all his barnes, and corne, and parte of his dwelling-house to be burnt; whereof when he understood it, he was not a whit moved; and being at the courte when it happened, he presentlie wrote a comfortable letter to his wife, willing her, her children, and all her familie to repaire to the church, and give God thanks, who might have taken awaye all the resydue; and willed diligent searche and inquirie to be made, what damage his poore neighbours had taken thereby, which he said should be recompenced to the uttermost. The copie of this letter, because it is both sweet and devout, I will put it downe, as I finde it in his owne workes, word for word.

“Maistres Alyce⁶, in my most hearty wise I recommend me to you.

“And whereas I am infourmed by my son Heron, of the losse of our barnes, and our neighbours also, with all the corne that was therein: albeit, saving Gods pleasure, it is grete pitie of so much good corne lost, yet sith it hath liked him to sende us such a chaunce, we must, and are bounden, not only to be content, but also to be glad of his visitation. He sent us all that

⁵ *A little before.*] “Sir Thomas More was made Lorde Chauncellour of England in Michaelmas terme, in the yere of our Lord 1529, and in the 21st yere of King Henry VIII. And in the latter ende of the harvest then next before, Sir T. More, then Chauncellour of the Duchy of Lancaster, being returned from Cameray in Flanders, where he had been embassadour from the Kinge, rode immediatly to the King at Woodstock. And while he was there with the King, part of his owne dwelling house at Chelsey, and all his barnes there full of corne, sodenlie fell on fier, and were burnt, and all the corne therein, by the negligence of one of his neighbours cartes that carried the corne; and by occasion thereof were divers of his next neighbours barnes burnt also.” *Works of Sir Thomas More*, p. 1418. A. D. 1557.

⁶ *Maistres Alyce.*] His second wife, the widow of — Middleton.

we have lost ; and sith he hath by such a chaunce taken it away againe, his pleasure be fulfilled ! Let us never grudge thereat, but take it in good worth, and hartely thank him, as well for adversitie, as prosperitie. And peradventure we have more cause to thank him for our losse, than for our winning. For his wisdom better seeth what is good for us than we do ourselves.

“ Therefore, I praye you, be of good chere ; and take all the houshold with you to church, and there thank God both for that he hath given us, and for that he hath taken from us, and for that he hath left us, which if it please him, he can encrease when he will. And if it please hym to leave us yet lesse, at his pleasure be it ! I praye you to make some good ensearche what my poore neighbours have loste, and bidde them to take no thought therefore : for and I should not leave myself a spoone, there shall no poore neighbour of mine bear no losse by any chaunce happened in my house. I pray you be with my children and your houshold merry in God : and devise somewhat with your friendes, what waye were best to take for provision to be made for corne for our household, and for seede this year coming, if ye think it goode that we keepe the ground still in our handes. And whether ye thinke it good that we shall do so or not, yet I think it were not best sodenlye thus to leave it all up, and to put awaye our folk of our farme, till we have somewhat advised us thereon. Howbeit if ye have more nowe than ye shall neede, and which can get them other maisters, ye may then discharge us of them. But I would not that any man were sodenly sent away he wote never whither.

“ At my coming hither, I perceived none other, but that I should tarry still with the king’s grace. But now I shall, I think, because of this chance, get leave this next week to come home, and see you : and then shall we further devise together, upon all thinges, what order shall be best to take. And thus as hartely fare you well, with all your children, as ye can wishe. At Woodstoke, the thirde daye of Septembre, by the hand of your loving husbände

“ THOMAS MORE Knight.”

Towards his father he gave many proofes of his natural affection and lowlie minde. Whensoever he passed through Westminster Hall to his place in the chancerie by the court of the King’s

Bench, if his father who sat there as judge, had been set downe ere he came, he would goe to him, and reverently kneeling downe in sight of all aske him blessing. This virtuous custome⁷ he alwayes solemnlie observed; though then men after their marriages thought themselves not bound to these duties of younger folkes. If they had at readings at Lincolnes inn or elsewhere chanced to have met together, he would offer in arguments and other observaunces the preheminance to his father, though for his office the father would not accept of it. These respects of an obedient child he kept whilst his father lived; and after he never forgat, both by hartie prayers, and manie tender remembrances of his virtue. In his death-bed he often came to visite him, and gave him most comfortable words, and procured all helpes both for bodie and soule, that in such cases be requisite. After his departure out of this world, with sighes and teares talkinge him about the necke he kissed and imbraced him, and commending his soul into the hands of his Creator caused many good prayers to be said for his soules ease.

And for all this gentle and meeke disposition of nature, yet his adversaries the Lutherans laid to his great charge, that towards Luther, Pomerane⁸, Tindall, Frith, Barnes, and such other filth, he was very uncurteous and uncivill, that would in writing against their blasphemous hereses, presume without great reverence forsooth to rehearse their worshipfull names. But thus he aunswered himselfe. "If," quoth he⁹, "anie of the

⁷ *This virtuous custome.*] "Non detrectavit publice in palatio Westmonasterii, loco judiciorum publico, a Patre flexis genibus, *juxta optimum gentis nostre morem*, benedictionem petere. *Solent enim apud nos liberi quotidie mane ac vespere benedictionem flexo poplite ab utroque parente petere.* Qui mos si apud alias quasdam gentes obtineret, haberent parentes filios magis morigeros, haberet respublica subditos magis obsequentes, haberet ecclesia fideles magis obedientes. Tametsi vero etiam apud nos viri jam facti, et vel conjugati, vel ad aliquam nobiles, hoc obsequii genus parentibus suis amplius non præsent, tamen, Thomas Morus pro insita sibi a teneris annis pietate et humilitate, etiam sceptræ Anglicani regni gerens, et primus post regem, senem patrem hoc honore prosequi non recusavit." Stapletoni *Tres Thomæ*, p. 12. edit. 1568.

⁸ *Pomerane.*] i. e. John Bugenhagen, who was a native of Pomerania.

⁹ "If," quoth he.] See Sir Thomas More's Works, p. 865. The extract is not made with scrupulous exactness. And it is hardly necessary to remark, that the same is true of the pretended citations, given a little below, from Martin Luther.

new learned use their wordes at their owne pleasure, as evill and as villanous as they list against myself, I am contented to forbear the requiting thereof, and give them no worse wordes againe, than if they had spoken me faire. But using themselves against saincts, church, sacraments, priest, prince, people, and all that have been and are catholiques, so ungraciously and ungodlie as they do, faire words I will not give them. If they speake me foule they shall the better please me, for I delight not to have the pleasant oile of heretikes cast on my head : and the worse that folks speake or write of me, for hatred of the catholike faith, for my part they doe me the greater pleasure. But rayling as they doe against all holies, I purpose not to beare that so patientlie, as to forbear to let them heare some parte of their language ; though not with that grace that they doe it. For to match them herein, I neither can though I would, neither would I if I could ; thinking it much worth rebuke, therein to strive for maistrie. For in railing standeth all their revel ; with railing is their roast meat basted, all their pots seasoned, all their pye meate spiced, and all their manchet made of it." He addeth further, " If these gospellers," saith he, " will not cease to be heretiks, let them at least be reasonable heretikes, and honest men ; let them write if not reason, yet after a reasonable manner, and leave rayling. Then hardlie let these evangelicall brethren find fault with me, if I use them not in words as faire and as milde as the matter may beare ; but assure them, if they write as they doe, I will handle them no otherwise than I have done ¹."

¹ *Than I have done.*] It may well be doubted whether this apology can be regarded as satisfactory. It is certain that George Joye, George Constantine, (and even Fox himself, as we have occasionally seën), expressed themselves in very coarse and intemperate language. But will this justify a man in the circumstances of Sir Thomas More, writing against Luther and others, in such a manner as is described in the following extract from bishop Atterbury? " Sir Thomas More took up the quarrel : a man (as they tell us) much a Christian, much a gentleman, and naturally of great mildness and candour : who yet forgot himself so far in this answer to Luther, that he has there thrown out the greatest heap of nasty language, that perhaps ever was put together. The book throughout is nothing but downright ribaldry, without a grain of reasoning to support it ; and gave the author no other reputation, but that of having the best knack, of any man in Europe, at calling bad names in good Latin . . . If the reader has a mind to see railing in perfection, let him open any page of this book, and he will have a glut of it." Atterbury's *Epistolary Correspondence, Visitation Charges, &c.*, vol. iii. p. 452. A. D. 1784.

" Yet

Luther their great patriarche of Germanie, drunken with the dreggs of heresie, belched forth a filthie booke, farst² full of lies and blasphemies, intituled *De Captivitate Babylonica*. This booke in parte was aunswere by King Henry VIII., in a work of his written for the Defence of the Seven Sacraments. With this booke was Luther mightilie stung and offended; and having not to aunswere, fell to rayling and scoffing; and through all his aunswere to the king useth almost no other figure, but saucie malepeart; and plaieth the verie varlet³ and in plaine words giveth the king the lie, which to the majestie of a king, no man may utter by the lawes of nations; and useth so foule and unseemlie words, that a very ribbalde would blush to use the like. And this he saith: "Forasmuch as the pope, emperor, bysshoppes, priests, laitie, and all that be good, condemne my doctrine; it shall be as lawful for me, to accurse and condemne them. Yea to checke and to rate them, I will spit out of my mouth all the dirt, mucke, japes that I can upon their owne heads, crownes and scepters." With such like, or worse shameful stuff is the booke embalmed, that it smels worse than anie tripe wives tub. And in another place he calleth the king "*knave*," and telleth him "that he is possessed with a legion of divells." But Sir Thomas More so dressed him with his owne scolding and jesting rhetorike, that he burst the verie hart of Luther. *Responde stulto secundum stultitiam suam, ne videatur sibi sapiens*, "Aunswere a foole to his follie, least he take him selfe for a wise man." So did Sir Thomas aunswere Luther. But because it seemed not agreeable to his gravitie, suppressing his owne name, he set forth the booke in the name of William Rosse, a mad companion that then wandered in Italie, and for the manner of his behaviour was well known of most men.

Againe, the heretikes did saie, "he was a very chollericke and passionated man. And once he shewed it, for the escape of one Constantine an heretike, who was set in stocks, at his command-

"Yet he shewed mercy to one for his wit, as I have read in an old MS. For, examining a Protestant, whose name was Silver, he told him, after his jesting way, that 'Silver must be tried in the fire.' 'Ay,' said Silver, 'but quick-Silver will not abide it.' With which ready answer being delighted, he dismissed him." Strype's *Eccles. Mem.*, vol. i. p. 205.

² *Ferst*.] Stuffed; from the French, *farcir*.

"He's not yet thorough warm, force him with praises."

Troilus and Cressida.

ment, in his owne house, so that for the space of three dayes, for meere anger, he would neither eate nor drinke." But it was most false. Onelie he called for the porter*, and wished him to repaire and amend the stocks, least the fellow that ranne away, might haplie runne in againe; and so made but a sport of it, saying, "I will not blame him for this his fact; for I was never so hard to please, that I would be angrie with a man that would rise and walk, when he cannot easilie sit."—His serenitie of minde⁴ was alwayes alike. Neither welth, riches, offices, nor disgrace, nor want could disturb him.

4. What wrecke and ruine hath honour and riches brought to manie a good man dailie experience teacheth. And he that hath so ruled his shipp, in passing through these gulphes, without touch of either rocke or shallow, *fecit mirabilia in vita sua*, "he hath wrought wonders in his life;" *quis est hic, et laudabimus eum?* "who is he, and we will praise him?"

Sir Thomas More spent most of his life in worldlye honours and high offices, where much wealth might be had. Yet *inventus est sine macula, nec post aurum abiit*, "he was found without spot, not coveting after gold." The office of chancellourship, being the greatest office of this realme of England, and in dignitie next to the king, he was very unwilling to take it upon him; and he had utterly refused it, had it not been unmeet and unseemlie, obstinatelie to gainsay and contradict the kings pleasure; who of entire affection and love made choice of him, as thinking him the meetest man of all others for that place. Cardinal Wolsey, when he sawe he must needes forgoe his office, which he possessed immediatelie before sir Thomas, though he never bore him true hartie love, yet thought him the fittest, for his wit, learning, and other qualities to succede him in his roome. This he cer-

* He called for the porter.] See *Works of Sir Thomas More*, p. 902.

⁴ His serenitie of minde.] "It happened one day (says Mr. Aubrey, in his *Manuscript Lives*) that a mad Tom of Bedlam came up to Sir Thomas More, as he was contemplating, according to his custom, on the leads of the gatehouse of his palace at Chelsea, and had a mind to have thrown him from the battlements, crying out, 'Leap, Tom, leap!' The chancellor was in his gown, and besides, antient and unable to struggle with such a strong fellow. My Lord had a little dog with him; 'Now,' said he, 'let us first throw the dog downe, and see what sport that will be.' So the dog was thrown over. 'Is not this fine sport?' said his Lordship. 'Let us fetch him up and try it again.' As the madman was going down, my Lord fastened the door, and called for help."—Seward's *Anecdotes*, vol. iv. p. 111.

tainely, yea feelingly knewe, by the experience he had of him. Sir Thomas thought it not his dewtie to withdrawe his service from his prince and countrie. So between the dukes of Norfolke and Suffolke he was brought through Westminster Hall to his place in the chancerie; where the duke of Norfolke, in open audience of all there assembled, shewed "that he was from the king himself strictly charged, by special commission, openlie to make declaration, how much all England was beholden to sir Thomas More, for his good service; and how worthie he was to have the highest roome in the realme: and how dearlie his grace loved and trusted him: so for this election all have cause to rejoyce, and give God thanks." Wherunto Sir Thomas, amongst other his grave and wise saings, giving the duke humble thanks for his faire speeches, answered, "That although" (quoth he) "I have good cause to take comforte of his highness' singular favor towards me, in that he hath alwayes, above my desertes, esteemed of all my endeavoures, yet I must, for my own part, syncerelie confesse I have done noe more than my bounden dutie required; and have manie times, for lacke of wisdom, learning and diligence, not so fullie performed my other meaner offices, but that many hundred in the land might be found better able to performe them than my selfe. But being now enhaunced to this high roome, which requires all the learning of the lawes, customes, and privileges of this land; so profound and politike a head as to weild matters of great importance, which this mightie and rich realme hath to manage, I tremble to thinke of myne owne insufficiencie; and withall, considering how wise and honorable a prelate hath latelie taken a sore fall in this loftie seate" (and here he sits him downe), "I have little cause to rejoyce, fearing a like or worse mishap. Wherefore, as I am charged, in the king's behalf before you all to minister justice indifferentlie to all people, without corruption or affection, so I likewise charge you all, on the fidelitie you owe to God and the king, that if you shall see me at any time in any matter to digresse from anie parte of dutie in this honourable office, not to faile to disclose it to the kings highness; otherwise his grace might have good reason to lay my faults on your necks, seeing this is the onelie way to remedie what may be amisse."—These were some speeches of his at his first entrance to that office; wherein so excellentlie he quitted himselfe that he wonne great fame and commendation.

It happened once one of his sonnes in law said merrilie unto him, "When cardinal Wolsey was lord chancellour manie got well by him. Not only those that were neare about him, but his yeomen, door-keepers and porters had their gaine. And sith I have married one of your daughters, and give attendance still on you, in good reason, methinks, I might look for something." "And soe thou maist sonne," quoth he; "for I may manie wayes pleasure you, or your friend: either by my good worde, or letter; or if you have a cause depending before me; at youre request, I may heare that before another; or if your, or your friends cause be not the best, I may move the parties to fall to some reasonable composition by arbitrement. Howbeit one thing I assure thee on my faith and honestie, I will never goe against equitie and conscience; no, if my father stood on the one side and the divell on the other, if his cause were good, the divell should have his right." And this afterwards appeared to be true in his sonne Herons case. For he having a matter in the chancerie, and presuming too much of his father's favour, would by no means be persuaded to agree to anie indifferent order; then he made a flat decree against him.

Being in this high office, he used commonlie every after-noone, at his owne house at Chelsey, to sit in his halle, to the intent that all that had anie suit to him, might boldlie come to his presence. He kept noe door shut. Both to riche and poore he was readie to give audience. His manner was, before he would award any *sub-pœna*, to reade over every bill of complaint himselfe: and if he found matter sufficient, he would set his hand unto it; if not, he would presently cancel it. He dispatched moe causes in shorter space than were wont to be in manie yeares, before or since. For once he sat when there was noe man or matter to be heard. This he caused to be enrolled in the publike acts of that court. It is strange to them that know there have been causes there depending some dozen yeares. And there be so many things there heard, that it will be a rare thing to heare the like againe.

Once he made a decree against one Pernell, at the suite of Mr. Vaughan. This said Pernell complained greuously to the king, that his chancellour was a great briber and extortioner; and that he receaved by Vaughans wife, for giving sentence with her husband, a faire gilded cup, for a bribe. By the kings appointment, after he had given up his chancellourship, he was

called before the council to answer that matter; where by the lord of Wilshire, who misliked him for his religion, it was forcibly urged against him, as a heynous cryme. Sir Thomas thus replied, "For as much as the cup was brought me for a new years gift, long after the decree was made, at the gentlewomans importunate pressing it upon me, I confesse, I refused not to receive it." The lord his enemy, in a rejoicing manner, not expecting the rest of his speech, "My lords," quoth he, "I told you you should finde a foule matter of it: for I was enformed certainelie of the truth of it." Whereupon sir Thomas desired their lordshippes, that as they had curteouslie heard him tell the one parte of his tale, so they would of their honours indifferentlie heare the rest. So he declared unto them, "that albeit," quoth he, "I did indeed, with much a-doe, receive the cup, yet immediately I caused my butler to fill it with wine, and I dranke to the bearer, Mrs. Vaughan; and when she had pledged me, I gave her the cup againe, as freelie as she gave it me, to deliver to her husband for his new-yeares gift; and at my instant request, against her will, she was forced to receive it. This her selfe shall depose, and others now here present can witness it."

And at another tyme, upon a new yeares daye, there came to him one Mistresse Crocker, a riche widowe, for whom he had made a decree against the earle of Arundel, and she presented him with a paire of gloves and forty pounds in angells in them, of whom thankfully he received the gloves, and refusing the money said unto her, "Mistris, since it were against good manners to for-sake a gentlewomans new years gift, I am contented to take your gloves, but as for the money I utterlie refuse it." So he forced her to take her gold againe.

A gentleman, one Mr. Gresham, having a cause depending before him in the chancerie, sent, for a new years gift, a faire golden cup, the fashion whereof liking him well, he caused one of his owne presentlie to be brought him. His owne was better in value, but in his mynde not of so good a fashion; this he gave the messenger to deliver to his maister in recompence of his, and under other condition he would in no wise receive his maisters cup. Such was his innocencie and clearness, evidentlie proved to be voide of all corruption and partial affection.

You have heard how Sir Thomas, before he came to the king's service, had a very worshipful living. After, he was of the kings council, under-treasurer, chauncellour of the duchie, and after

high chancellour of England. Moreover, how he was in manie honorable ambassages, alwayes in great favour with the king, and in his expences he was never prodigal nor wasteful: yet for all this^s, after the resignation of his office of chancellourship, he had not, for the maintenance of him selfe, his wife, children and nephewes, of all the lands and fees he had in England, besides the kings gift, not yearlie the full summe^t of fiftie poundes; whereof some he had by his later wife, who was a widow when he married her; some was left him by his father; some he purchased; and some fees he had of some temporal men his frendes. As for the lands he purchased, they were not above the value of twenty marks by the yeere. And after his debts payde, except his chaine of gold, he had not in gold and silver left him the value of one hundred pounds. Compare it with the wealth of some men that have these latter yeares possessed his offices, and there will appeare two-pence halfpennie a-yeare difference.

At that time he called all his children unto him, and asked theire advice, how they might, now in this decay of his abilitie, by the surrender of his offices so much impaired, that he could not as he was wont, and gladlie would, beare out the whole charge of them all himselfe, from hence-forth be able to live and continue together, as he would wish they should. When he sawe them silent, and not readie in that case to utter theire opinions, "I will then" (said he) "showe you my poore minde.

"I have bin brought up at Oxforde, at the inns of chancerie, at Lincolns inn, and also in the king's court, and so forth from the lowest to the highest; and yet I have not in yearlie revenues at this present left me little above one hundred pounds, either by inheritance, gift, or fee; so that we must hereafter, if we like to live together, be content to become contributaries. But by my counsel, it shall be best for us not to falle to the lowest fare at first. So we will not descende to Oxforde fare, nor to the fare of New inn,

^s Yet for all this.] See *Works of Sir Thomas More*, p. 867.

^t The full summe.] "After the resignation of his office of the Lord Chauncellor, he was not able, for the maintenaunce of himself, and such as necessarilie belonged unto him, sufficiently to finde meate, drinke, fewell, apparell, and such other necessarie thinges; but was inforced and compelled for lacke of other fewell, every nighte before he wente to bed, to cause a greate burden of ferne to be brought into his owne chamber, and with the blaze thereof to warme himself, his wife, and his children, and so without any other fire to goe to theyre beds."—*Life* by Harpsfield. Lambeth MSS. No. 827.

but we will beginne with Lincolns inn diet, where manie right worshipful of good years doo live full well. Which, if we the first yeare find not ourselves able to maintaine, then will we the next yeare stepp one foote lower to New inn fare, with which manie an honest man is contented. If that also exceed our abilitie, then we will the next yeare after fall to Oxforde fare¹, where manie grave and ancient fathers be continuallie conversante; which if our power stretch not to maintaine, then may we, like poore schollers of Oxforde, goe a begging with our bags and wallets, and sing *salve regina*² at rich mens doores, where for pitie some

¹ *Fall to Oxforde fare.*] The fare of the Universities at that time was indeed sufficiently scanty and hard (unless it underwent a great deterioration in the course of the next seventeen years), as we may fully learn from a description of the state of the sister university, given at St. Paul's Cross in the year 1550, by Thomas Lever, soon after made master of St. John's College.

"There be divers ther" (*at Cambridge*) "whych rise dayly betwixe foure and fyve of the clocke in the mornynge, and from fyve untill syxe of the clock use common prayer, wyth an exhortacion of Gods worde, in a common chapell; and from syxe unto ten of the clock use ever, eyther pryvate study or common lectures. At ten of the clocke they go to dinner; whereas they be contente with a peny piece of biese amongst four, havynge a few potage made of the broth of the same beefe, wyth salte and otemele, and nothyng else. After this slender dinner they be eyther teachinge or learninge untill fyve of the clocke in the eveninge, when as they have a supper not much better then their dynner. Immediately after the which they goo eyther to reasoninge in problemes, or unto summe other studye, untill it be nine or tene of the clocke; and then being without fyre, are feyne to walke or run up and downe haulte an houre, to get a heate on their fete, when they go to bed.

"These be menne not werye of their paynes, but verye sorye to leve theyr studye; and sure they be not able some of them to continue for lacke of necessary exhibicion and relief." Signat. D 5. edit. 1550.

² *And sing salve regina.*] The good Catholic beggars asked their alms in honour and worship of our Lady. And even in the character of a mendicant Sir Thomas would, in singing the hymn *Salve Regina*, have continued to give testimony of his orthodoxy. It was objected to Joane John, early in the reign of Henry VIII., that "she despised the pope, his pardons, and pilgrimages; and that when any poore body asked his almes of her in the worship of the Ladie of Walsingham, shee would straight answere in contempt of the pilgrimage, The Ladie of Walsingham helpe thee."—Fox's *Acts*, p. 735. On the other hand the Protestant beggars, and those who hoped to prevail with the Protestants, preferred their suit in the name of "*the Lord*." "These folkes" (says a zealous Romanist, in the time of Q. Mary) "woulde never saye '*oure Lorde*,' which they said was a papistical terme, but '*the Lorde*,'

good folks will give us their mercifull charitie; and so keep
 together and be merrie togeather."

And thus he might the more quietlie settle himself to the ser-
 vice of God, he made a conveyance for the disposition of all his
 lands, reserving to himselfe an estate onelie for terme of life; and,
 upon his decease, reserving some part thereof to his wife; some
 to his sonnes wife¹, for a jointure, in consideration she was an
 inheritor of a faire living in Yorkshire; and some to master
 William Roper and his wife, in recompence of their marriage
 money, with divers remainders over and above. Which con-
 veyance and assurance was perfectly finished, long before that
 matter, whereupon he was attainted, was made an offence, and
 yet afterwards by statute clearlie avoided; and so were all his
 lands, that he had assured to his wife and children, contrarie to
 all order of law, taken away from them, and confiscate unto the
 kings hands, saving that portion which he had appointed to master
 William Roper; which although he had in the former conveyance
 reserved for terme of life, as the rest, nevertheless upon further
 consideration, two days after, upon a further conveyance he gave
 the same immediatelie in possession to master Roper. And so,
 because the statute had undone that (only) which Sir Thomas
 was possessed of, the later conveyance was out of the compasse
 of the statute. So his livelihoods, after his attainure, were very
 meane to support the state of a knight, and counsellor to the
 King.

Yet for all this, Tindall, and his other evangelical brothers sai,
 and lie apace, "that they wist well, that Sir Thomas More, after
 he gave over his chauncellourship, he was no lesse worth in
 money, plate, and other moveables than twenty thousand markes."
 Which report¹ Sir Thomas hearing, "I confess" (quoth he) "if I
 had heaped up so much goods togeather, as these brethren do
 reporte, I could not have gotten them by right, and goode con-
 science." And indeed after, he was founde to be a verie poore

whiche declared them to be favourers of Gods word as they thought. And
 this terme was so universallie used, that the poore beggers hadde gotte it by
 the ende, by reason that begging thus 'For the Lordes sake have pitie upon
 the poore,' they thoughte the sooner to speede; and you shall heare it of manye
 of their mouthes as yet."—Christopherson's *Exhortation against Rebellion*.
 Signat. S. 2. A. D. 1554.

¹ *His sonnes wife.*] Anne Chrisacre, or Cresacre. See p. 110.

² *Which report.*] See *Works of Sir Thomas More*, p. 902.

man, when his house was ransacked and searcht, presentlie upon his committing to the Towere, where those that had that office appointed did give evident testimonie of his poore estate. And this his povertie was well knowne before to the bishops, and other his especiall frends. The bishops of Durham, Bath, and Winchester sent him twentie pounds, to buy him a gowne, and a letter withall, desiring him to accompanie them to the coronation of queen Anne; which he receaved, and at the next meeting said merrilie unto them in this sort. "My lords" (quoth he) "in the letters your honours latelie sent me, you required two things of me, the one whereof, sith I was so well content to graunte you, I thought I might be so bold as to deny the other; and this I did concerning the first, because I tooke you for no beggers, and myself I know to be no rich man, so I was the bolder upon that *de. &c.*" The rest of his speech to the bishops at this tyme, I reserve for an after chapter, because he rather seemed to have prophesied, than to have spoken of any probabilitie of worldly appearance.

The hereticks laid to his charge¹ that he had receaved great sommes of money of the clergie, for writing bookes against their new learning. This was a shameful and an open slander. The truth is, the bishops and clergie of England, seeing the great travaile and pains he tooke in writing for the defence of the catholicke faith, and the suppressing of heresies, the reformation whereof principallie appertained to their pastoral cures, they thinking themselves by his travaile in that behalfe, more than half discharged, and considering, for all his princes favours and high offices, he was no rich man, nor in yearlie revenues advanced as his worthines deserved; therefore at a convocation, amongst themselves, they agreed to gather up a somme of five thousand pounds towards some recompense of his pains, to the payment whereof everie one of the clergie, after the rate of their abilities, were liberalle contributors. Where Tunstall bishopp of Durham, Clarke bishopp of Bathe, Vesey bishopp of Excester repaired to him, declaring "how thankfully, for his traivailes in Gods cause they reckoned themselves bound to consider him: and albeit they could not according to his deserts, so worthilie, as gladlie they would, requite him for it, but must refer that to the goodness of God; yet for a small part of a recompense, in respect of his estate,

¹ *Laid to his charge.*] See *Works of Sir Thomas More*, p. 867.

acquaint to his worthines, in the name of the whole clergie they presented him with that small somme, which they desired him to take in good part." To them Sir Thomas answered, " that like as (quoth he) it is no small comforte to me, that so wise and learned men so well accept of my simple doings, for which I never intended to receave but at the handes of God onelie, to whome alone are theis thankes cheeflie to be attributed: so I give your honours humble thanks for your bountifull and frendlie considerations;" and for all their importunate pressinge of him they could by no means fist him with one penny thereof. Then they besought him " to be contented that they might bestowe it upon his wife and children." " Not so" (quoth he) " my lords, I had rather see it all in the Thames, than I or myne should have the worth of one pennie thereof. Though your offer indeed be verie frendlie and honourable, yet I set so much by my pleasure, and so little by my profit, that I would not, in good faith, for all this money and much more lose the rest of so many nights sleep as I have spent in these matters."—But we will put downe his owne words, as we find them in his Apology; where he saith most eloquentlie, for his manner, in this sort—" If any of the brethren thinke (as some of them say) that I have more advantage of theise matters, then I make shewe for, and that I set not so little by money as to refuse it when it is offered me, I will not dispute with them about the matter, but let them believe as they list. Yet this I will be bound to say, for myselfe, although they should call me Pharasie for my boast, and Pelagian for my labour; how bad soever they reckon me, I acknowledge that I am not yet fullie so vertuous, but that of my own disposition, without any speciall help of grace thereunto, I am over proud, and over sloathfull also, to be hyred for money to take halfe the pains in writing, that I have taken in theise matters, since I first begane: and this let them knowe, of all that I now posess, I had not a grey grote given me since I wrote my Dialogues, which was my first worke I made concerning matters of controversies. But yet they are not satisfied with this, but say there is somewhat in the winde, that I am so partiall to the clergie. As for partiality to the clergie, I mervaile whereon they gather it: Myself, *perdy*, am a temporall man; and with twice wedding am come to that passe, that I can never be priest; therefore cause of partial favour to the priests persons I have none. Marie, for their vocation I do, as everie good Christian man and woman are bound of deutie, give honour and

reverence to the sacred order of priesthood. For by priests we are made Christian men in baptism; by them we receive the other blessed sacraments; of them we receive the interpretation of the lawes of God, whose angels they be in these respects."

Little cause they had to call him partiall: for those that were naught in the clergie, and fell into his hands for anie manner of crime, found so little favour of him that there was no man living, to whome they were more loath to come³, than to Sir Thomas More. So neither hope of lucre, nor suspect of partialtie could justlie be laide to his charge.

As Sir Thomas came to his chancellourshipp against his will, so he tooke no great pleasure to be entangled in that busie office. Therefore he desired, and made great suite to be discharged of it, that he might bestow the residew of his life in ghostlie and spirituall studies and exercises; and when God had gratuslie and mercifullie granted him this his boone, he was the gladest man thereof in the worlde. Indeed he had a great foresight of evill hanging over the realme, and that made him the more desirous to live a private life. He pretended infirmitie of bodie to the kinge; and truth is, it was no naked and bare pretence, for that in verie deed he was troubled with a disease in his stomach, which continued with him manie months. He consulted thereon with his physitians, who made him this answer, "that long diseases were verie dangerous," adding further "that his disease could not be holpen, but by little and little, in continuance of time, with rest, good diet, and physicke." And this Sir Thomas considering, that either he must foregoe his office, or forslowe some part of requisite and wonted diligence; (for he perceaved he should be quickly unable to dispatch and weild the manifold and weighty affairs of that place), so if he continued he was like to be bereaved of both life and office; to preserve the one, he determined to foregoe the other. Yet for all, the Protestants, to make him the more odious, make report both at home and abroad, that More was thrust out of his chauncellourshipp, as an unmeet man, yea and against his will. *Sed mentita est iniquitas sibi* (Psalm 26): for it was most false.

The duke of Norfolke, high treasurer of England, did openlie by the king's special commandment declare, that Sir Thomas More, with much adoo, and after his earnest suite and supplica-

³ *More loath to come.*] *Works of Sir Thomas More*, p. 868.

tion, was hardlie snffered to dismiss the said office. "For the kinge" (quoth the duke) "preferring Sir Thomas to that roome, tendered the good of the commonwealth, in chusing Sir Thomas More as the meetest man in all his realme for that place. So his grace dismissing him, upon his earnest suite, in respect of his infirmities of his body, and his now decaying yeares, hath showed more tender and compassionate affection and especial favour to Sir Thomas." The verie same thinge that the duke declared, the same also the lord Audley⁴, who immediatelie succeeded him in his roome, in the kinge's owne presence, and by his commandment, did notifie in his oration made in the parliament next following. And the verie same also Sir Thomas himself declared in his epitaph, which he had provided to be put upon his sepulchre. Wherefore the truth is, for all the hereticks babbling, that as he entered into the office with the kinges high favour, with the great good will of the nobilitie, rejoycing of the people, and the expected profit of the commonweale; so it is true also, that he was most favourablie and honourablie dismissed, and upon his great suite. At his dismissal the kinge said unto him, (as he himself in a certaine epistle of his doth testifie) "Sir Thomas, if there be anie thinge that shall concern your honour, (for that verie worde it pleased the kinge to use) or pertaine to your profit, you shall alwaies find us your good and gracious lorde, readie to pleasure you in anie thinge, and so make you account of us."

Of this surrender he was mervelous glad, as though he had receaved a speciall benefitt; so departing to his house⁵, by the way he entered into the church, and gave God thanks for this favour, thinking as well worldlie adversitie as prosperitie to be God's blessings. And with his estate thus decayed, he so managed his minde and suited his port, as became a wise and holie man to doo. For as no prosperitie or worldlie worshipp did make him looke aloft, and solemnlie set by himself, with contempt

⁴ *Lord Audley.*] Sir Thomas Audley, K. G., afterwards created Lord Audley of Walden. He was in no way connected with the family of Touchet, Lord Audley.

⁵ *Departing to his house.*] "He gave over that office the 16th day of May in the yere of our Lord God 1532. And after in that somer he wrote an epitaph in Latin, and caused it to be written upon his tombe of stone, which himself, while he was Lord Chancellour, had caused to be made in his parish church of Chelsey."—*Works*, p. 1419.

or disdain of others; so could no mishap, troubles, and adversities (whereof he had his portion in full measure) dismay him, or any way infringe and break his constancie, and well settled mind.

Of this change of fortune he made him game in this sort. It was a custome during his high office, for one of his gentlemen to wait on my ladie his wife, to know (as sone as service was done) her pleasure, when she would goo home. He himself came to my ladie's, his wife's pew, and making a low curtesie said, "Madam, my lord is gone; pleaseth it now your ladyship to goo home!" She knowing him to be her husband said, "I am glad Sir Thomas, you are so merrilie disposed." "Trulie madame" (quoth he) "my lord is gone, and is not here." She not knowing what he meant, he told her of the surrender of his office. The woman brooked it as a woman; he as himself, alwaies the same, merrie, wise, and constant.

5. Sir Thomas had a deep foresight and judgment of the tyme that followed; but rather he spake by the way of *prophesie* of that which we since have full heavilie felt, and he then seemed certenlie to know; and thereof tooke such compassion, that he wished his owne death and destruction might remedie the imminent danger of future calamities.

It fortunéd once, as he walked along the Thames side at Chelsea, with his sonne in law master Roper, talking of common matters, upon the suddine he began thus to say, "I would God, sonne Roper, so that three things were well established in Christendome, that I were put in a sacke, and here presentlie cast into Thames." "What great things Sir, be these," quoth master Roper, "that should move you so to wish?" "Will you know, sonne Roper, what they be?" "Yea Marie, with a good will, if it would please you," said master Roper, "to tell me." "In good faith sonne, these they be," saith he. "The first is, that where the most part of Christian princes be now at mortal warre, they were all at one universalle peace. The second, that where the church of Christ is at this present sore afflicted with manie errours and heresies, it were well settled in a perfect uniformitie of religion. The third, that where the kinges matter of divorce is now in question, that it were, to the glorie of God and quietness of all parties, brought to a good conclusion."—This he spake when he was chauncellour, and when this matter was little thought to be of such importance as to trouble the whole

Christian orbe, and to be the cause and wreck of manie thousands perishing, as afterwards it proved.

At another time, before this matter of marriage was brought in question, master Roper fell in talk with sir Thomas of the good estate of the realme; and of a certaine joy commended unto him the happiness thereof, that had so catholick a prince, so grave a nobilitie, so loyall and obedient subjects, all agreeing in one faith, and labouring for one end. "The truth is," (quoth sir Thomas) "as the face of all things now seemeth, all is well." So he highly commended all degrees and estates of this realme, in a fare better sorte than his sonne had done before. "Yet sonne Roper," (quoth he) "I beseech our Lorde that some of us, as high as we seem to sitt upon the mountaines, treadinge hereticks under our feet like ants, live not the day to be at league and composition with them, and to let them have their churches quietlie to themselves, so they will be content to let us have our's, in the same manner." And when master Roper told him manie considerations, why there was no cause so to say or suspect; "Well, well" (quoth he) "I pray God, sonne, some of us live not to see that day," but giving no reason of this doubt, there staid. To whome answered master Roper, for which he was afterwards sorie, for his so ill placed speech, "Sir, it is desperatelie spoken." Sir Thomas perceiving him by his words to be in some passion, said merrilie againe, "Sonne Roper, be content man, be content, it shall not be so for all my sayinge;" (for his sayinge was no cause of the event, which afterwards happened.)

At that time when Cranmer had determined the matter touching the marriage of queen Anne, even accordinge to the kinges pleasure; who had sequestered himself from the church of Rome, under the pretence that he could have no justice at the popes hands, sir Thomas said to master Roper, "Sonne Roper, God give grace that theise matters be not in a while confirmed with othes, and urged with further severitie." At which tyme master Roper, seeing no likelihoode of any such matter, was somewhat offended with him for so sayinge.

It was much like to this that he answered the bishops, when they sent him the twentie pounds I told you of before, at the tyme wherein they requested him to accompanie them to the coronation of queen Anne. "My lordes" (quoth he to them) "two thinges you required: in graunting to accept the one, I

may be the bolder to deny the other. For the first, considering my estate, and your wealth, I thought it not amiss so to doe; the other putteth me in remembrance of an emperour that had ordained a lawe, that whosoever committed a certain crime, except it were a virgin, should suffer the paines of death, such was the reverence he bare to virginitie. Now so it happened, that the first committor of the offence was indeede a virginne; whereof the emperour hearing, was in no small perplexitie, being greatlie desirous to have the law put in execution, and by example of justice to terrifie others. Whereupon when his counsell sate long, solemnlie debating the matter, sodenlie there arose one amongst them, and said, 'Why make you so much adoe, my lordes, about so smalle a matter? Let her first be deflowered, then after may she be devoured.' So though your lordships have in this matter of matrimonie hytherto kept yourselves pure virgins, yet take good heed, my good lordes, that you keep your virginitie still: for some there be that by procuring your lordships to be present at the coronation, next to preach for the setting forth of it, finallie to write in the defence of it, are desirous to deflour you, and when they have defloured you, they will not fail soon after to devour you. Now my lords it lieth not in my power, but that they may devour me; but by Gods holie grace I will provide they shall never deflour me." Sir Thomas foresaw as a wise man, what after the byshopps indured with greate grieve both of minde and bodie, which they little thought would ever come to passe.

There was a booke entituled the Supplication of Beggars⁶, the author whereof Symon Fishe (who afterwards recanted his errors, and died a good man) under pretence and colour of pietie forsooth, of helping and releeving the poor, fatherless, and other impotent persons, would have all monasteries and houses of religion pulled downe and turned into the kinges hands. And craftilie goo they about to cast out all the clergie, bearing men in hand that then-after the gospell should be preached, and money made of church mens goods, the number of beggars and baudes would decrease; of idle folks or theives we should have few or none, the realme would growe exceeding rich, and in short space everie man receive exceeding great benefits, both corporall and spirituall. But sir Thomas well foresaw what would then ensue,

⁶ *Of beggars.*] Given in Fox's *Acts*, vol. ii. p. 280—4. edit. 1641.

dren and nephews at their prayers. "This is well done" (quoth he). "Use this exercise, as much as you may. Tyme will come, my children, and you shall see it, that men will make no more account of prayer, than they do of their old shoes:" which long ago we have seen fulfilled in this our countrie, by the means of that foule heresie that now infects the worlde with her poisoned doctrine of securitie of salvation.

At another time he said in this manner to his children. "It is now no maisterie, my children, to go to heaven; for everie bodie giveth you good counsele; and everie bodie good example. You see virtue rewarded, and vice punished; so that you are carried up to heaven even by the chins. But if you shall live, the tyme will come, when no man will give you good counsel, no man will give you good example; when you shall see vertue punished, and vice rewarded: if you will then stand fast, and sticke firmly to God, upon pain of my life, though you be but half good, God will allow you for whole good. This tyme, my good children, will come, therefore be provided for it."

6. We will now speak somewhat of his learning and writings*, whereby he hath consecrated his worthie name to immortal fame, till the worlds end. Somewhat we have spoken of this matter before; how in his youth in Oxforde he followed and profitted in the studies of philosophy, lawe, and divinitie. For an oration, he had few his fellowes; and for his verse he was little inferior.—It happened in the fourteenth yeare of king

* *Of his learning and writings.*] Of these bishop Burnet gives the following not very flattering opinion:—

"More was no divine at all. And it is plain to any that reads his writings that he knew nothing of antiquity, beyond the quotations he found in the Canon-law, and in the Master of the Sentences; only he had read some of St. Austin's treatises. For, upon all points of controversy, he quotes only what he found in these collections. Nor was he at all conversant in the critical learning upon the scriptures. But his peculiar excellency in writing was, that he had a natural easy expression, and presented all the opinions of popery with their fair side to the reader, disguising or concealing the black side of them with great art: and was no less dextrous in exposing all the ill consequences that could follow on the doctrine of the Reformers: and he had upon all occasions great store of pleasant tales, which he applied wittily to his purpose. And in this consists the great strength of his writings; which were designed, rather for the rabble, than for learned men. But, for justice, contempt of money, humility, and a true generosity of mind, he was an example to the age in which he lived."—Burnet's *Reformation*, vol. i.

Henry the eighth, that Charles the fifth, the emperour, came into England, and was most magnificentlie receeved by the cittes of London. At which tyme sir Thomas More made a merveilous eloquent oration in the presence of the emperour and king, in their praises and commendations, and of the great love and amity the one bare to the other, and how singular comfort and utilitie both the realms receaved thereby.

Whensoever the kinges highness would make his progression to Oxforde and Cambridge, where by those universities he was congratulated with most exquisite orations, his grace would alwaies assign Sir Thomas as one prompt and readie extempore to make answer : which to his great praise he would presentlie doe.—Yea in poetry he was excellent good. His epigrams were pleasant, wittie, not byting, nor contumelious ; whereof some he translated out of Greeke, some he devised in Latin, some in English : for this he was liked of Beatus Rhenanus in *Epistola ad Billebaldum*^{*}, where thus he saith ; “ Thomas More’s verses run sweet and pleasant, not harsh nor strained, no lameness nor obscuritie therein. More is eloquent, wittie, pure, plaine ; and all is so tempered in so sweet a measure, that no musicke can be found more pleasurable. I think the Muses have consulted to bestow upon him all their elegances, beauties, graces, all their wittie and pleasant conceits.” This was also the opinion of *Leodegarius a Quercu*¹⁰, a famous poet of France ; and others held him in the same account ; yet never tooke he liking of them himself, as he writeth to Erasmus. *Mea epigrammata nunquam placuerunt animo meo, id quod ipse mihi Erasme conscius es.* “ My epigrams never pleased my minde, as thou thyself, Erasmus, well knowest.” His learning and skill in the Greek tongue was verie great : and what a learned man he was in our common lawes, his great offices bear witness : what in civill pollicies and government, what in historie and divinitie, he left testimonie to the world by his bookes and monuments. He wrote the Life of Picus Earle of Mirandula, and translated into English his twelve rules of a good life ; and this in his younger age ; at which tyme he wrote manie devout and sweet epigrams. A little after he wrote a Treatise *De Qua-*

* *Billebaldum*.] i.e. Wilbolt, or, in Latin, *Bilibaldus* Pirckheimer, of Nuremberg, one of the most learned men of his age. His daughters are the *Bilibaldice* of Erasmus.

¹⁰ *Leodegarius a Quercu*.] Léger Duchesne. See p. 53.

*tuor novissimis*¹, but left it unfinished. He wrote the Life of King Richard the third, both in Latin and English. He left them both unperfect, neither durst any to take upon them to finish the same, being by reason of the incomparable excellencie of the worke discouraged from that enterprise. He wrote also a booke of the historie of Henry the seventh: either the booke is smothered amongst his kinne, or lost by the injurie of this tyme. I doubt not but that it was like to the rest.

But the booke that carrieth the prize above all his other workes for eloquence, invention, and matter, is his *Utopia*; which he wrote about the thirty third yeare of his age. In it he painteth the patterne and platforme of a most perfect common weale, making it to be one of the new found lands. The invention was so wittely contrived, that they thought there had been such a countrie indeed; and of their fervent zeale wished that some divines might be sent thither to instruct them in the faith of Christ. This booke for the excellencie of it, is translated into the French, Flemish, and Italian tongues, with a good grace; but into English absurdly and lamely. After this he made another book, but in another kinde, against Luther. Of this we spake before. The matter was grave and substantial; the manner fit for the author of such filth as Luther in his book to the king shewed himself.

He wrote also a treatise against the Epistle of John Pomerane², a great pillar of Protestancie. He wrote also an Exposition in Latin upon the Passion of our Lorde.

His bookes of controversie in English be these: The first is his Dialogues, commonly called, *Quoth he* and *Quoth I*. He wrote also a book against the Supplication of Beggars. Then wrote he against Tyndall, and Friar Barnes nine books. After this, in the defence of the blessed Sacrament, he wrote against John Frith. After this his Apologie. And then anone after another book intituled the Debellation of Salem and Bisance. After all this, being prisoner in the Tower he wrote three bookes of Comfort in Tribulation, a booke not inferior to any of the rest. There is nothing in it but religion and piety; it is full of ghostlie and heavenlie counsaile. It is a work rather of an angel than of a man; for he was destitute of all bookes and human helps when

¹ *De quatuor novissimis.*] See note at p. 53.

² *John Pomerane.*] i. e. John Bugenhagen. See note at p. 73.

he wrote it; he was close prisoner, and had neither inke nor pen for the most part, but onlie a cole. Although his penn was blunt and dull, and but a blacke cole, yet he had another cole that inflamed his heart, such as toucht and purified the lips of Essay; and by the help of this sacred cole, that counsaile, which he gave to others in his bookes he practised himself in patient suffering the losse of his landes, goods, and life too, for the defence of justice. He wrote at this tyme a Treatise to receave the blessed sacrament: A Treatise of the Passion: manie godlie and devout prayers and instructions; and these most of them with a cole. And in effect theise be the works he made either in Latin or English, which, (considering his continuall business and employments in the great affairs of the common wealth, his house and family) were verie manie. It is great question whether is more to be mervailed, how in the worlde, having so manie occasions of lets and troubles, he could write so much, or how afterwards, being destitute of bookes and other helps, he could write so cunninglie and exactlie of everie matter he handled.

Sir Thomas for his witt and learninge, even when he lived, throughout all christendome was almost miraculously accounted of: as appeareth by the writings of sundrie learned men. Collet was wont to say, "England had but one witt," meaning that he had no peer: he spake it of master More. Others compare him to Augustine; some to Chrisostome; and accounted he was of all of fame, for the mirrhour of the worlde. At that tyme John Colet, John Grocine, and Thomas Linacre were in place of his tutors. William Lillie, William Mountjoy, William Latimer his fellowe scholars: all excellent and learned men. His friends, Thomas Lupsett, the Greek reader in Oxforde; Thomas Eliot, not obscure of his writings; John Croke, king Henry the eighth his schole maister. Reignall Poole, afterwards cardinall, was his especiall friend; and so was Edward Lea, archbishop of Yorke, who wrote learnedlie against Erasmus. John Fisher bishoppe of Rochester; and Cuthbert Tunstall bishoppe of London, after of Durham, godfather to the Queens Majestie, that now is (1600). His externall friends were these: Budeus^a, a learned Frenchman; Martin Dorpius; Beroaldus^b; Buslidianus; Peter Giles^c of

^a *Budeus.*] Guillaume Budé, the author of the famous treatise, *De Asse*.

^b *Beroaldus.*] Filippo Beroaldo the younger, librarian of the Vatican.

^c *Peter Giles*] The editor of *Politian's Letters*, better known by his Latin

Antwerpe; Johanes Cochleus of Saxonie, Luther's scourge; Francis Granveld; Conradus Gocloneus of Westphale; Ludovicus Vives of Spaine. But amongst all his friends none so deare and entire unto him as was the worshipfull merchant Anthonie Bonvice^a of the cittie of Luke in Italie; to whom Sir Thomas, a little before his arraignment, wrote an epistell in Latin, with a cole⁷, for lacke of a penn. Sir Thomas was wont to call him the apple of his eye. His epistell translated into English is in this manner^a.

Sir Thomas was so well known to the learned abroad, that his opinion was thought sufficient to decide anie controversie. It happened once that a verie excellent learned man a stranger, satt at the table at a great man's house in this realm with Sir Thomas More, whom this stranger had never before seen. There was great reasoning between the stranger and some others of deep points of learninge. At length Sir Thomas set in foot, and demeaned himself so cunninglie, that the stranger, who was a religious man, was astonished to hear so profound reasons at a layman's hands. Whereupon he enquired of those that satt next him, what his name was; which when he understood he said as queen Saba said to Solomon. "*Verus est sermo quem audiui in terra mea super sapientia hujus: non credebam narrantibus mihi, donec veni et vidi:*" (3. Regum 10.) "True is the fame I have heard of this man's wisdom in my countrie. I did not beleieve them that told it: but now I am come myself, and I find it to be true, yea and more I find than was reported."

One thinge encreased much the fame of his exquisite learninge: for his manner was, when he had occasion to be present where

name of Petrus Ægidius. He must not be confounded with his French namesake and contemporary, Pierre Gilles, *Gyllius*, the naturalist.

^a *Anthonie Bonvice.*] Antonio Buonvisio, of a noble family of Lucca.

⁷ *With a cole.*] "Yet still, by stealth he would get little pieces of paper, in which he would write diverse letters with a cole; of which my father left me one, which was to his wife; which I account as a precious jewell; afterwards drawn over by my grandfather's sonne with inke."—*Life of Sir Thomas More, by his Great Grandson, Thomas More, Esq.* p. 240. edit. 1726.

^a *In this manner.*] This letter, being somewhat long, unimportant, and very badly translated, is omitted. It may be found in the original Latin, in Sir Thomas's *Works*, p. 1454. The reader, who may wish to know more of the Letters of Sir Thomas, will find a copious collection of the *Latin* portion of them, in Jortin's *Life of Erasmus*, Appendix, No. LXIII. p. 308—400. svo. 1810. For the *English*, &c., see *Works*, fol. 1557. p. 1419—58.

anie universitie was either in England, France, or Flanders; to goe to the scholes and hear the publick readings and disputations. And there he would often reason and dispute, so that he won the hearts of the learned, wheresoever he came. Againe one thing more gott him so many friends; for he was not curious in making choice of his friends, with such as desired it, and he liked; but entered once into friendship none more diligent to nourish and maintain it than he. In his friends affairs very diligent and carefull. In his owne negligent, in so much that in his apparell and expences he appointed John a Wood, a verie simple servant of his to be his tutor and overseer. In conversation with his friends he was not verie scrupulous or ceremonious, though he never omitted what civilitie and curtisie did require. He was sweet and pleasant in conversation, so that all tooke singular delight and content in his companie, for he had a speciall gift in merrie and pleasant talke, yet alwaies without gall or bitterness; never hurt, nor slander in his sport nor jestings. "*Pectus ejus omni nive candidius,*" as Erasmus speaketh of him. He was so pure and spotless, as no swan so white as his minde.

7. Sir Thomas, so wise a man and yet so sociable, so grave and yet so pleasant, it is hard to say whether he was a better senatour than a sweet friend: but this he solemnlie observed both in earnest and in jest, to show no change of countenance in anie thinge that he happened to speake.

Presentlie after Sir Thomas was called to be one of the privie counsell, Cardinall Wolsey, who was president of the counsell, propounded to the lords and nobles present at the counsell table, that it was verie expedient to have a lord constable (an office seldome seen in England). After he had urged the matter with many reasons, every man's opinion was demanded: who all seemed to like very well of the matter, and not one to gainsay the cardinall, till Sir Thomas More at last, as being the meanest in that honourable assemblie of great prelates, dukes, and cheefe earles of the realm, had showed his mind that he thought it an unmeet proposition. And there he made such probable reasons for his so saying, that the whole counsell began to forethinke them of their forwardness, and desired a new sitting before they would give their resolutions.

The cardinall stomaching the matter, as thinkinge himself injured by Sir Thomas, for he made full account to have had this office himself, spake in this bitter manner unto him. "Are you

not ashamed master More, so much to esteeme of your wisdome, as to thinke us all fooles and set here to keep geese; and you onlie wise, and set to govern England. Now by my troth thou showest thyself a verie proud man, and a more foolish counsellor." Sir Thomas not abashed with this public check, answered him according to his disposition in this merrie, yet wittie sorte. "Our Lord be blessed (quoth he) that my sovereign leage hath but one fool in so ample a senate;" and not a worde more.—The cardinall's drift was all dasht.

At another tyme Sir Thomas sitting as judge, some little pettie fellows were brought before him for picking and cutting of purses. Cut-purse art was not then so frequent, nor yet so heynous as now*. They that were endamaged made means for their losses, and one of the justices, a grave and an old man, all to rated the poor men, affirming that they were in great fault that had no better care of their money: for their negligence and carelessness made theeves, by giving them so fair occasion that they could hardly but doo as they did. Sir Thomas seeing the importunity of the old man, sought occasion to depart for that present, referring the hearinge of these matters till the next morninge. In the meane time he caused the thief to be sent for to his chamber, and there, after he had thoroughly chidden him, said unto him; "I have good hope that thou wilt do better hereafter; and see it prove so. For this time I will stand your friend, but you must shew me a tricke of your cunninge. You heard yesterday how the old gentleman chid them that lost their purses; if thou canst take his purse from him, and let me know when it is done, I will warrant thee for this tyme thou shalt take noe harme."

The poore knave promised his diligence, and being the next day the first man that was called to his answer, made a request to the bench, "that it would please them to give him leave to speake, for he doubted not but to satisfie them at the full. But the matter he was to utter was secret; therefore he desired he might tell it to some one first in secret." That was graunted him, and when it was asked him whom he would have: "Sir if it

* *So heynous as now.*] See Thomas Dekker's various works, and others, which, at the end of Elizabeth's reign and beginning of the reign of James the First, enter so fully into the art of thieving, and shew the wretched state of morals at that time.

might be you," said the thief, pointing to the old angrie gentleman, "to you I would tell it." Then he and the old man went apart. The old man's purse was made fast to his girdle, which the thief spying gave it the looseing. After he had told a frivolous tale to him, he returned and gave notice of the purse to Sir Thomas. Sir Thomas taking occasion by giving an almes to a prisoner, whose discharge was staid for lacke of money to defray the keeper's fees, requests the gentlemen on the bench to help the poor man. He himself gave first. When it came to the old justice, he put his hand to his pouch, and found it to be taken away; as angrie as ashamed, affirming verie seriouslie that he had his purse when he came to the hall, and he merveiled what was become of him. "It is well," said Sir Thomas, "you will now leave to chide my neighbours, who had as little care but not so good hap as you, for you shall have your purse againe." So he told who had it.

Sir Thomas being beyond the seas in ambassage, happened to dine amongst manie strangers of divers countries; and amongst other discourses of table talk, a question was moved of the diversitie of the languages, each man praising his owne for the best. They concluded English to be worst of all. "Nay soft," said Sir Thomas, "*suum cuique pulchrum*: but yet by your leave, I must needs speake a word in defence of my language; and by good reason I will shew it nothing inferior to anie of your's. And first for antiquity; we Englishmen come of the old Brittaines; the Britons of Brutus, he of Eneas Silvius, and he of the Gods. *O Chara Deum soboles*. So for antiquity I may compare with the proudest. Again you know, that *omne quod difficilius eo pulchrius*. Every thing the harder it is, the fairer it seems. Now let anie man here speak anie sentence in his owne language, and you shall hear me dialect and pronounce it as well as himself." And so they did. And without difficulty or difference he performed his promise. "Now I will speak but three words, and I durst jeopard a wager, that none here shall pronounce it after me. *Thicarts thwackit him with a thwittle*¹." And no man there could pronounce it.

There was a fellowe had lost his purse and tenn pounds in it; and hoping to have it againe caused a solemn bill to be set up in

¹ *Thwittle*.] Thwittle, or whittle, is still in use for a Sheffield knife so called. To thwack, or whack, can require no explanation.

*Paul's*². "Whosoever hath found a purse," &c. Sir Thomas by chance sent for all the bills there. Amongst the rest happening on this, he smiling tooke his pen, and wrote underneath THOMAS MORE, and so sent it backe againe. The fellowe seeing his name, was full glad; for knowing him to be a good man he hoped to have his purse againe; so with great joy he repaired to Sir Thomas; who caused him to be brought before him, demanded his name, his age, his abode; asked what money was in his purse, when and where he lost it. He wrote all this; then said to him, "My friend, I am sorrie for your losse; but I have not your purse, nor I know not where it is." "Why then said the fellowe, if it may please you, did you write your name?" "Marie (quoth he) to this end, that I might knowe thee against another time; for if you cannot keep your owne purse, you shall not keep mine." So he gave him fortie shillings towards his losse, bid him be more warie hereafter, and dismissed him.

There was another fellowe had made a verie foolish book in prose, and presented Sir Thomas More with it, hoping for a reward for his labour. Sir Thomas read it, and greatlie misliked the book. At the next meeting of the fellowe, he asked him if he could turn it into meeter. "Yea," said the fellowe; and he did quicklie. When he brought it againe, "What," said Sir Thomas, "is it the same booke?" "Yea," said the fellowe, "word for word; but that it is now in verse, before in prose." "Then it is a faire piece," said he: "before it had neither rime nor reason; now it hath at the least, some rime, no reason."

Sir Thomas being at Brussels in ambassage from his king to the emperour Charles the fifth, a bragging fellow vaunted himselfe the wisest and most learned in a countrie; and had placed papers in everie post, that he would dispute with anie, come who would, in anie question of what law soever, civil, common, municipale, yea in anie point of other learning. Sir Thomas, seeing the exceeding vanitie of the man, thought he needed

² *In Paul's*] The old cathedral of St. Paul's was a place of general resort. It was not only a public walk, but also, its precincts being privileged from arrest, greatly frequented by idle and disorderly persons: notices of all kinds were here affixed.

"A man must not make choyce of three things, in three places; of a wife in Westminster, a servant in *Paul's*, or a horse in Smithfield, least he chuse a queane, a knave, or a jade."—*Choice of Change*.

See also the various passages in Shakspeare.

modestie, and gave him this gentle gleeke; he caused this question to be written, "*Utrum avaria³ capta in withernamia sint irreplegibilia,*" 'Whether chattell taken withername may be replevied,' writing underneath that there was one in the companie of the English ambassadour that would maintaine dispute with him in that question. This glorioso, when he sawe this question, knew not so much as the meaning of the terms, so was hissed at, and made a fable⁴ to all that court.

Sir Thomas being asked why he choosed little woemen for his

³ *Utrum Avaria.*] "If the distress be carried out of the county, or concealed, then the sheriff may return that the goods, or beasts, are *eloigned, elongata*, carried to a distance, to places to him unknown: and thereupon the party replevying shall have a writ of *capias in withernam, in vetito* (or, more properly, *repetito*) *namio*; a term which signifies a second or reciprocal distress, in lieu of the first which was eloigned. It is therefore a command to the sheriff to take other goods, of the distreinor, in lieu of the distress formerly taken, and eloigned, or withheld from the owner. So that here is now distress against distress; one being taken to answer the other, by way of reprisal (in the old northern languages the word *withernam* is used as equivalent to *reprisals*), and as a punishment for the illegal behaviour of the original distreinor. For which reason goods taken in *withernam* cannot be replevied, till the original distress is forthcoming."—"The substance of this rule composed the terms of that famous question, with which Sir Thomas More (when a student on his travels) is said to have puzzled a pragmatistical professor in the university of Bruges, in Flanders; who gave a universal challenge to dispute with any person in any science; *in omni scibili, et de quolibet ente*. Upon which Mr. More sent him this question, "*utrum averia caruca, capta in retito namio, sint irreplegibilia,*" 'whether beasts of the plough taken in *withernam*, are incapable of being replevied.'" Blackstone's *Commentaries*, b. iii. ch. 9.

⁴ *Made a fable.*] When Williams, afterwards abp. of York, was made Lord Keeper, by King James I., "one of the bar" (we are told) "thought to put a trick upon his freshmanship; and trolled out a motion crammed like a Granada with obsolete words, coins of far-fetched antiquity, which had been long disused, worse than Sir Thomas More's *Averia De Wethernam* among the Masters of Paris. In these misty and recondite phrases, he thought to leave the new Judge feeling after him in the dark; and to make him blush, that he could not answer to such mystical terms as he had conjured up. But he dealt with a wit that never was entangled in a bramble bush. For with a serious face he answered him in a cluster of most crabbed notions, picked up out of metaphysics and logic, as *Categorematical* and *Synkategorematical*, and a deal of such drumming stuff; that the motioner being foiled at his own weapon, and well laughed at in the court, went home with this new lesson, *That he that tempts a Wise man in jest, shall make himself a Fool in earnest.*" Bishop Hacket's *Life of Williams*, p. 75.

wives, made answer, " Wote you not, that woemen be necessarie evils! then do I followe the philosopher's rule, who willet us of two evils to choose the least. So do I of my wives, and yet had I enough of the least."

Sir Thomas his last wife loved little dogs to play withall. It happened that she was presented with one, which had been stoln from a poor beggar woman. The poor beggar challenged her dog, having spied it in the arms of one of the serving men, that gave attendance upon my ladie. The dog was denied her; so there was great hold and keepe about it. At length Sir Thomas had notice of it; so caused both his wife and the beggar to come before him in his hall; and said, " Wife, stand you here, at the upper end of the hall, because you are a gentlewoman: and goodwife, stand there beneath, for you shall have no wrong." He placed himself in the midst, and held the dog in his hands, saying to them, " Are you content, that I shall decide this controversie that is between you concerning this dogg?" " Yea," (quoth they). " Then," said he, " each of you call the dogg by his name, and to whom the dogg cometh, she shall have it." The dogg came to the poor woman; so he caused the dogg to be given her, and gave her besides a French crown, and desired her that she would bestowe the dogg upon his ladie. The poor woman was well apaide with his fair speeches, and his almes, and so delivered the dogg to my ladie.

The hereticks, finding fault with him that he was too long in his bookes, seeing their manner of writing was verie shorte, Sir Thomas answered, " as brief as they are, they be so much too long, even by so much as they are. For who can make a shorter voiage than he that lacks both his legges? for they have neither good matter, nor fit words. So these my good brethren may be as short as sweet, that is, never a whit."—Again the hereticks, being galled by his writings, found fault with him that he would reprehend them, seeing it was not in him to amend them. " Well spoken, and to good purpose," said Sir Thomas, " so the fellow should never be hanged, except the judge would be bound to make restitution." " You must prove, master More," (quoth the hereticks) " your assertions with the express word of God, not with your dreams and fancies." " It is well," said Sir Thomas, " that my verie dreams so trouble you. I doubt not but when you shall see my day labours, you will better advise yourselves; and feare to provoke the expert and learned in

divinitie, when the verie dreams of aliens in that faculty have so much astonished you."

Sir Thomas likened the manner of his adversaries repeating his arguments, alwaies leaving out the chiefest force thereof, to the play of little children, that make them in sport little houses of chipps, and will throwe them downe with a great facilitie; for this is solemn with all hereticks⁶, to misrehearse the catholics arguments, and to leave out the verie pith of their reasoning. "And herein," saith master More, "they do with me, as an ill champion doth to his adversarie, who having a day of challenge appointed to wrastle, and fearing his might and cunninge, seeketh to undermynd by craft. So he gets him by one sleight or other into his hand, before the time of tryall, and dieteth him with such thin cheer, that the man is half hunger-starved; and so when the day is come he is so feeble and faint, that poor sillie soule, he can scant stand on his leggs: *then* you wot well, it is no hard matter to give him a fall. But it is well with me that my feeding is so homelie, for I can battle and grow fat with anger and ill usage. So they can do me no great harm if they let me but live."

The heretick Tindall in his Bible, translated *Presbyter* priest, into *elder*; and *Ecclesia* church, into *congregation*. "This word congregation," saith Sir Thomas, "as Tindall useth it, no more

⁶ *With all hereticks.*] This general reflexion is exceedingly remote from truth.—What names, of those who had written when this author was alive, are more eminent in the popish controversy, on the side of reformation, than those of Cranmer, Jewel, and Bilson? Yet Cranmer, in his grand work, his Answer to Stephen Gardiner, lays before his reader every word of that prelate's animadversions, as well as the whole of the original book against which those animadversions were directed. In like manner, Jewel, in his defence of the Apology, produces first the Apology itself; next Harding's pretended confutation of it; and last of all his own defence against that confutation. He follows a like practice in his other great work, the "Reply." Bishop Bilson in the *True Difference between Christian Subjection and Unchristian Rebellion*, "repells" a considerable portion of his antagonist's performances, as he tells us "word by word." What also does Fulke with regard to the Rhemish Testament; and to Gregory Martin's attack upon the English translations of the Scriptures? Again, let any one refer to Nowell against Dorman, Dering against Harding, and a great many more protestant writers, and he will immediately find not only that this imputation is not true; but that the authors had taken the very best means to protect themselves (if it were possible) from such a charge, by inserting in their own books every syllable of those treatises which were the subjects of their animadversions

signifieth the congregation of Christen people, than a fair flocke of unchristen geese. And this worde elder no more signifieth a priest, than an *elder sticke*." Tindall with Sir Thomas his substantiall reasoning was so amazed, that he was in a labyrinth, and manie times so brought to a bay, that he was like to a hare that had twenty brace of greyhounds after her, he so windeth and turneth himself in and out, this way and that way; so that with his subtil shiftinge he endeavoureth to blinde the eies of the simple; but he maketh the more watchful and learned sort as blind as a catt; so he can be no more seen where he walketh, than if he had danced all naked in a net; and thus he plaieth *the blind Hob about the house*. But at last, after much adoo, Tindall mendeth his translation of the word *presbyter*, which before he had translated *elder*: he afterwards translated it into *senior*; and therein he laboured so learnedlie, that Sir Thomas declared to him, that in his later translation he was much more helped with four faire vertues, malice, ignorance, errour, and follie. "And whereas" (saith Sir Thomas) "you promised to mend the error; by translating *elder* into *senior*, you have as well performed it, as he that were blinde of one eye, to amend his sight, would put out the other."

After manie disputes with these wrangling and unlearned mates, he puts Tindall, Barnes and the rest to dispute with the limping and halting Good Wife of the boothe at Pudle Wharfe, and makes her not to limp and halt so much as the lame and weake reasons of frier Barnes do. But what they lacke in good reasoning, they have it in rayling; for in scoffing they are peerless; and especiallie frier Barnes, who fareth as if he were from a frier waxen a fidler, and would at a tavern go gett him a pennie for a fit of mirth. With these and such like merriments he seasoned the tediousness of his writtings. These evangelical brethren found great fault with Sir Thomas, that he was so merrie and pleasant in his writtings. "I would have hardlie beleevved" (quoth he) "that ever they would have thought me pleasant to them; for I thinke they have found little in my writtings to have pleased them. But seeing I please them so well, I will be as pleasurable as I may; for it is better to be merrie than waywarde."

Sir Thomas kept his accustomed mirth as a testimonie of a clear conscience in his greatest afflictions. Being brought to the Tower, the porter at his entrance demanded, as the manner is, to have his uppermost garment, be it cloke or gowne. Sir Thomas

delivered him his hat : " Here hold my friend," (quoth he) " here is my hoode : for this is my uppermost ; for it covereth my topp."

Being prisoner in the Tower, the lieutenant*, who was his good friend and old acquaintance, desired him, that he would accept in good part such cheer as he was able to make him. " Yea," quoth Sir Thomas, " here is good cheer, master lieutenant, God be thanked ! And if any here like it not, turn him out of doors for a churl."

After he was close prisoner, and had his books taken from him, and had neither inke nor paper allowed him, he caused all the windowes of his chamber to be fast shut. Being asked why he did so, " Is it not meet" (quoth he) " to shut up my shop windows when all my ware is gone ?"

Sir Thomas More being condemned, Sir Thomas Pope was sent to him from the kinge, to bid him prepare himself to die, for by such an hour he should loose his head. When master Pope perceived that Sir Thomas More was nothing dismayed nor altered for this message, he thought that master More did not beleve it. Wherefore he sought in earnest manner to persuade him that it was true, and saide to him, " Sir, you are but a dead man. It is impossible for you to live till the afternoon." Master More said not a worde, called for an urinall, and looking on his water said, " Master Pope, for any thing that I can perceave, this patient is not so sicke but that he may doo well, if it be not the kinges pleasure he should die. If it were not for that, there is great possibilitie of his good health. Therefore let it suffice that it is the kinges pleasure that I must die."

At another time, there came a man of some reckoning, and was mervelous earnest and importunate with Sir Thomas, to have him change his minde, and that he should not be so obstinate and self-liked, as to persevere still in one minde. Sir Thomas either wearie of his tedious speeches, or desirous to be merrie, or to learne the man to speake more intelligible, for in all his discourse he never mentioned wherein he should change his minde, nor spake one worde, either of the marriage, or of the kinges supremacie, or of any particular matter that concerned Sir Thomas, but onlie desired and urged that he would be better

* *Lieutenant.*] Sir William Kingstone probably. See Cavendish's *Life of Wolsey*, vol. i. p. 627.

of the realm, to have their beards cut shorte and notted. And once I thought to have gone to my death, notted, as I was wont to wear it. But now I have changed my opinion ; for my beard shall fare as my head, though the one be dearer to me than the other."

As he lived, so he died ; always possessing his soule in peace and tranquillitie. *Mens secura, jure convivium*, "a quiet mind is a continuall banquet."

Going to the scaffold to loose his head, the ascending of the stairs not being verie easie, "Help me up with one of your hands," said he to one of the officers, "for as for my coming downe, let me shift as I may : for by then I am sure I shall take no great harme." His head being laid on the block, the executioner asked him pardon, as the custom is. "I forgive thee with all my heart" (quoth he). "Marie, my neck is so shorte, I feare me thou shalt have little honestie by thy workmanship. See therefore that thou acquite thyself well ;" and therewithall he gave him an angell for his paines. These his sweet and pleasant speeches'

' *His sweet and pleasant speeches.*] We may borrow here a short extract from Lloyd's *State Worthies*.

"His apophthegms were grounded on experience and judgment. He would say,—

" 'He was not always merry that laughed.

" 'The world is undone by looking at things at a distance.

" 'To aim at honour here, is to set up a coat of arms over a prison-gate.

" 'If I would employ my goods well, I may be *contented* to lose them ; if ill, I should be *glad*.

" 'He that is covetous when he is old, is as a thief that steals when he is going to the gallows.

" 'The greatest punishment in the world were to have our wishes.

" 'Pusillanimity is a great temptation.

" 'Affliction undoes many : pleasure more.

" 'We go to hell with more pain than we might go to heaven.

" 'Who would not send his alms to heaven ? Who would not send his estate whither he is to be banished ?'

"When any detracted from others at his table, he said, 'Let any man think as he pleases, I like this room well.'

" 'It is easier to prevent than redress.' " P. 49, 50.

"To one who told him of his detractors, he said, 'Would you have me punish those by whom I reap more benefits, than by all you my friends ?'

"When my lord Cromwell came to him in his retirement, he advised him to tell the king 'what he *ought* to do, not what he *can* do : so shall you shew yourself a true and faithful servant, and a right worthy counsellor. For if a lion knew his own strength, hard were it for any man to rule him.' " P. 53.

purchased good will of all that knew him; and therefore in his epitaph he speaks this of himself, "*Necque nobilibus eram invidus, nec injucundus populo*: Neither was I misliked of the nobles, nor unpleasant to the commons." I must say, to theeves, murderers, and especiallie to hereticks, he was no great friend, therefore he in the same place saith, "*Furibus, homicidis, hereticisque molestus fui*. To theeves, murderers, and hereticks I was allwaies grievous and offensive." And to be troublesome to hereticks he counted it a praise; and therefore in an epistle to Erasmus he saith in this manner. "*Quod in epitaphio profiteor, me hereticis esse molestum, hoc ambitiosus feci*. In that I confess me to have been displeasing to hereticks, this I say I wrote ambitiouslie: for there is not any sorte of men that I worse like than they: for I see by daieily experience, so much evill by them, that it greeveth me to the heart to think of it."—Yet all the while he was chauncellour there was not one man put to death for heresie.

6. Now let us a little consider his demeanour towards his wife, children, and familie, which was so well ordered, that rather it might seem a religious monasterie of regulars, than a mansion house of a lay-man. And some perhaps will thinke it rather a wittie invention what it should be, than a historie what in truth it was. For everie bodie there had his time and taske so sett, either in reading spirituall books, prayers or other vertuous exercises, that you would thinke it Mary and Martha's house, fitt to give entertainment to their Creator. There was no strife, no debate, no wanton or unseemlie talke. Idleness the bane of youth was quite excluded. To labour and to be vertuous was their onlie care. His servants he would in no case suffer to be idle: for he would say "large food and rest bring diseases both to bodie and minde." Therefore some he appointed to trimme and weed his garden, allotting to each a plott, that by striving each to keep his portion best, they might delight to be working. Some he appointed to teach musicke, both song and instrument. Others to write; others to painte. Some he would have to mend and sowe apparell. Of cards and dice no use at all. Besides this, he observed that his men should lodge in one part of his house, and woomen in an other: nor would he suffer any familiarity amongst them; hardlie to speake: more seldome to converse together, but upon especiall occasion. When he was at home, his custome was, besides private prayers which he never omitted, daylie in the morning with his children to say the seven

psalms and the letanies with the suffrages^{*}; and at night, before he went to bed, he would call all his household to goo with him to the chappell, or to his hall, and there on his knees to say the psalm *Miserere mei, Deus misereatur nostri, &c.* the anthem *Salve Regina*, and the psalme *De profundis*. This he did even when he was lorde chauncellour. He had also the care that on everie feaste and Sunday all should hear masse. At the solemnities of Easter, Christmas, Whit Sunday, All Saints, and the like, he would have all to arise at night, and go to the church, there to be present at mattins, and after at even song.

He would never strike any of his servants, nor give them any words of contumelie or reproach. If he had anie occasion to chide them, it was in such mild sort, that his verie chiding made him more to be loved. They would be glad to have given occasion in some light matter, (yet feared to give occasion) that they might enjoy his sweet and loving chiding. Often he would, but especiallie upon Good Friday, cause the passion of our Saviour to be red before all his familie. And he would here and there explicate the text by manner of exhortation. Allwaies at his table he had red first a chapter out of the bible: then some comentarie, or some spirituall book. Not a word was spoken all that tyme. Either one of his daughters, his sonne John, or Margaret Gige, till they were married, by turns did reade. The reading was ended when the sign was given with, "*Tu autem Domine miserere nobis,*" according to the ecclesiasticall manner.

He conversed with his children in most loving manner. He would talk with them of the joyes of heaven, and the pains of hell; of the lives of the holy martyrs, of their patience, and love of God; and tell them what a happy and blessed thing it was, for the love of God, to suffer the losse of goods, imprisonment, losse of lands, and life also. And he would further say unto them, that upon his faith, if he might perceave, that his wife and children would encourage him to die for a good cause, it should so much comfort him, that for verie joy thereof it would make him merrilie to runne to death. And to have them the better prepared against troubles, he would show what was possible, though not like to fall unto him. If his wife, or anie of his children were sike or diseased, he would say unto them, "We may not look, at our pleasures to go to heaven in feather-beds,

^{*} *Suffrages.*] See note at p. 66.

and with full bellies; it is not the way; for our Saviour himself went thither with great paine and tribulation; and the crosse was the path wherein he walked, leaving us example to followe his stepps. The servant is not to look to be in better case than his master. Be of good comfort, and be patient; for this sickness is sent you of God to purchase you heaven." He would tell them the means to attain to this vertue, or to that; and to flee or shunn this vice, or some other; and as speculatively, so practically taught them to embrace vertue, and speciallie humilitie.

His sonne John's wife often had requested her father in law, Sir Thomas, to buy her a billiment, sett with pearles. He had often put her off, with many prettie sleights; but at last, for her importunity, he provided her one. Instead of pearles, he caused white pease to be sett; so at his next coming home, his daughter demanded her jewell. "Aye marrie, daughter, I have not forgotten thee." So out of his studie he sent for a box, and solemnly delivered it to her. When she with great joy lookt for her billiment, she found, far from her expectation, a billiment of pease: and so she almost wept for verie greefe. But her father gave her so good a lesson, that never after she had any great desire to weare anie new toy.

They having so vertuous and good education, could not chuse but prove most toward children. He provided good maisters for them. Dr. Clement, a famous phisitian, was one. William Gonnell (whose memorie is yet fresh in Cambridge, for his learning and his workes of pietie), Richard Hart, and others taught them humanitie, Greek, Latin, logique, philosophie, the mathematiques; and withall they red unto them some easie things in divinitie; and how much they profitted herein, we will particularlie sett downe:—but first we will speak of his wives.

Sir Thomas was twice married, as before I said: first to Joan Coke*, a young maid, and a gentleman's daughter of Essex. She was very vertuous, and pliable to all his will and pleasure. By her he had three daughters, Margaret, Elizabeth, Cicilie; and one onlie sonne whose name was John. His wife, when he first married her, she was after her countrie fashion rude and untought: but he soon framed her to his disposition and appetite.

* Joan Coke.] See p. 55.

He caused her to be instructed in learning, and all kind of musicke; and shee so well liked him, that no doubt if she had lived, he should have had a sweet and contented life with her.

His three daughters were thus married. Margaret to maister William Roper; who had by him two sonnes, Thomas and Anthony, and three daughters Elizabeth, Marie, and Margaret. His second daughter had to husband, John Dansey; and she had five sonnes and two daughters. Cicilie was given in marriage to Giles Heron; and they had two sonnes and a daughter. John More, his onlie sonne, married mistress Anne Chrisacre, a gentleman's daughter of worshipp in Yorkshire. She was the onlie heir of her father, and by her came a fair living. Master John More had by her six sonnes; Thomas, Austin, Edward, Bartholomew, another Thomas, Francis, and one onlie daughter called Anne. Thomas the eldest sonne of John, and god-son to Sir Thomas the grand-father, married the daughter of master Scroope, and are now both living. (Anno Domini 1599.) He hath three comelie gentlemen to his sonnes, and five daughters now alive. He hath had thirteen children, of whom I could relate particuler matter much worthie the noting; but seeing they are yet living, and they desire rather to be known by their vertues, than by others' penns, I shall cease from that labour. Eleven of this offspring were born before Sir Thomas his death and imprisonment.

Now that Sir Thomas had so manie children, and so great a family, he knew the care in ruling and governing them was great; and to ease himself of that burden determined to marrie againe; so for that end principallie he married a widdowe¹, whose skill in such matters he thought would much ease him. This wooman most lovinglie he used. Though she was aged, blunt, rude, and barren, yet he of his wisdom, or rather pietie, so cherished, and made much of her, as if she had been his first young wife, adorned with happy issue of her bodie. She was also sparefull, and somewhat given to niggardliness. Yet such as she was, he by his dexterity so fashioned her, that he had a quiet and pleasant life with her, and brought her to that order that she learned to play and sing: and ever, at his returne home, he tooke an account of the task he had enjoyned her touching these exercises; but with such shoue of love, that she desired

¹ *Married a widdowe.*] Mrs. Alice Middleton.

to please him the better. The greatest fault she had, was she would now and then show herself to be her mother's daughter, kitt after kinde: it is but their natures to be a little talkative.

Once after shrift¹ she bad Sir Thomas be merrie: "for I have" (quoth she) "for all this whole day left my shrewdness; for I have been at confession: but to-morrow I'll begynne afresh." And though it was spoken in merriment, yet was it full often true; as himself acknowledgeth in his Books of Comforte, though as his manner was, under a disguised woman of Hungary he reported it. That she had a tongue you shall see by this. For when she saw Sir Thomas had no list to grow upwarde in the worlde, nor labour for office of authority; and besides that, forsook a right worshippfull place when it was offered him, she fell in hand with him, and all to be-rated him. "What will you doe" (quoth she) "that you list not to put yourself forth as other folkes doe? Will you sit still by the fire, and make goslings in the ashes with a sticke, as children doe? Would God I were a man, and look then what I would doe!" "Why wife" (quoth Sir Thomas) "what would you doe?" "What? marrie, goe forward with the best of them all" (quoth she). "For as my mother was wonte to say, (God have mercie on her soule!) it is ever better to rule, than to be ruled. Wherefore I would not by God I warrant you, be so foolish to be ruled, where I might rule." "By my troth wife" (quoth he) "in this I dare say you say true: for I never found you willing to be ruled so long as I have knowne you²."

Againe, when he was prisoner in the Tower, and had continued there a good while, she at last obtained licence to see him.

¹ *After shrift.*] His latter wife was a widow, of whom Erasmus writeth that he was wont to say, that she was, "*nec bella, nec puella.*" Who as she was a good housewife, so she was not void of the fault that often followeth that virtue, somewhat shrewd to her servants. Upon a time Sir Thomas found fault with her continual chiding, saying, "If that nothing else would reclaim her, yet the consideration of the time" (for it was Lent) "should restrain her." "Tush, tush, my Lord," (said she) "look here is one step to heaven-ward," *showing him a Friar's girdle.* "I fear me" (quoth Sir Thomas More) "this one step will not bring you up a step higher."

"One day when she came from shrift she said merrily unto him, 'Be merry, Sir Thomas, for this day was I well shriven, I thank God; and purpose now therefore, to leave off my old shrewdness.' 'Yea,' (quoth he) 'and to begin afresh.'" Camden's *Remains*, p. 275. edit. 1657.

² *As I have knowne you.*] See *Works of Sir Thomas More*, p. 1224.

Who at her first coming, like a simple, ignorant wooman, after her homely manner, thus bluntly saluted him: "What a good yeare⁴, master More, I mervaille what you mean. You have been hitherto taken for a wise man; and will you now so much play the foole, as to lie here in this close and filthie prison; and to be shut up alone with mice and ratts, when you might be abroad at your libertie, with the favour and good will of the king, and all his counsell, if you would but doe as all the bishopps, and the best learned in the realme have done. And seeing you have at Chelsea a faire house, your librarie, your books, your gallerie, your gardin, your orchard, and all other your necessities, so handsome and fitt about you, where you might, in the companie of me your wife, your children, and houshold be merrie; I muse what, a Gods name, you mean, to be here still." After he had heard her a while quietlie, with a cheerful countenance, he said to her. "I pray thee good mistress Alice" (for that was her name) "tell me one thing." "Whats that?" (quoth she). "Is not this house" (quoth he) "as near heaven as my owne?" She not likinge such talke answered, "Tillie vallie, tillie vallie." "But how say you, good wife, is it not so" (quoth he)? "*Deus bone, Deus bone*, will this geare never be lefte" (quoth shee)? "Well then, my good Alice, if it be so" (quoth he), "it is well. Moreover I see no great cause, why I should so much joy, either of my gay house, or of any thinge belonging thereunto, when if I should be buried but seven yeares under the ground, I should not fail to find some therein, that would not sticke to bid me get out a doors, and tell me the house were none of mine. What cause then have I to like such a house that would so soon forget his maister?"

At another tyme she came againe to visit him; and amongst many matters that she was sorrie for, for his sake, one she much lamented in her mind; which was, that he should have his chamber door made fast upon him everie night. "By my troth" (quoth shee), "if the door should be shut upon me, I thinke it would stop my breath." At that Sir Thomas smiled, but durst not laugh out for fear of displeasing her (as he saith himself);

⁴ *A good yeare.*] "Quick.—Sir, the maid loves you, and all shall be well: we must give folks leave to prate: *What the good jer.*" *Merry Wives of Windsor*, Act I. Scene 4. "Conrade.—*What the gougere*, my lord: why are you thus out of measure sad?" *Much Ado about Nothing*, Act I. Scene 3.

and thus he answered: "Gentle wife, I wott well you use to shutt your chamber within, both doores and windowes, and not to have them opened all the long night: and what difference is there between them, for the stopping one's breath, whether the chamber door be shut within or without?"

When Sir Thomas divers times had beheld his wife, what paines she took^a with straight binding up of her hair, to make her a faire large forehead; and with lacing in of her bodie to make her middle small, and all for a little foolish praise; he said to her, - Madam, if God give you not hell, he shall doo you great wrong; far of right it is your's; you buy it so deare, and take such paines for it." Therefore you see Sir Thomas had some cause, as well as his father, who was wont merrilie to say, "that the choice of taking a wife is like as if a blinde man should put his hande into a bagge full of snakes, and eeles togethether; seven snakes for one ele." And if he had heard any man say, his wife was a shrewe; he would say, "you defame her, and so do all those that saie the like of their wives: for there is but one shrewe in the worlde, and that one is mine; and so weeneth everie man that is married." But Sir Thomas so much bettered the state of her minde, that I doubt not she is a saved soule: and now enjoyeth each the other's companie in blisse.—Thus much of his wives.

Wee will beginne with his *eldest daughter* mistress Margaret Roper, who prickt nearest her father, as well in witt, learning and vertue, as also in merrie and pleasant talke, and in feature of bodie. She was to her servants meek and gentle; to her brothers and sisters most lovinge and amiable; to her friends stedfast and comfortable; and would give verie sound counsaile,—which is a rare thinge in a woman.

Some men, of good callinge and experience, in their perplexities and difficult causes would consult with her, and found, as they afterward reported, as grave and profitable counsaile at her hands, as they doubted to find the like else-where, for age and sex more likely than shee. To her children she was a double mother, as not onlie to bring them forth into the worlde, but also brought them to heaven warde, by instructing them in vertue and learning. It happened her husband, upon a displeasure taken against him by the kinge was sent to the Tower; whereupon certaine

^a *Within or without.*] See *Works of Sir Thomas More*, p. 1247.

^b *Paines she took.*] See *Works of Sir Thomas More*, p. 1205.

commissioners were sent to search his house. So upon a sodeine coming to her, they found her, not puling and whining (as commonlie they doo in such cases), but cheerfullie teaching her little children. They delivered to her their message; wherewith she was nothinge apalled, but in her talke to them she showed such constancie, gravitie and wisdome, that they were in great admiration at her demeanour, and afterwards they would say that they could never speake so much good of her as she deserved.

To her husband she was such a wife as I suppose it were hard to match her. For she was so debonaire and gentle a wife, that Master Roper thought himself a happie man, that ever he happened upon such a treasure; and he had her in such estimation, that he would often say "that she was more worthie, for her excellent qualities, to have been a princes wife." And he againe was of his part, so sober to her, so sweet, so modest, and so loving a husband, that if he had not been her husband, it might have seemed to have been her owne germaine brother, as Erasmus was wont to say of a happie couple. But above all she was to her father a most naturall loving childe. And albeit her behavioure and reverence towards him all her life time was much to be commended, yet never so notablie as after her father's trouble and imprisonment; and then not so much for her paines and travaile, which she took to procure him some ease and relief, as for her wise and godlie talke, and for her comfortable letters she often sent him, and for some other reasons; so that it well appeared, she was the chiefest and onlie comfort almost he had in this worlde.

It happened once, long before his troubles, his daughter was verie sicke. The Phisitians, and all other, despaired of her health. The disease was then unknown, and dangerous⁷. The onlie re-

⁷ *Unknown, and dangerous.*] "This distemper began at first in 1483, in Henry VIIth's army upon his landing at Milford haven, and spread itself in London from the 21st of September to the end of October. It returned here five times, and always in summer; first in 1485; then in 1506: afterward in 1517, when it was so violent that it killed in the space of three hours. It appeared the fourth time in 1520, and again in 1528, which seems to be the time when this lady had it, and proved mortal in the space of six hours. . . . The only cure was to carry on the sweat, which was necessary for a long time: sleep to be avoided by all means."—Dr. Freind's *History of Phisick*, vol. ii. p. 335.

In addition to the above note, borrowed from Lewis's edition of Roper's

medie they could then find out by experience was to be kept from sleeping. It was in the time of the great sweat. All means were sought to keep her awake, but it would not be, so there was no hope of her recoverie. Her father, who most entirely loved her, sought remedie at Gods hands: so went to the chappell in his New building, and there upon his knees with tears most devoutlie

Life of Sir Thomas More, p. 46, I shall produce, from a contemporary writer, a description of the moral phenomena which displayed themselves, upon the return of this dreadful malady, in the reign of Edward VI. The account deserves to be classed with those of a like kind given by Thucydides, in his description of the Plague at Athens; by Hodges and other writers, in their narratives of the great plague in 1665, &c. &c. The extract is taken from the famous *Shorte Treatise of Politike Power*, by D. J. P. B. R. W. initials, as it has been supposed, intended to denote Dr. John Ponet, bishop (of Rochester (and) Winchester.

“When the Great Sweat was in England, in the tyme of King Edward, a litle signification of a greater scourge foloweing; and many that were mery at dyner, were buried in the evenyng; some that went at night to slepe laste, were founde in bedde dead in the morning; some that went not farre from their owne house, never returned: *than* as long as the ferventnesse of the plage lasted, ther was cryeng, ‘*Peccavi, peccavi, peccavi*; I have sinned, I have sinned, I have sinned: Mercie, Good Lorde, mercie, mercie, mercie.’ The ministers of Gods worde were sought for in everi corner: they could not rest; they might not slepe. ‘Ye must come to my lorde. Ye must come to my lady. My maister prayeth you to come straight unto him. My maistres must needs speke with you. Come, if ye love God. And if ye love their salvation, tarye not.’ ‘For Goddes sake, master minister’ (saye the sicke folks) ‘tell us what we shall doo, to avoide Godds wrothe. Take these bagges. Paye so muche to suche a man, for I deceived him. Geve him so muche, for I gat it of him by usurie. I made a craftie bargain with suche a one; restore him so muche, and desire him to forgeve me. I have taken laber of suche a one, I pray you geve him so muche more again. I have spoken evil of suche a man, God forgeve it me. I have bene a hooremonger, a lawde, God perdone me. Dyvide this bagge among the poore. Carrie this to the hospital. Pray for me for Goddes sake. Good Lord forgeve me, I have dissembled with thee. I pretended to love thy word with my lippes, but I thought it not with my hart. But now I see Thou knowest the secretest secretes, and wilt not leave evil unpunished. Have mercie on me, and forgeve me Good Lord, I beseeche thee from the botome of my harte.’—This was the *deimulation* of the people for three or foure daies, whiles the execucion was. But after whan the rage was somewhat swaged, than return they to their vnitie, worne than ever they were. Than, that they had before caused to be autored, and geven in almose, they seke to recover by more evil-favoured chevissmences. But God is not blynde, nother is his hande shortened.” *Sigant. M. edit. 1556. Compare Donne’s Sermons. Sermon xxi. See also the note to the Life of Colet, in vol. i. p. 444.*

besought the Divine Majestie, that it would like his goodness, unto whom nothing was impossible, if it were his blessed will, at his mediation to vouchsafe gratuslie to hear his humble petition for his daughter. It came then presentlie into his minde that a glister would be the alone remedie to help her sleeping, which waking she would not have suffered; and therewith she was thoroughly waked. The phisitions misliked this counsaile, yet it pleased God, for her fathers fervent prayer, as we may verilie thinke, to restore her to perfect health. Yet Gods markes (an evident token^a of present death) plainly appeared upon her; whereby it is plain that this help was more than naturel. Her father loved her so dearlie that if it had pleased God then to have taken her to his mercie, he had determined never after to have meddled with worldlie matters. But now in his imprisonment her daughterlie affection did double itself. In one letter to her, he writeth, that to declare what pleasure and comfort he tooke of her wise and elegant letters, a pecke of coles will not suffice to make him penne; merrilie insinuating what lack he had of fitter tooles.

Erasmus wrote many epistles to her, and dedicated his Commentaries on certaine hymnes of Prudentius to this gentlewoman, and calleth her the flower of all learned matrones of England. Nor was she meanlie learned. She compounded in Greek and Latin both verse and prose, and that most eloquentlie. Her witt was sharp and quicke; and to give you a taste thereof, know this: Saint Ciprians workes had been in those days oftentimes printed; yet there remained amongst other faults one notable uncorrected, and thereof no perfect sense could be made, to the laming, and blemishing of a most notable sentence and testimonie of so ancient and sacred a writer. The words were these. "*Absit enim ab ecclesia Romana rigorem suum tam prophana facilitate demittere, et nisi vos severitatis eversa fidei majestate dissolvere.*" Which place when mistress Margaret red, presentlie without anie help of other example or instruction, "These words *nisi vos* must be" (saith shee) "*nervos.*" So the sentence by mending of that worde *nisi vos*, into *nervos*, is made plain and perspicuous. This correction of hers, is noted of John Costerius in his commentaries

^a *Gods markes, an evident token.*] "We used to say, that those that have God's tokens upon them, are past hopes of life: here you may plainly see God's tokens upon these men, they are reserved to everlasting damnation."—Usher in Parr's *Life of Abp. Usher*, p. 69.

upon Vincentius Lirinensis, and by Pamelius in his Annotations on Saint Ciprian's epistle thirty first.

Quintillian, to shew the excellencie of his cunnunge in witt, made an oration in the behalfe of a poor man, whose bees standing in a rich man's garden, were killed with poison sprinkled upon the flowers. She made another oration, answering his, in the defence of the rich man, wherein she quitted herself so well, that it is nothing inferior to that of Quintilian, though her part was the harder to defend.

Reignold Poole, after cardinall, and John [Voysey] byshopp of Exeter, so liked her epistles, that they could hardly be persuaded that such learning could be found in that sex, as there they found. Sir Thomas answered the byshopps, that he could assure them that they were her owne doings, without any helpe. The next day Sir Thomas sent to her from court to write another epistle of a theame that one of the byshopps sent her. The next day she returned her letter, and thereby contented so much the byshopps, that they gave her great praise and commendations; and one of them sent her a portigue⁹ in token of his good liking. Yet for all this, she was of that modestie, and rare humilitie, that she misliked to hear herself praised for anie qualitie. She thought so lowlie of her own witt and learning, that she was ashamed to have anie man to see her workes. This mind of hers greatlie pleased her father.

Seeing we have said so much of the wife, it will not be amiss to enterlace somewhat of the husbände; who when he married her was a zealous Protestant: and withall liked so well of himself, and his divine learning, that he took the bridle in the teeth, and ran forthe like a head-strong horse, and could not be pulled back againe by anie means. Neither was he contented to whisper it in *ligger muggar*, but thirsted verie sore to divulge his doctrine to the worlde, and thought himselfe able to defend it against any: so he much longed to be pulpitted. His zeal was so great in Luther's new religion, he could have been contented, so that he might have satisfied his madd affection, to have forgone a good portion of his lands, which by inheritance were fair and ample; for his father was the king's attorney-generall, and had procured for him the protonotaries office of the king's bench, which hitherto

⁹ *A portigue.*] A Portugal piece: "nummum aureum Portugalensem."—*Stapletoni Tres Thome*, p. 242.

hath continued in his name. At this time some of this new sect had taken such an itch of preaching, that they could hardly charm their tongues : yet for feare, making with their lipps a shew of the catholick faith, they contained themselves whilst their heresie lay festering in the bottom of their hearts, only upon hope as they afterwards confessed, that the time would serve them better to preach openlie. His fall into heresie, as he afterwards would often say, did first growe of a scruple of his owne conscience, for lacke of grace and better understanding. For he daylie did use immoderate fastinge and manie prayers ; which if discretion and counsaile had prescribed, it had been well ; but using them of his owne head, without order and good consideration, thinking God never to be pleased therewith, he did wearie himself *usque ad tedium*, even unto loathsomeness thereof. Then did he understand of certaine books of frier Luther's ; and as Eve, of a curious mind to knowe good and bad, so he, for the strangeness and pleasantness of the doctrine, had a desire to read some of the bookes. He happened of one entituled *De Libertate Christiana*, and on another *De Captivitate Babilonica*, two venemous and pestilent bookes. He was so infected with the poison of them, that he believed everie thing that Luther said to be most true : and thus through his owne pride, ignorance, and corrupt affection, Luther's false allegations, sophisticall reasonings, and doubtfull arguinge, he was pitifullie deceived ; and was fullie of that opinion *that onlie faith doth justifie*, and that good workes do nothing profit ; and that if a man would once believe that Christ died for him, it was enough ; then that all the ceremonies, rites, and sacraments used in the church of God were vaine and superstitious. And so farr he waded in these heresies, that he wished he might be suffered publickly to preach ; thinking, as we have said, that he should be better able to edifie the people, then the best doctor that comes to Powles Crosse. And thus for his open talk, and companing with divers merchaunts of the still-yarde, and others, suspected of heresie, he was convented before cardinall Wolsey. The merchaunts abjured at Powles Crosse ; yet maister Roper, for some respect the cardinall bore to Sir Thomas, his father-in-lawe, was after a friendlie warning, quietlie discharged for that tyme.

Albeit maister Roper married Sir Thomas his eldest daughter, yet of all men in the worlde, at that time he least loved hym ; yea in his heart abhorred him. And no mervaille, for Luther's

emie, shorte, and licentious doctrine, had cast him to so sweet a sleep, that he gave over his fasting, his prayers, and loathed both good bookes and good folkes, and gott himself forsooth a Lutheran bible, wherein upon the holidays, instead of his prayers, he spent his whole time, thinking it sufficient to gett a little knowledge, to be able amongst the ignorant persons to babble and talke, as though he had been a great doctor. Thus he continued some yeares, and could not be recovered by anie means. Upon a time Sir Thomas talking with his daughter Margaret, said unto her in this sorte, "Megg, I have borne a long time with thy husband. I have reasoned and argued with him, and still given him my poor fatherlie counsaile; but I perceave none of all this can call hym home againe. And therefore Megg, I will no longer dispute with him; nor yet will I give him over, but I will another way to worke, and gett me to God, and pray for him. And presentlie upon this, through the great mercie of God, and the devoute prayer of his father-in-lawe, he perceaved his owne ignorance, malice, and follie, and returned againe to the catholic faith. And so firmly he was rooted and fixed in it, that he continued verie resolute and constant unto his life's end, and left it as an inheritance to his house and children; and was afterwards a singular helper and patrone to all afflicted catholicks, and especiallie to such as were in prison, or otherwise troubled for the defence of the catholick faith. His ordinarie alms, as yet to be seen in his book of accounts, amounted yearlie to one thousand pounds: his extraordinaries were as much, and sometimes more; sometimes two, three, and four thousand pounds a yeare.

He was, for relieving by his almes a learned man, maister Beckenshawe, sent to the Tower, in the reign of king Henery the eighth. His charitie and alms were so great, to poor and needie persons, that it were a hard matter to find another of his degree, who might in that respect be compared to him: for he was "*oculus cecus, pes claudus, et pater pauperum*, an eie to the blinde, a foote to the lame, and a father of the poore." (Job, c. 29.)—This is a goodlie faire president for other of this tyme, being of less witt, vertue, and learning, to teach them to reforme themselves to the catholick faith, and learne them to retourne from whence they went, and to redeem their sins by almes.

This blessed couple had a daughter whose name was Mary: full learned she was in the liberal sciences. First she was

married to master Clark, afterwards shee was married to master Basset, one of the privie chamber in queen Mary's time ; and shee herself was one of the maides of honour. This gentlewoman very handsomelie translated the Ecclesiasticall Historie of Eusebius out of Greek into Latin, (and after into English, yet extant, to the shame of the hereticall of Meredith Hanmer) which for that Christopherson bishopp of Lincolne his translation was then famous and extant ; her's came not to print. The English may hereafter. She translated the historie of Socrates, Theodoretus, Sozomenus and Evagrius. These of her modestie, they ¹ caused to be suppressed. She also translated a treatise of her grandfather Sir Thomas, made upon the Passion ; and so elegantlie, and so eloquentlie hath penned it, that a man would thinke it were originallie written in the English tongue by Sir Thomas himself.

Now it remaineth to say something of the rest. Master John More, Sir Thomas his eldest sonne, was well learned, and verie vertuous. Erasmus dedicated unto him, as to one deserving well of good letters, Aristotle in Greek, corrected by him. Symon Grineus dedicated his commentaries on Plato and Proclus in the same language. Margaret Gige, though not one of his naturall children, yet brought up with his other children even from her youth, was furnished with the knowledge of both the Greek and Latin tongues, and had good skill in phisicke, as by this you may see.

It happened that Sir Thomas, some yeares before his death, had an ague, and had passed two or three fitts. After, he had a fitt out of course, so strange and merveilous, that a man would thinke it impossible ; for he felt himself at one time bothe hote and cold, throughoute all his bodie ; and not in one part hote, and in another colde, for that is not strange ; but he felt sensiblie and painfullie at one time in one place, both contrarie qualities. He asked the phisitians how it might be possible. They answered it could not be. Then this little maide (for then shee was verie younge, yet had read Galen) told Sir Thomas, that there was such a kind of fever ; and forthwith she shewed a book of Galen *De differentiis febrium*, where he avoucheth as much. This gentlewoman, after married doctor John Clement, famous for his singular skill in Greek, and in phisicke.

¹ They.] Quære She ?

This schole of Sir Thomas More was liked and praysed of great and learned both at home and abroad. Erasmus for the renowne of it, dedicateth to this schole his commentaries upon certaine workes. And Ludovicus Vives highly praysed it, and with great reason surelie. If we do consider their great increase in learning, it was rather an universitie than a private schole; if their profit in vertue, a monasterie, rather than a courtiers house. And he being such as we have said, his wife, children and familie could be no other than they were, singularie learned, and merveilouslie vertuous.

BOOK THE THIRD.

1. HITHERTO we have described Sir Thomas how wise, how eloquent, how learned, how honourable a judge and magistrate he was: how loving a husband, how careful a father, how sweet a friend, how zealous against hereticks, and in life how saintly and holy he was. But the chiefest thing, and the most memorable and worthie to be written in letters of gold is this; that Sir Thomas More, for the defence of justice and veritie, most gladlie and willingly offered himself to death. The narration of whose glorious martyrdome, being a thing of great comfort and edification, it were not meet sleightly or briefly to shut it upp. Therefore we will ripp upp the verie beginninge of this tragedie.

Then first we must speake of cardinall Wolsey, whose doings I do not willinglie speake of, yet being incident unto our matter, we are forced somewhat to rehearse them. Who though he had some good parts and gifts in him, yet he was of so aspiring and ambitious a nature, fraught with the fruits of pride, disdaine and revenge, that well had it been with him if never he had been borne a man: for by these detestable vices he threw himself headlong into utter ruine and shame; corrupted his prince with enormous vices; caused the death of manie good men; opened the gate to fowle and hideous schisme and heresie; with which since our poor countrie hath been most lamentably overwhelmed. All this, though not intended by him, yet originallie sprange of his wicked and cursed ambitions. For this cardinall first moved

question and doubt concerning the divorce between ladie Katherine of Spaine, and Henery the eighth king of England. This Katherine was before married to prince Arthur, elder brother to Henery aforesaid. Arthur, being of a weak and feeble constitution, died presentlie after this marriage; whereupon their wise and prudent fathers, Henery the seventh of England, and Ferdinando of Spaine, for the good and quiet of both realms, concluded upon a second contract betweene prince Henery and Katherine. So they made suite to Alexander, then pope of Rome, for a dispensation: and the impediment being taken away, which was thought then by the whole worlde to be neither against the positive lawe of God or of nature, but only against the lawe of the church, it was granted by pope Julius the second. So these two young princes continued quietlie in marriage, without anie scruple, twentie yeares togeather.—This cardinall I say, was the first actor and incensour of this divorce; and it was upon this occasion, as the ladie Katherine laid afterwards to his chardge openlie.

He aspired to be invested with the papall dignity: and made much labour to that end; and had manie likelihoods to atchieve unto it, both by means of the emperour Charles, and by some cardinals of Rome, wrought by his indirect meanes for that purpose; so once or twice when the sea was voide, he mightilie expected to have been pope. But at last perceaving himself frustrated and illuded of that expectation, and that chiefly (which galled him not a little) by the emperour Charles, who commended to the cardinals, cardinal Adrian, sometimes his scholemaster, who for his learninge, vertue and worthiness, and by the emperours letters, was elected: so he came from Spaine, where he had the chief government under the emperour, and entered the citie of Rome bare footed and bare legged. Wolsey seeing another preferred before him, and himself without hope, waxed wroth, and offended with all, so that he studied by all ways revengement of his grief against the emperour. Wherefore he, not ignorant of the king's inconstant and mutable disposition, soon inclined to withdraw his devotion² from his owne vertuous and lawfull wife Katherine, aunt to the emperour, whom now

² *To withdraw his devotion.*] It does not appear, that there is sufficient foundation for these severe imputations against the cardinal. See his *Life* by Cavendish, in the preceding volume, p. 548.

mortally be malignèd : determined to make the king's light nature
 an instrument to bring about his ungodlie designment. And for
 the better complotting thereof, he would not at the first imme-
 diately deale with the king, but sent for Langland bishopp of Lin-
 coln. then ghostlie father to the king. and told him, what scruple
 and doubt he had, concerning the kings marriage : sayinge, " I
 feare it is not as it should be : for verie manie learned men hold
 it unlawful for him to marrie his brother's wife. And forasmuch
 as the charge of the king's soule lies on your hands, I thinke it
 but your dutie, to inform his majestie of the perill and danger he
 stands in." So he never left urging him, till he had won him to
 give his consent that he would admonish the king to have it de-
 bated and discussed amongst the learned ; the better to satisfie
 and quiet the consciences of his faithfull and loving subjects.
 The king at the first hearing of this, was much amazed, and
 seemed to be greeved. " What my Lord," (quoth he) " let us
 take heed what we doo ! *Consulta et definita* to call againe into
 question." Uppon this Langland told the cardinall. that he
 would meddle no more in the matter. " What my lord " (quoth
 the cardinall) " shall the breathe of a man make you start one
 jot from your dutie ? Be he kinge, be he keasar, you doe what
 becomes a priest, a bishopp. Speake to the kinge againe.
 ' *Uree, obsecra, opportune, importune* : Move the matter once
 more, and I shall be present. Let it not be known that I am
 thus much acquainted with it ; and then will I ridd you of much
 labour.' For Wolsey thought, if once the divorce were sett on
 foote, to bring it to passe even as he would. So he devised to
 allure the king to cast his fancie on Lady Elianor, duches of
 Alonson¹. sister to the French king. At this tyme there was
 great warre between the king of France and the emperour. If
 so he could bring to passe this marriage, two wayes he thought
 it would grieve the emperour : first by the dishonour and shame
 done to his aunt, queen Kathering, causing her to be rejected,
 as having lived in incest twentie yeares togeather. Again he
 thought he should mightily back the French king against him,
 by linking and uniting togeather the strength of England and
 France. And for this purpose, he persuaded with the king to
 be sent ambassadour into France, onlie to entreate and conclude

¹ *Duches of Alonson.*] See note to Cavendish's *Life of Wolsey*, in vol. i.
 p. 562.

exhibited for the annulling of the saide marriage, alledging that it was unlawfull. But for the prooffe of the marriage, there was brought forth a dispensation; for then it was holden of all to be onlie against the positive lawes of the church. So there was brought forth a dispensation, and great disputation was holden to prove the said bull by lawe to be insufficient as being *surreptitium*; for concealing some particularities, that in the first demand of it had much increased the difficultie in the graunte.

For it was saide, that in the bull of dispensation graunting license to king Henry to marrie ladie Katherine, it was not particularlie specified, whether Arthur, king Heneries brother, did carnallie know Katherine or no. So then appeared they saide, an imperfection. But to prevent this cavill, the two kings of Spaine and England procured another brief from the pope, in the which, for more abundant cautele, it was distinctly sett downe, that notwithstanding anie carnall copulation, if anie such were betwixt the said Arthur and Katherine, the marriage should be good and available. Search was made for this brief, and it was found in the treasure of Spaine; and so with speed it was sent to the commissioners into England; and judgement should accordingly have been given by the pope (not by the legate) he reserving this to himself. But the king, upon intelligence thereon, appealed as his last refuge to the next Generall Councell. After which appellation, the legates sat no more. But before the matter passed thus farr, Sir Thomas concluded a most honourable peace between his highness the French king and the emperour, returned into England, and repaired to the king; where the king broke this matter againe unto him, and showed him that his marriage was not onlie against the positive lawes of the church, and the written word of God both in Leviticus and Deuteronomy, but also in such sorte against the lawe of nature, that by no wise it could by the church be dispensed withall: and incontinentlie laid open the bible before hym, and there red such wordes, as moved him and other learned persons so to thinke. But when he asked Sir Thomas More what he thought upon those wordes, and perceaving his mind not correspondent to his; he willed him to confer with master Fox his almoner, and to read a book with him, which was then in making in defence of the unlawfulness of the marriage.

4. It happened that the king was marvellously displeased with the cardinall Wokey for the long delay he made in the matter, as

he died in the abbey. Others denie this poysoning : but this w^{as} the end of him, who was the first and principall instrument of th^e divorce. *Malum consilium consultori pessimum* : he was the first that smarted for this matter.

In this place Sir Thomas More was elected¹ : who was thoug^{ht} the rather to have had this office given him, that he might b^e induced thereby the sooner to condescend to the king's request who eftsoons repeated, that no dispensation (the effect bei^{ng} directlie against the lawe of God) could make it good. So h^e willed him againe to confer with byshopp Stokesley, "who in th^e point," said the king, "can fullie satisfie you." Yet for all th^e conference he could by no means be persuaded to change hⁱs minde. Notwithstanding, the byshopp shewed himself to th^e king's highness verie favourable in his relation, and said he found Sir Thomas, in his graces cause, verie desirous to find some matt^{er} wherewith he might serve his turn to his contentation. Yet th^e man was but too forward in the behalfe of the king, for all hⁱs gentle reporte : but this he did in respect of the love he bare Sir Thomas, in delivering this qualified answer to the kinge.

5. The kinge being more desirous to winn Sir Thomas assent, then one half of his realme, presentlie after his enteri^{ng} into this office, he moved him againe and againe to consider this his great matter. Sir Thomas falling downe upon his knees humbly besought his highness to stand his gracious lord, as he tofore he had found him ; saing that there was nothing in th^e worlde, that had been so grievous unto his hart, as to rememb^{er} that he was not able, as willinglie he would, yea with the losse of his limbs, to finde anie thinge in this matter, whereby he mig^{ht} with safetie of conscience serve his graces contentation. "F^{or} well I bear in minde" (quoth Sir Thomas) "those most god

grievous event, had so deeply suncke into his harte, that it cut off a gre^{at} parte of his journey, and life withall. And this ende fell upon him, that w^{as} the first and principall of this unhappie divorce." Lambeth MSS. No. 8: fol. 16. Compare above, vol. i. *Life of Wolsey*, p. 631.

[¹ More was elected.] In 1529, see note at p. 71, Erasmus, in an epistle Giovanni Vergara, says that the chancellorship had been offered to archbish^{op} Warham before More. "Archiepiscopus Cantuariensis vocatus, imo revocatus ad Cancellarii munus, quo non aliud in Anglia majus, sed is excusatus, jam imparem tanto negotio. Itaque provincia delegata est Thoni Moro, magno omnium applausu, nec minore bonorum omnium lætitia susceptus, quam dejectus Cardinalis." *Operum*, tom. iii. ed. 1703.

wordes, that your highnes spake to me, at my first entering into your noble service; that first I should attend and looke to God and his honour; and then to yourself. And so hitherto, in good faith, I have done; or ells might your grace account me a most ungratious and unworthy servant." To this the king answered, - If you cannot herein, with the safetie of your conscience serve us, we will be content to accept of your service otherwise: and we the advise in this matter of my other learned counsell, whose consciences I well wott can agree hereunto. And yet I thinke, you will not condemn them of a large conscience, you taking them for good and vertuous men. Well, Sir Thomas, I shall continue my favour towards you, and never hereafter more trouble your conscience with this matter."

After all this, the king being fullie determined to proceed in the marriage with queen Anne, called a parliament for that purpose: where, for the furtherance of the marriage, Sir Thomas was commanded by the kinge to goo into the Lower House, there to shew unto them what the universities, as well for the parts beyond the seas, as of Oxforde and Cambridge, had done in that behalfe; and their publicke scales testyfyng their dislike of the former marriage. All this at the kings request he opened unto them: neither adding nor detracting of that which he was commanded to utter; and not showing of what minde he was himself therein.—And so much Sir Thomas condescended unto, for the satisfying of the kings mind as he could: first he red that which served for the deciding of the matter; then he diligentlie conferred with whom he was appointed; and after these speeches above rehearsed of the king, he gladlie red all the books that were made for the marriage of queen Anne: and of the other part, he would neither read, nor suffer any booke to lie by him, whether they were made in England or beyond the seas; nor would willingly talk with anie that favoured queen Katherines part, more than was of necessitie or dutie; nor would give ear to the popes proceedings in the matter. For having once settled his owne mind in quiet, he shewed himself so conformable as any reasonable man in such a case could thinke meet and convenient: insomuch that those that favoured most of the kings proceedings, would alwaies say and averre, that there was no obstinacie or lacke of good will, that Sir Thomas did not change his mind according to the kings desire.—By chance he found a booke in his studie amongst other papers, that the byshopp of Bath made, in that

shortlie after followed. This father brought her to Sir Thomas More, who notwithstanding he might at that time without any danger of any lawe, freele and safelie have talked with her; in all the communication between them he demeaned himself¹ so discretely, that even in the judgement of his enemies, he was sure from all blame and sinistre suspicion. Yet notwithstanding at the next Parliament following, there was put into the Lower House a bill to attaint the said Anne², and divers other persons of high treason; and the bishopp of Rochester, and Sir Thomas More, with some others of misprision of treason³. This the King supposed would of all likelihood cause him to relent and condescend to his request; but therein he was much deceived.

Sir Thomas was a suitor to be personallie received in his owne defence, to make answer to the bill. But the king not liking that, assigned the bishopp of Canterburie⁴, the lord chauncellour⁵, the duke of Norfolk, and master Cromwell, at a day apd place appointed to call Sir Thomas before them. At which time master William Roper, thinking that then he should have good opportunitie, earnestlie advised him to be discharged out of the parliament bill. At his coming before them according to their appointment, they entertained him verie friendlie, willing him to sit downe with them; which in no wise he would. Then begann the lord chauncellour to declare unto him, what benefitts and honours the king had bestowed upon him, and how he could ask nothing at his hands, but it was graunted. He hoped by this declaration of his kindness and affection towards him, to provoke Sir Thomas to recompense his grace with the like againe, and to

¹ *He demeaned himself.*] Sir Thomas, in a long letter to secretary Cromwell, gave a full account of the interview which he had with this nun, and of all that he knew, or had ever heard respecting her. This letter is not printed with the others in the collection of his Works, though it is contained in the manuscript from which that edition was published. His judgment there being unfavourable to the nun, who in the reign of queen Mary was set up as a prophetess, a saint, and a martyr, it is very likely that the letter was omitted by design. It is preserved, however, in Bishop Burnet's *History of the Reformation*, vol. ii. p. 257—263. *Records*. Edit. 1715.

² *The said Anne.*] Anne Bullen, A.D. 1536. See *State Trials*, vol. i. p. 409—34.

³ *Misprision of treason.*] See *State Trials*, vol. i. p. 385—408.

⁴ *Bishopp of Canterburie.*] Cranmer.

⁵ *Lord chauncellour.*] Sir Thomas Audley, afterwards Lord Audley of

give consent unto those things that have bene enacted by the authority of the parliament. To this Sir Thomas More mildly made answer saying, "No man there is my lord, that would with better will doo the thing that might be acceptable to the kings highness then I, who must needs confesse his manifolde goodnes and bountie most benignlie bestowed upon me. Howbeit, I verily hoped I should never have heard of this matter, which now you have propounded unto me, considering I have from tyme to tyme, from the beginning, most plainly and truly delivered my mind unto his grace; which his highness, like a most gracious prince, ever seemed to take in good gree, promising never to molest me more therein; since which time I could never inde any thing that might cause me to change my minde: which if I could, no man would be more glad of than I." Many more things were uttered of like sort of both sides: but in the end, when they sawe, by no means of persuasion they could bring him from his former resolution, then they begann to deal with him in a more rougher sort, telling him that the kings highness had given them in speciall commandement, that if by no gentleness they could winn him, then in his name to charge him with his great ingratitude. "For never was there," said the channecellour, "servant to his soveraigne so villanous, nor subject to his prince so trayterous, as he; for he had by his subteltie and sleight conveyance, most unnaturallie caused his majestie to his great dishonour, to put a sword in his enemie the pope his hands, to fight against himself, by inducing him to make a book^a for the maintenance of the popes authority, and the seven sacraments." With that they laid forth all the terrours they could imagine. "My lord" (quoth Sir Thomas) "terroures and freights be arguments for children and fooles, and not for men. But to answer that wherewith you chieffie burden me:—I beleeve the kings highnes of his honour will never lay it to my chardge, for there is none that can in that point say more for my excuse than himself, who right well knoweth, that I was never procuror nor counsellor thereunto; but after the book was finished, by his graces commandment, I was onlie a sorter out and placer of principall matters in the same contained. Wherein when I found the popes authority highly advanced, and with many good reasons mightily defended, I said unto his grace, 'I must put

^a To make a book.] See p. 75.

your grace in mind of one thing, and that is this: the pope, as your grace knoweth, is a great prince, as you are. It may hereafter so fall out, that your grace and he may varie upon some points; whereupon may grow breach of amitie, and warre between you both. I thinke it therefore best, in my simple judgement, that this place be mended, and his authority more slenderly touched.' 'Nay' (quoth his grace), 'that shall not be. We and all Christians are so much bound to the sea of Rome, that we cannot do it too much honour.' Then did I put him in minde of a statute of *premunire*, made in the time of Richard the Second, by which a part of the popes pastorall cure here in England was pared away. To that his highness answered, 'Whatsoever impediment be to the contrarie, we will sett forth, for our parts, his authority to the utmost as it deserved: for from that sea we first received our faith, and after our imperiall crown and scepter,' which till his grace with his owne mouth told me, I never heard of before; so that I trust that when his grace shall call to remembrance my doing in this present behalf, his grace will never speake more of it, but cleere me throughlie herein."

And thus displeasantlie for that time they departed, never moving to him the matter of the nunn, or the bill which was to be put up against him.

8. Going to his house from the commissioners, he was verie merrie and pleasant by the way; whereat master Roper was in good hopes he had got himself discharged out of the parliament bill. So walking in his garden master Roper came to him, and verie desirous to know how he had spedd, said to him, "Sir, I hope all is well, because you are so merrie." "It is so indeed, sonne Roper" (quoth Sir Thomas): "I thank God for it." "Are you then out of the bill" (quoth master Roper)? "By my troth sonne, I never remembered it" (said Sir Thomas More). "Never remembered it" (quoth master Roper)? "Seeing it is a thing that toucheth you so neare, and us all, I am verie sorrie to hear it; for I verilie thought when I saw you so merrie, that all had been well." Then said Sir Thomas, "Will you know, sonne Roper, why I was so merrie?" "That would I gladly" (quoth he). "In faith I rejoiced," said Sir Thomas, "that I have given the devill a foul fall: because I have gone so farr with these lords, that without great shame I cannot goe back againe." At which words master Roper was verie sadd; but at

or appertaine to my profit (for these verie words it liked your highnes to use to me), I should find your highnes my good and gracious lord. So it is now, gracious soveraigne, that worldlie honoure is the thing whereof I have resigned both the possession, and the desire, in the surrender of your honourable office; and as for worldlie profit, I trust experience proveth, and daylie more and more shall prove, that I was never verie greedie thereof. But now is my most humble suite to your excellent highnes, to beseech it somewhat to tender my poor honestie: howbeit, principallie, that of your accustomed goodness, no sinister information can otherwise move your noble grace to have anie mistrust of my troth and devotion towards your majestie, than I have or shall give just cause, which I hope there is none. For in this matter of the nunne of Canterburie, I have unto your trustie counsellour master Thomas Cromwell, by my writing as plainly declared the truth as possiblie I can; which my declaration is made known as I understande to your noble grace. Of all my dealings with the nunne, whether any other man may peradventure put any doubt or move any scruple of any other meaning than I had, that can I neither tell, nor lieth in my hand to lett: but unto myself it is not possible anie part of my demeanour to seem evill; the clereness of my conscience testifying, that in that matter, my mynde, intent, and proceeding, was lawefull and good. Wherefore most gracious soveraign, I neither will, nor yet can it well become me with your highness to reason or argue the matter; but in most humble manner prostrate at your graces feet, I beseech your majestie, with your owne highe prudence and accustomed goodness, consider and weigh the matter. And if that in your so doing, your owne vertuous mynde shall give you, that notwithstanding your manifold goodness, that your highnes hath used towards me, I have most unnaturallie and ungratefullie digressed from my bounden dutie of allegiance towards your majestie; then desire I no further favoure at your grace's hands, than the losse of all I may. Let me loose goods, lands, libertie, and finallie my life.—Howbeit, if in the considering my cause, your high wisdom, and gracious goodness shall perceave, that I have not otherwise demeaned myself, than may well stand with my bounden dutie and faithfullness towards your royall majestie; then in most humble manner I beseech your noble grace, that the knowledge of your true gracious persuasion in that behalf, may releeve the torment of my present heaviness

and your more abundant grace, that I may be
comforted and honoured: and sith now I have no
business, and nothing seeke or desire, but the continuall
joy of your grace the while, that it may be some-
times accustomed benignitie somewhat to comfort me, and
not to suffer any man, by means of such
accusations against the truth to slander me: although the
pains of their owne soules would doe them more harme
than I see my hart to depend upon the sentence of
any man, and the hope of heaven, and not upon the
condemnable persons.—And thus most dreadfully
I beseech the blessed Trinity to preserve our
grace, both bodie and soule, and all that are our
owne: and attend the contrarie: among whom I hope
I am one, then I pray God that he may with his
word and destruction declare it!”

withstanding this letter, and the report made of the
same in the favour of Sir Thomas, the king was so
pleased that he plainlie told the lords of his counsell that he
had determined that the foresaid parliament shoulde
not proceed against Sir Thomas. To whome they returned
answer, “We know for certaine, that the lords of the
king are resolutely bent to heare him make answer in this
case: so if he be not put out of the bill, it will
overthrowe to great matters.” Yet needs would the king
doe as they will, and said that at the passing thereof he would
personally present himself.

Then the lord Audley, seeing him so vehemently
in his knees most humbly besought his grace to forbear
there: considering that if he should there in his
behaviour have any overthrowe, it would not only
overthrowe after to contemn him, and indare them
in other greater matters; but also throughout all

confessed: spent most part of the night in prayer; earlie in the morning was housled⁷: and for other matters had little care. When he departed from his house, he kissed his wife and children, and bade them farewell; and desired them to pray for him, saying "he would doe the like for them." He would not suffer⁸ any of them to followe him out of the gate; pulled the wicket after himself, and shutt them, and all carnall affection from him; so tooke him to his boate for Lambeth; where sitting with a heauie hart, verie sadd for a while, at last suddenlie he told master Roper, who accompanied him with fower servants, "I thanke our Lorde the field is wonne." After that he seemed to be verie merrie. What he meant by that, master Roper then wist not; but it was evident it was no other cause, but that his love to God wrought so effectuellie in him, that he conquered all affection of wife and children. When he came to Lambeth, what there happened none can better tell than himself; which is this that followeth, all-most worde for worde in a letter he sent⁹ to his daughter Margaret.

"When I was before the Lords at Lambeth, I was the first that was called in, either priest or layman, albeit divers were come before me. After the cause of my sending declared unto me, whereof I somewhat mervailed, considering they sent for no temporall man besides myself, I desired a sight of the oath, which they shewed me under the great seal. Then I desired a sight of the act of the succession, which was also delivered me in print: which I red secret by myself, and the oath considered with the act. I shewed unto them, 'that my purpose was not to put anie

⁷ *Housed.*] Had the eucharist administered to him as to a person in danger.

"So it be doen in due manere,

A man to houselen and to shrive."

Chaucer's *Plowman's Tale*.

"A priest, a priest, Sir Aldingar,

While I am a man alive;

A priest, a priest, Sir Aldingar,

Me for to housle and shrive."

Old Ballad of *Sir Aldingar*, in *Percy's Reliques*.

⁸ *He would not suffer.*] "And whereas he evermore used before, at his departure from his wife and children, whom he tenderly loved, to have them bringe him to his boate, and there to kisse them all, and bidde them farewell, thus would he suffer none of them forthe of the gate to followe him."—*Life by Harpsfield*. Lambeth MSS. No. 827.

⁹ *A letter he sent.*] See *Works of Sir Thomas More*, p. 1428.

fault, either in the act, or in anie man that made it ; or in the oath, or anie man that sweareth to it ; nor to condemn the conscience of anie other man ; but as for myself, (my conscience so moving me in the matter) though I would not denie to sweare to the succession, yet to the other oath I could not sweare, without the jeoparding of my soule to perpetuall damnation. And that if they doubted, whether I refused the oath of supremacie onelie for the grudge of my conscience, or for anie other fantasie, I was readie herein to satisfie them upon my oath : which if they trusted not, what should they be better to tender me anie oath ? and if they trusted, that I would herein sweare true, then trusted I of their goodness they would not move me to sweare the oath they offered me, seeing that to sweare to it was against my conscience.' Unto this my lord chauncellour said 'that they were verie sorrie to hear me say thus ; and see me thus to refuse the oath.' And they all affirmed, that on their faith and honours, I was the first man that ever refused it. And this would cause the kings highness conceave great indignation against me. And therewith they shewed me the roll of the names of the lordes and the commons that had alreadie sworne and subscribed to it in the parliament house. When they sawe that I refused to doe the like, I was in conclusion commanded to goe downe to the garden : but I tarried in the old burned chamber, that looketh downe to the garden, and would not goe down, because of the heat in that time. I sawe doctour Latimer, with divers other doctours and chaplains of my lord of Canterburie wayting there. I sawe Latimer verie merrie, for he laughed and tooke one or twaine about the necke so handsomely, that if they had been women I would have weened he had waxed wanton. After that came maister doctor Wilson forth from the lords, and was by two gentlemen brought by me ; and was gentleman-like sent to the Tower. What time my lord of Rochester was called in before them, that cannot I tell ; but I heard he was called ; but where he remained that night, and so to the tyme that hither to the Tower he came, I never heard. I heard also maister doctour the Vicar of Croydon¹, and all the remnant of the priests of London that were sent for, were sworne.

¹ *Vicar of Croydon.*] Rowland Phillipps, whom Wood calls "a famous and notable preacher, and a forward man in the convocation of the clergy, an. 1523, in acting and speaking much against the payment of a subsidy to the king."—*Athen. Oxon.* vol. ii. p. 61.

They had such favoure at the counceills hands, that they were not suffered to dance long attendance to their great travaile and cost, as suitors are wont to doe, but were sped apace to their comforts ; so farr forth that maister Vickar of Croydon, for gladness, or for dryness, or ells that it might be sene *quod ille notus erat pontifici*, went to my lord's butterie barr, and called for drinke, and dranke *salde familiariter*.

~ When they had played their pageant, and were all gone, then was I called in againe: where it was declared unto me, what a number had sworne, even since I went aside, even gladlie, without anie sticking at the matter: wherein I laide no blame in any man, but for my owne part I answered as before. They laide obstinacie to my charge, because in that I refused to sweare, I would not declare anie speciall cause² of the oath that greeved my conscience, nor open the cause of my so doing. And thereupon I said unto them, 'that I feared lest the kings highnes would, as they had saide, take displeasure enough towards me, for that I onlie refused the oathe; and that if I should open and disclose the cause, why I refused to be sworne, I should therewith but further exasperate his highnes; which I no wise would doe, but rather would abide all that might hap, than give his grace anie occasion of further displeasure, than the bare refusing of the oath, that pure necessity constrayneth me unto.' They reputed this for stubbornness and obstinacie, that I would neither sweare the oath, nor yet declare the causes why I refused it. Rather than I would be accounted obstinate, I granted them thus much; that I would, (upon the kings gracious licence, or rather commandment, to be my sufficient warrant, that my declaration should not offende his highnes, nor put me in danger of anie statute,) be content in writing to declare the causes; and over that, to give an oath, that if I might find those causes in such wise answered as I might in my owne conscience be satisfied, I would afterwards sweare the principall oath. To this I was answered, that though the king would give me licence under his letters patent, yet would it not serve against the statute. Whereunto I saide that if I had them, I would stand to the trust of his honour, at my perill

² *Speciall cause.*] See Cranmer's Letter to Cromwell, in Cranmer's Works, vol. i. p. 101. Jenkyns's edition. See also Sir Thomas More's Works, p. 1440. "But, Margaret, for what causes I refuse the othe, that thyng (as I have often tolde you) I will never shew you, neither you nor no body elles, except the kings highness should like to commaunde me."

for the remnaunt. ‘And my lords (quoth I) ‘seeing to declare the causes is so dangerous, then to leave them undeclared is no obstinacie.’ The bishopp of Canterburie taking hold of that which I saide, that I condemned not the consciences of them that swore, said unto me, ‘that it well appeared that I tooke it not for a certaine and sure thinge, that I might not lawefullie sweare it, but rather as a thinge uncertain and doubtfull. But then you know’ (saith he) ‘for a certainty, and a thinge without doubt, that you be bound to obey your soveraign lord and king; and therefore are you bound to leave off the doubt of your unsure conscience in refusing the oath, and take a sure way in obeying your prince, and sweare it.’ Now albeit that in mine owne minde I thought the matter not well concluded, yet this argument upon the suddaine seemed to me so subtile, especiallie being urged by the authority of so noble a prelate, that I could not answere thereunto, but onlie, ‘that I thought that for mine owne part I might not so doe, because that in my conscience I was fullie persuaded, that this was one of the causes in which I was bound that I should not obey my prince; sith whatsoever other folk thought of the matter, whose consciences and learning I would not condemn and judge, yet in my conscience, the case seemed to be plain, and the oath unlawfull. Wherein, I said, I had not informed my conscience, neither suddenlie nor sleightlie, but by long leisure and diligent search. And of truth, if that reason may conclude, then have we a readie way to avoide all perplexities. For in whatsoever matter the doctours stand in great doubt, the king’s commandment, given upon whether side he list, solveth all doubts.’ Then said my lord of Westminster unto me, ‘that howsoever the matter seemed to mine owne mind, I had good cause to feare that my minde was eronious, when I see that the great councell of the realme determined the contrarie; and therefore I ought to change my conscience’.³ To that I answered, ‘that if there were no more but myself on my side, and the whole parliament on the other side, I would be sore afraid to followe mine owne opinion against so manie: but on the other side, if it be so, that in some things for which I refuse the oath, I have as I thinke as great a councell and a greater too, I am not then bound to chaunge my conscience and to conforme it to the councell of one realme against a general councell of all Christen-

³ *Change my conscience.*] See *Christian Institutes*, vol. iv. p. 417—511.

Upon this master Cromwell, my verie good friend, said, sure a great oath, 'that he had lever that his owne onlie had lost his head, then that thus I should have refused the for the king's highnes will conceive a great suspicion at me, and thinke that the matter of the nunne of Canturwas all contrived by my drift.' To which I saide, 'the urie was true, and that it was well knowne; but whatsoever I mishappen, I see it lieth not in my power to remedie it, at the perill of my soule.'

Then my lord chauncellour repeated to master secretarie, se he was to go to the king's grace, to enforme his highnes : proceedings, and in repeating thereof, his lordship saide, ter secretarie, remember that he is content to sweare to ccession.' Whereunto I saide, 'As for that point I would ntent, so I might see my oath in that point so framed as stand also with my conscience.' Then said my lorde : 'Aye marrie master secretarie, mark that too; that he ot sweare that neither, but under some certaine manner.' Ily no, my lord' (quoth I), 'but I will see it made in such as I shall see, that I neither be foresworne, nor sweare at my conscience; and so to sweare to the succession I see eat perill: for I thinke it reason, that I looke well to my and be of counsell in framing thereof: for I intend not to e to a piece, and set my hand to the whole oath. Howbeit od help me) I never withdrew anie man from it, or advised o refuse it: but leave everie man to his owne conscience: ethinks in good faith, it were great reason that everie man l leave me to mine.'"

when they could get no other answeare of him, he was com- l to the custodie of the abbott of Westminster', being then ay the fifteenth of April A.D. 1534. Regni Hen. VIII. 28.

Sir Thomas remained in durance with the lord abbott of minster', by the space of fower days, during which time the onsulted with his counsell, what order were best to be taken im: and albeit they were in the beginning' resolved to dis- e him upon some lawfull oath, one or other, but they would

[*abbott of Westminster.*] William Boston, or Benson, who had been pre- abbot of Burton-upon-Trent.

ey were in the beginning.] Cranmer interposed in the behalf of Sir s More, and Bishop Fisher, by a humane, temperate, and politic letter, sed to secretary Cromwell. See *Strype's Life of Cranmer*, p. 28.

I must give God thanks for this tribulation, and desire of him to give me patience and strength to endure for his holy name whatsoever in this matter may happen unto me. For Megg, the worst and uttermost that possible may befall me, long 'ere this is not unconsidered. And albeit I knowe my owne frailtie full well, and the naturall faintnesse of my hart, yet if I had not trusted that God will give me grace to endure all things, thou mayest be sure I had not come hither." "Father" (quoth she), "I will not dispute with you in this matter; for it little becometh me: for both your learning and conscience is such, that I can neither add to the one, nor may presume to informe the other. Yet I can assure you this much, your conscience in this point, is accounted by men of great skill and reckoning, for a mere scruple. For both wise and learned, and all the nobles and powers of the realme stick not at this matter; onlie yourself and bishop Fisher¹

¹ [Onlie yourself and bishop Fisher.] "As touching the bishop of Rochester and Thomas Moore, whom the kynges majestie caused to be beheaded, if I should say they were not learned, I should repugne the veritie; butt in very dede their learnyng was much more grounded on the Thennisticall, Aristotell, and Scholasticall philosophy, then in the gospel of Christ, as hereafter you shall perceyve. For when the kynges hignes was fully perswaded to understand the popes usurped power not by these my reversed authorities, butt by more profes then a whole Byble would conteyne, and by the consent of the greatest learned mens opinions of all the universities of Christendome, as there be dyvers alyve in Paris, Pavia, Padua, Bologna, and elsewhere can testifie, whose counsell his majestie examined or ever he would attempt the annulling and extyrping thereof: his hignes then, I say, called his generall parliament, without which he determined no greate matters. And the parliament, to lett you wete, is divided into two counayles; the one of the nobilitie and prelates, and the other of the commons of the realme; that is to say two of the wysest men of every citie, of every greate borough, and of every provynce of his dominions. Now among those counsels the popish matter was proponed, and there was *pro et contra* held and kept more than a whole yere longe. For in the parliament the law permitteth all men without daunger to speake as well agaynst as with the kyng: so that the old supersticion havynge more authoritie in the obstacle hertes, then the present veritie, wold not geve place to the kynges purpose, untill by open preaching throughout the realme, the blynde people began so manifest to se, that many of them, who before most earnestly favoured the pope, became then his greatest enemyes: whereof there followed a statute made by the same parliament, that no man under payne of death should call the pope other then the byshop of Rome, nor in any wyse mayntayne his quarrell. And thus ceased the pope's revenue of Peter pence, of jubileis, of indulgencies, and pardons of dispensacions, and such other baggage as before tyme avayled the popes purpose better than an hundred thousand ducates a yere out of England.—

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must now nevertheles understand that though this acte passed so in nent, yett all the parties of the same consented not unto it: for the ent in the parliament house is gyven by divydyng all the persons, all y 'yea' on the one syde of the house, and all that say 'nay' on the yde, and the most nombre do alwayes attayne the sentence. And so to rpose. The bishop of Rochester and Moore amonge the rest held t the regalyne parte, accordyng to their conscience (as I suppose): for hey saw the contrary to have place, then hanged they downe the head armured agaynst the kyng, provokynge his displeasure otherwise then me true subjectes to do. And his majestie thinkyng nevertheles by and fayre meanes wyth tyme to perswade them, supported their igno- more than nine monthes. But when their predestinate mischief would fier his benigntie to overcome their hardened hertes, and that the att lengthe perceyved their invincible obstinacie, to have a begynnyng acion;—for the cardinal's hatt was allready upon the way commyng t the same bishop of Rochester, not onely as a worthy rewarde of his , butt also for a buckler under the which the pope thought to handle ell sworde; his highnes I say, fearyng the example of his predecesour John, or ever they had arryved, shaved the bishops crowne by the ers, to see afteward where the pope would bestow his cardinals hatt : rved Moore of the same sauce, after he had kept them both four monthes on, and used all the meanes possible to dissuade them from their ."—William Thomas's *Defence of K. Henry VIII. Works*, p. 44—7.

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for they may see as much or more in the matter than yourself, and have as great a care not to forswear as others have. So you ought to conform your conscience to theirs, especiallie you taking them for such men as they be: and sith (say they) there is a law by the parliament made commanding so to doe, you are bound to change your conscience." "Marrie daughter, (quoth he) for the part you play, you play it not amiss: but Margaret, first for that lawe of the land, though everie man being borne and inhabiting therein, is bound to keep it in everie case upon some temporall paine, and in many cases also upon paine of God's displeasure, yet there is no man bound to swear that everie lawe is well made, nor bound in conscience to perform what he thinketh is unjustlie enacted. Now if such a lawe be made, though some be content to allow it, yet he that thinketh it unlawfull may not swear it. Well, daughter Margaret, for what cause I refuse the oath, I will never shew it to anie man, except the king's highnes will command me: but surelie I refuse it for more causes then one; and such they be as yet never they could be satisfied; and I am sure some of the best learned have affirmed so much, though since I heare, they have sworne to the contrarie: and I know that then they spake as they thought, and laboured then to knowe the truth, as much as could be possible; but how since they be chaunged I knowe not. I misjudge noe man." "That might be father" (quoth she): "for *since* they might see more in the matter then *before*." "Well" (quoth he), "I will not dispute that; but this I wote well, I never heard the cause of their chaunge to be anie new thinge, that they had not before well weighed. So to me all things seem as before they did; if to them otherwise, I am the glader for their sakes. But this know; let them thinke, and all others in England as they will, yet have I more on my side then them all, that thinke as I thinke. I meane of men of former ages, and now in other parts of Christendome; and daughter, of this I am assured, that the doctours and fathers of God's church, whose bookes are now extant, were of the same minde that now I am. Yet I shewe thee not all that I have for myself in the discharge of my conscience. And for conclusion, I take not upon me to define or dispute of this matter; neither have I written or spoken of things passed in the parliament; nor judged anie man's conscience for holding contrarie to me; but for mine owne self, I tell thee Megg, for thy comfort, that my conscience in this matter is such, as may well stand with

my owne salvation ; and hereof I am as sure, as God is in heaven : and if happilie it fortune me to loose my heade for this, I may have wronge, but no harme."

With that speeche mistress Roper sat musing, and seemed verie sad. "What" (quoth he), "where are you? What mother Eve. are you musing with the serpent in your brest, uppon some new persuasion, once more to offer the apple to father Adame?" With that quoth she, "Father, I can no further goe. I am come, as Chaucer said of Cressed to Dulcarnon, 'to my witts ends;' and I see not what can be saide more, unless I should give a woman's reason, 'You need not refuse to sweare; I have sworn myself,' as master H. Patterson said to me of you, when I met him t'other day." At this Sir Thomas laughed. "But father" (quoth she), "I feare me this will bring greater troubles to you; for you know what master secretarie sent word, that the parliament was not yet done." "Well" (quoth he) "Megg, I have not left these events unthought on; and if they should make a lawe to doe me harme, by the grace of God, they shall doe me no hurt: and this is a riddle. A man may lose his head, as I have often told thee, and yet be never a whit the worse. But I hope God will not permit them to do anie thing otherwise to me, then I deserve. But (saith he) there is nothing impossible to happen. I made my account before I fell to build this castle: and in devising thereon, I spent manie a restless night, with a heaveie hart, while my wife slept, and thought I had slept too." "But father" (quoth she), "it is another matter to thinke on a thing that may be, and to see a thing that is, or infalliblie shall be. For then peradventure, you would thinke otherwise then now you doe; and then peradventure, it will be too late to chaunge. Therefore it were good, if ever you should chaunge, that now you would chaunge." "Well fare thee daughter, that thou saiest it will be perchance too late. Too late may it be, that ever I should so chaunge! For I wote well, that the chaunge which growes by feare onelie, cannot be good for my soule; and therefore I pray that chaunge may never be. And if so it were, that I wist well now that I should faint, and for feare sweare, yet would I wish to take harm by refusing first, for so should I have greater

¹ *I have sworn myself.*] She took the oath, with this condition annexed, "so far as it was agreeable with the law of God."—Compare Strype's *Ecclesiast. Memorials*, vol. i. p. 195. Patterson was Sir Thomas's fool.

cause by the grace of God to rise againe. And albeit my lewdness, I wote well, hath been such, that I know myself well worthie that God should let me slipp, yet can I not but trust in his mercifull goodness, that as his grace has strengthened me hytherto, and made me content to be readie to lose goods, lands, and life, rather than offend him by swearing against my conscience, I cannot mistrust the goodnes of God, but that he will tourne the heart of the king, (in whose hands it is) to be gracious unto me : or ells, if it be his pleasure, that for my other sinnes I should suffer trouble in this cause ; or that I do not deserve his holie grace, I hope he will give me strength to beare it patientlie, and peradventure gladlie ; and that it may be in lieue of the paine that I should otherwise suffer in purgatorie, or over that, for increase of some rewarde in heaven. Megg, Megg, I serve so good a Lord, I will never mistrust ; and this I know well, without my owne fault, he will never let me be lost ; and therefore I commit me wholie to him. So my good daughter, trouble not thy minde with anie thing that shall happen to me in this worlde: for nothing can happen but what God will ; and I assure my selfe the worst in the sight of the worlde will be my best. And so my good child, be merrie, and rejoyce in our Lord, and commend me to all our friends and kinsfolks, and tell them from me, that I account this my imprisonment, as one of the greatest benefits, that ever I receaved at the king's hands." And thus they departed for that tyme. At their departure he gave her a letter to all his friends. The copie is this.

" To all my loving Friends.

" Forasmuch as, being in prison, I cannot tell what need I may have, or what necessity I may hap to stand in, I heartilie beseech you all, that if my well beloved daughter Margaret Roper (which onelie of all my friends, hath by the king's gracious favoure, license to come to me) doe anie thing desire of anie of you, of such things as I hap to need, that it may like you to regard and tender it, no less then if I moved it to you, and required it of your person myselfe. I beseech you all to pray for me, and I shall pray for you. Your faithfull lover, and poore heedsman,

" THOMAS MORE, knight, prisoner."

12. After this, Sir Thomas was not so restrained, but that his daughter, wife, and some other friends with licence, might repaire unto him. But a little before the enacting of the forethreatend lawe, he was sodenlie shut up, the rather to incline him to the king's pleasure; or that they intended to deale with him most sharply. So there besides the old disease of his breast, he was greeved in his raynes, by reason of the gravell and the stone, with the crampe, and divers other maladies; all which he did moderate and temperate, with patience, spirituall consolation, and comfort to heaven-ward. And for all his griefs, and pains, and hard usages he never showed anie token of sorrow or lamenting, but alwaies a sweet and quiet minde fixedlie seated in the uprightness of his cause, and kept his old merrie talke whensoever occasion served. Presentlie after the making of the saide statute, wherein the king was recognised as supreme head of the church of England under God; and that whosoever should speake againste his saide supremacie, should be taken as a traitor, and suffer as in case of high treason; then master Cromwell, secretarie, the king's solicitor², and divers others resorted unto him; and faine would wring somewhat out of his owne mouth, that would make against him.

What particular speech passed between them I will relate out of his letter written to his daughter Margaret. Anno 1535. May the third.

~ Our Lord bless you.

~ My dearlie beloved daughter, I doubt not but by reason of the kings counsellors resorting hither in this tyme, in which the fathers of the Charter House, and some others be judged to death for treason, may hap to put you in some feare, especiallie for that it is not unlikely, but that you have heard, that I also was brought before them; I thought necessarie to advertise you, to the end that you should not conceave more hope than the matter giveth, or more grieve than the present occasion ministereth. Therefore shall you understand, that on Fridaie last, the thirtieth of April, in the afternoon, master lieutenant shewed me that master secretarie would speake with me. Whereupon I went out with him into the gallery; where his master-

² *King's solicitor.*] Sir Richard Rich, afterwards Lord Rich and Chancellor.

shipp sat with master attourney^a and master solicitor, with divers others, I was offered to sitt downe with them, but in no wise would.

“ Master secretarie told me ‘ that he nothing doubted but that I had seen the new statutes made the last sitting of the parliament?’ I answered, ‘ Yea verilie ; howbeit for as much as I being heere, and not minding to meddle with these matters any more, I thought it little nede for me to bestowe much tyme upon them.’ He asked me, ‘ whether I had red the first statute of the king’s being heade of the churche.’ I answered ‘ Yea.’ Then his mastershipp declared unto me, ‘ that sith it was now by act of parliament ordained, that his highnes and his heirs, is, and was, and perpetuallie should be supream head in earth of the church of England immediatelie under Christ ; the king’s pleasure was, that those here of his counsell assembled, should demand my opinion therein.’ Whereunto I answered, ‘ that in good faith I had well trusted that his highnes would never have commanded anie such question to be asked of me : considering that I ever from the beginning well and truelie declared my minde to his majestie, and also unto your mastership, both by mouth and writing ; and now I have discharged my minde from all such matters, meaning not hereafter to dispute kings’ or popes’ titles. I am the king’s faithful subject, and will be ; and daylie pray for him, and all his realme ; and otherwise than this I intend not to meddle.’ Whereunto master secretarie answered, ‘ that he thought that this manner of answere would not satisfie the king’s highness ; for that his grace expected a more full answere, and that to the purpose.’ And he added, ‘ that the king was a prince not of rigour, but of mercie and pitie ; and though he had found obstinacie in anie of his subjects at some time, yet if they submitted themselves, his grace would shewe mercie. And for you master More, I knowe so much, that his grace would be glad to see you take such conformable waies, that you might be abroad againe, with as great credit and worship as ever you were.’ Whereunto I answered, ‘ I would not meddle in the worlde againe, to have all the worlde given me,’ as in effect I answered before.

“ Then was I commanded to goe forth awhile ; and presently called in againe. Then said master secretarie unto me, ‘ Though

^a *Master attourney.*] — Maring. See p. 161.

you are a prisoner condemned to perpetuall imprisonment, yet thereby I was not discharged of my alleageance to his highnes.' Whereupon he demanded 'whether I thought his highnes might not exact a direct answere from me, of such things as might be demanded, as of anie other.' I answered, that I thought his highnes might. 'Then,' said he, 'that like as his highnes would be gracious to them that he found conformable, so his grace fullie determined to followe the course of the lawe, towards such as shall show themselves wilfull and obstinate; and your demeanour in this matter. master More, hath made manie so stiffe therein as they be.' Whereunto I answered, 'that I gave no man occasion neither by worde nor writing to hold on the one side, or the other. And for conclusion, I would goo no further, whatsoever paine should me befall. For I am the kings true faithfull subject and bedesman. I doo noe bodie anie harme; I say no harme; I think noe harme. I wish everie bodie well; I pray for them; and if this be not enough to keep me alive, in good faith, I desire not to live. I am at the kings pleasure. I would to God my death would doe him good.' 'Well master More,' quoth master secretarie, 'report shall be made to his highnes; and his gracious pleasure knowne you shall heare further.' So he bade me farewell. And so to my chamber by master lieutenant I was brought againe."

Not long after this, there came againe certaine other of the privie counsell, and begann afresh to presse him to some plaine and determinate answere, touching his opinion of the lawefullness or unlawefullness of the foresaide statute; and the matter is penned by himself. His words shall shewe his minde, as he sett it downe in a letter to his daughter mistress Roper. Anno 1535.

"Our Lord bless you, and all your's.

"Forasmuch (dearelie beloved daughter) as it is likely you have hearde that the counsell was here with me, I thinke it necessarie to send you worde, how the matter standeth. And to be short, I see little difference betwixt this time and the last; for as farr as I can see, the whole purpose is either to drive me to say preciselie the one waie, or the other. Here sat my lord of Canterburie, my lord chauncellour, my lord of Suffolk, my lord of Wilshire, and master secretarie. At my coming master

secretarie made rehearsal in what wise he had reported to the king's majestie concerning my last days answer, at my being before him. Then he added, the kings highnes was nothing content by my answer, but thought I had been by my demeanour occasion of much grudge and harme in this realme; and that I had an obstinate and evill will towards him; and that it was my dewtie to make a plaine and determinate answer, whether I thought the statute lawfull or no. And that his majestie had sent them in his name to commande me upon my alleageance to give direct answer yea or noe; and that I should say his highnes is supream head of the church of England, or else utter plainlie my malignity. Whereunto I answered, 'that I had no malignity, and therefore none could utter; and as for the matter, I will give no other answer, than I had before made; and verie sorrie I am that his highnes should have any such opinion of me. For I am verie sure that I have no such corrupt affection; but have faithfullie observed his vertuous lesson; viz. *first to look to God, and then to his highnes.*' Then said my lord chauncellour 'that the king might by his lawes compell me to make a plaine answer.' 'I will not dispute the king's authority in this case; but, I said, that under correction it seemed to me somewhat harde. For if it were so, that my conscience gave me against the statute; (wherein *how* my conscience giveth me I make no declaration,) then I nothing doing, nor nothing sayinge againste the statute, it were a hard thing to compell me to say precisely with it against my conscience to the losse of my soule, or preciselie against it to the destruction of my bodie.'

"To this master secretarie said, 'that I had, when I was chauncellour, examined hereticks, theeves, and other malefactors, and that I used (at least the bishopps doe), to examine hereticks whether the pope be head of the church; and used to compell them to make a precise answer thereunto. And why should not the king compell his subjects to make a precise answer to his own lawe, as he did concerning the pope?' I answered, 'I intend not to defend my part; yet there is a great difference between these two cases; because at that time, as well here as ellswere, the pope's authority was recognised for an undoubted truth; yet this matter, though here in England it was agreed upon, yet in other places of the worlde the contrarie was taken for truth.' Master secretarie answered 'that they were as well burned for the denying of that, as now beheaded for denying of

this; and therefore as good reason to compell them to answere directlie, as well to the one, as to the other.' I answered, 'the lawe of one particular place, or a locall lawe, cannot prejudice the lawe of the whole corps of Christendome. So the reasonableness or unreasonableness in binding a man to make a precise answere, standeth not in respect of difference between heading and hanging, but by reason of the difference in chardge of soule; so the difference standeth between heaven and hell.' 'Well master More' (quoth one of them), 'you will be content to be sworne, to make true answere to such things as shall be asked of you, on the king's behalfe, concerning his owne royall person?' I answered, 'I never purposed to take anie oath more while I lived.' Then they said, 'I was verie obstinate, if I refused that which everie man in the Starr Chamber and elsewhere doth.' I said, 'it was true, taking it as the lawe doth understand it, to answere to such matters as they know or guess why they are there present. And I said, I had not so little foresight but that I might conjecture, what should be part of my interrogatories, and as good it was at the first to refuse them, as afterwards.' Whereunto my lord chauncellour answered, 'that though I could guess truelie, yet I should see them:' and so they were shewed me, and they were but twaine. The first *whether I had seen the statute?* the second, *whether I believed it to be a lawefull statute or no?* So I refused the oath, and would make no other answere but this: 'If this that I have (confessed) will not suffice, I have no meane to help me, but to comfort myself with the hope of a joyfull day to come, wherein it shall plainelie appear, that I am the king's true and loving subject: and so God's holie will be done, come life, come death!' 'Nay' (quoth they), 'if you are so resolute that you had as leave be out of the world as in it, as you make shew, why do you not then speake plainlie against the statute? so it well appeareth that you are not so well content to die, as you beare the worlde in hand.' 'The truth is, I have not been a man of so holie life, as I might be bold to offer myself to death, lest God for my presumption, might suffer me to fall; and therefore I put not myself forward, but draw backward; howbeit if God shall please to call me to it, then trust I in his mercie, he will give me grace and strength to goe through.' Then said master secretarie, 'he was verie sorrie for me; and said he liked me worse then the last day, for he thought I meant not well.' Well, God and I knowe that I mean well, and truelie, and so

pray God doe by me!—Be you, and other my good friends of good cheer, whatsoever shall befall me; and take no thought for us, but pray for me, I will not fail to pray for you, and all them. Fare you well.

“ Your tender loving father,

“ THOMAS MORE, knight.”

“ *Mense Maii*, A.D. 1535.

13. Sir Thomas, in these his severall examinations, so wisely demeaned himself with meeting the craftie drifts of his adversaries, that they could not entrap him in anie thing; and to the malignity of the time, so that he incurred not the penaltie of any statute just or unjust: for he had neither spoken nor done any thing to his prejudice. And this he did doe, that he might reserve the integritie of a good conscience; nor yet farther exasperate the king's displeasure against him. So reverence to his prince, and feare to God, managed his actions.

Not long after this, certaine religious men of the order of Saint Bruno, with some other⁴, were condemned of treason, for denying the king's supremacie; and in the moneth of May and June were hanged and quartered. Sir Thomas looking out of the windowe, chanced to see some of these Carthusians goe towards their execution. Longing to accompanie them in their journey, he said to his daughter then standing by him, “ Loe dost thou not see Megg, that these blessed fathers be now as cheerefullie going to their death, as bridegrooms to their marriage. Wherefore hereby (then said he) see, my owne good daughter, what a difference there is between such as have in effect spent all their days religiouslie, in a penitentiall and spirituall life, and such as have lived in the worlde, like worldlie wretches, as thy poore father hath done, and consumed all their time licentiouslie in pleasure and ease: for God considering their former life painfullie spent in his holie service, will no longer suffer them to remain here in this vale of miserie and teares; but speedilie taketh them hence to his fruition of his everlasting deitie. Wherupon thy silly father, Megg, that like a wretched caitiff hath

⁴ (*Order of Saint Bruno, with some other.*) John Houghton, prior of the Charterhouse, near London; Augustin Webster, prior of Axeholme; Robert Laurence, prior of Bevoill; Richard Reynolds, a monk of Sion (see p. 131); John Hall, a secular priest, vicar of Isleworth, &c.

passed forth the whole course of his life sinfullie, as not worthie to come to that eternall blisse, is still left in the world, to be further plunged in his miseries. But God's holie will be done !”

So Sir Thomas being the self same for all these terrible examples, it was thought not the worst to change their manner of proceeding with him, and an other while to trie, if by faire meanes he would relent. So master secretarie came to him, not long before his arraignment, from the king's highnes, and pretended great friendship towards him ; and for his comfort, told him that his majestie was his good and gracious lord, and that it was not his pleasure from henceforth to trouble him with anie matter that should be anie manner scruple to his conscience. Sir Thomas easilie perceived the drift of the devill, and gave master secretarie as faire speeches as he brought. And presentlie after his departure, to express the comfort he received of this court holy-water, he wrote these verses following with a cole, for inke had he none. Intituled,

A BALLAD.

LEWIS THE LOST LOVER.

“ Fye ! flattering fortune, looke thou never so faire,
Or never so pleasant begine to smile,
As though thou wouldest my ruines all repaire,
During my life thou shalt not me beguile.
Trust shall I God to enter in a while
His haven of heaven, sure and uniforme ;
Ever after thy calme, looke I for a storme.”

DAVY THE DICER.

“ Long was I Lady Lucre, your serving man,
And now have I lost againe all that I got :
Wherefore when I thinke of you now and then,
And in my minde remember this and that,
You may not blame though I beshrew your catt ;
But in faith I bless you againe a thousand times
For lending me now some leisure to make these rhimes.”

Sir Thomas spent his time in prayer and meditations : in making and reading good books ; the rest in singing of psalms and hymns ; and now and then in making of verses. “ *Æquo*

animo quis est? peallat. Who is of a quiet mind let him sing." (James 5. 13.)

14. Sir Thomas as we have showed, so behaving himself that they could not with any outward honest appearance bring him in danger of his life, one Rich, then newlie made the kings sollicitour, afterwarde lord Rich, (it was not known whither it were of sett purpose, or ells he did it of his owne heade, to advance his estimation with the king,) wilfullie sought the destruction of this man; and laid openlie to his charge that he had spoken traitorous words in the derogation of the kings supremacie. And it was upon this pretence, Mr. Rich, sollicitour, Sir Richard Southwell, and master Palmer came together to Sir Thomas. Master Rich pretended friendlie talke with him; the other two were busie in trussing up his bookes, for, for that end they came thither. Amongst some speeches between them two, the sollicitour said thus. "Forasmuch as it is well knowne master More, that you are a man both wise and learned, as well in the lawes as otherwise, I pray you therefore let me be so bould as in good will to put unto you this case. Admitt there were an act of parliament, that all the realme should take me for king, would not you (quoth he) take me for king?" "Yes" (quoth Sir Thomas), "that I would." "Put case farther" (quoth master Rich), "that there were an act of parliament, that all the realme should take me for pope, would not you also take me for pope?" Sir Thomas answered; "Well may the parliament, Master Rich, medle with the state of temporall princes, but to your last case, for answer, I put you this case. Suppose the parliament should make a lawe that God should not be God, would then you master Rich, say that God were not God?" "No Sir" (quoth he), "that I would not; sith no parliament can make anie such lawe." "No more can the parliament" (said Sir Thomas, as master Rich reported, and afterwards deposed, but how true God knoweth) "make you king, and constitute you supream head of the church of God." Upon this bare reporte was Sir Thomas indited of treason^a, upon the statute^b whereby it was enacted

^a (*Of treason.*) See Howell's *State Trials*, vol. i. p. 385—96.

^b (*Upon the statute.*) "The late-mentioned statute" (26 Hen. VIII. cap. 1, for establishment of the king's supremacy). "having no penalty annexed, was insufficient to affect the life of Sir Thomas More. For this reason another act was passed in the same session, by which it was made high treason (26 Hen. VIII. cap. 13.) for 'any person, maliciously to wish, will, or desire

and made treason to denie the king to be supream head of the church.

So Sir Thomas, about a week or thereabouts after the death of bishop Fisher of blessed memorie, the first of Julie was brought to Westminster Hall to be arraigned at the Kings Bench before certaine commissioners appointed for that end. After that his enditement^a was red, which was long, and contained manie heynous words, as that *maliciously, traiterouslie, against the crown and regall dignitie of his sacred majestie, &c.*; the lord chauncellour and the duke of Norfolk said unto him, "Sir Thomas More, you see that you have heynouslie offended the kings majestie: howbeit, we are in verie good hope, such is his bountie and clemencie, that if you will revolt, and reforme your willfull and obstinate opinion, that you have so wrongfullie maintained, you shall taste of his gracious pardon." "My lords" (quoth Sir Thomas), "I do most humble thankes your honours, for your great good will towards me; howbeit I make this boon and petition unto Almighty God, before whose dreadfull tribunall we shall all stande, that he will vouchsafe of his goodness to nourish and maintaine this my honest and upright minde even to the last hour that ever I shall live.—Concerning the matter that you chardge and challenge me withall, the articles are so prolix and long, that I feare, what from my long imprisonment, what for my lingring disease, and what for my present weakness and debilitie, that neither witt, nor my memorie, nor yet my voice, will serve to make so full effectuall and sufficient an answer, as the weight and importance of these matters doe crave."

by words or writing, to deprive the king's most royal person, the queen, or her heirs apparent, or any of them, of their dignity, title, and name,' &c. And thus, upon W. Rich's evidence, that Sir Thomas More should say, 'the parliament could not make the king supreme head of the church,' he was declared to be within the statute, and was pronounced guilty of high treason." Preface to *Life of Sir Thomas More* by his Great Grandson, Thomas More, Esq. 1726. 8vo. P. xvi.

But observe that this life has, in a subsequent edition, been shown, by the Rev. Joseph Hunter, F.A.S., to be the work of a younger brother of Thomas, Mr. Cresacre More.

^a *Enditement.*] It is to be found at full length among the Arundel MSS. in the British Museum, No. 152, fol. 308, whence it has been recently printed in the *Archæologia* of the Society of Antiquaries, vol. xxvii. p. 370.

When he had thus spoken, susteyning his weak and feeble bodie with a staffe *, which he had in his hand, commandment was given to bring him a chair, wherein being sett he commenced his answer much after this fashion.

“ First, as touching the article, wherein it is laid to my chardge, that I doe utter and shew my malice against the king ; and at his late marriage have ever repined, and resisted the same to my power : I can say nothing but this ; that of malice I never spake anie thing against it ; and whatsoever I have spoken in that matter, I have no otherwise spoken, but according to my minde and opinion ; in the which, if I should for the discharge of my con-

* *With a staffe.*] Cardinal Pole, in his third book *Pro Ecclesiasticæ Unitatis defensione*, thus finely describes More's appearance at his trial :—

“ Quin illud libenter scire velim, quibus oculis, quibus auribus hæc quæ jamdudum narro, de condemnatione et supplicio Mori, vel audire cum referrentur, vel cum fierent aspicere potueris. Sed tu potius, Londinensis Civitas! cujus in conspectu hæc gerebantur, cum e carcere eductum ad causam majestatis dicendam videres eum, ad cujus tribunal aliquanto ante reos majestatis sisti memineras: quem tu puerum, adolescentem, virum, ingravescentem denique ætate per omnes honorum gradus summa cum laude et omnium gratulatione propter rarissimas ejus virtutes processisse, et tandem ad amplissimum munus conscendisse videras, et quia civis idem et alumnus tuus erat non sine tacito quodam gaudii sensu videras, quod in eo laudem tuam ac decus agnosceres: cum eundem e carcere sordidatum, ac reum exeuntem, non tam annorum numero quam carceris pedore et molestia senem jam factum (tunc enim primum canum in conspectum tuum carcer exhibuit) toto corpore, viribus fractis, debilitatum, cum *scipione innitens*, et sic etiam vix ægrum corpus sustentans, non tam ad causam dicendam, quam ad certam condemnationem, longissima et maxime celebri via potius traheretur quam iret: quibus hæc oculis aspiciebas? Quid cum eadem via jam condemnatum ut proditorum pœnas lueret, redeuntem videbas, cujus fides erga te nullo nec præmio nec supplicio ostentato potuerat expugnari, quibus oculis aspiciebas? Nempe lachrimantibus scio. Non enim certe aliter fieri potuit, cum videam alienissimos etiam homines, qui eum nunquam noverant, nunquam ab eo beneficium acceperant, tantum dolorem ex ejus morte accepisse, ut cum quæ de ea re scripta circumferuntur legerent lachrimas tenere non potuerint: sed ut si suum civem ac de se optime meritum, crudelissime et iniquissime necatum audirent, ita Moro homini externo, neque alia re quam fama sibi noto illachrimaverint. Ac mihi plane, tanto intervallo, hæc de illius morte scribenti, qui non tam multas privatim amoris causas cum eo habui, sed virtutis potius et probitatis ergo, quodque patriæ utilissimum esse scirem, eum amavi et colui; sic tamen (testis est mihi Deus) invito lachrimæ oboriebantur, ut scriptionem maxime impedirent, et ipsas sæpe literas delebant, ut vix ultra progredi possem.” Fol. xciii. This is part of the passage alluded to at p. 178.

science towards God, and my dewtie to my prince otherwise have done than I have done, I might well account myself to be herein both unfaithfull and disloyall. And for this my errour if I may call it an errour, or have been deceived herein, I have not gone free and untouched; for all my goods, lands and chattells be confiscated, and myself judged to perpetuall imprisonment, where I have been now shutt up above fifteen moneths; and all be to Gods honoure!—Moreover I answer; whereas in this article is conteyned that I have incurred the danger of the last act of parliament, made since I was last imprisoned touching the kings supremacie, and that I have, as a traytor and rebell, gone aboute to robb and spoil the king of his title and due honour; and againe how that I am challenged, that I would not answer master secretarie, and other of the kings privie counsell; nor would utter my minde unto them uppon my allegiance, what I thought of the statute, either in disliking or liking, but onlie this, ‘that I was a dead man, and mortified towards the worlde, refusing to thinke of anie other matter, than of the passion of Christ, and my passing out of this world;’ touching I say this accusation, I answer that for this my taciturnity and silence, neither your lawe nor anie other lawe in the worlde is able justlie to punish me, except besides this, they can prove some worde facte or deede.* To this the king’s attourney, master Maring, said, ‘Marie, this verie silence of your’s is a verie sure token and demonstration of a corrupt and perverse nature, maligning and repining against the statute. Yea there is no true and faithfull subject, that being required of his minde, upon his allegiance, touching this statute, that is not deeplie bounde, without anie dissimulation, to confess it to be lawefull and goode.’ ‘Truelie’ (quoth Sir Thomas), “if the rule of the civill lawe be allowed, that *“qui tacet consentire videtur*, he that holdeth his peace, seemeth to consent.” then this my silence importeth rather a confirmation, than a condemnation of your statute; and for that you said, master Maring, that everie good subject is obliged to answer and confesse as you said, you must understand that in things touching conscience, everie true and faithfull subject is bound more to have respect unto his conscience, and his soule,

* *Facte or deede.*] Here, according to Lord Herbert, he added, “It is God only that is the judge of the secrets of our hearts.” *State Trials*, vol. i. p. 389.

than to anie other thinge in the worlde besides ; especiallie when his answere may give occasion of contumelie, or reproach, or dishonour against his king. And for me, I assure you I have forborne to disclose my minde to anie man living in the worlde, in respect of the honour I bear to my prince, lest my plaine meaning might be interpreted an occasion of others offending.’”

The second article did enforce all the foresaid accusations of transgressing the statute touching the king's supremacie, for that Sir Thomas, (as it was said) wrote divers letters to John Fisher bishopp of Rochester, willing him in no wise to condescend to the said statute. “ Would God, those letters” (quoth Sir Thomas) “ might be produced and openlie red ! But forasmuch as you say, that my lord of Rochester had burned them, I will not sticke trulie to utter the contents of them. In one of them there was nothing in the worlde but certaine familiar talke, and recommendations such as was seemlie and agreeable to our old acquaintance. In the other was contained my answere that was made to the said bishopp, demanding me what I had answered in my first examination upon this statute ; whereunto I answered nothing ells, but that I had settled and quieted my conscience, and so I would he should doe his ; and other answere than this, upon the chardge of my soule, made I none. And these be the tenours of my letters, which little advantage you, whereby any thing might be fastened upon me by lawe to condemn me to death.”

After this, answered he to the third article, wherein was laid to his chardge, “ that at such time as he was examined in the Tower, he should answere, that the statute was like a two edged sword, the which if anie man would keep and observe it, he should thereby lose his soule : and in case he did not observe it, he should thereby lose his corporall life. The verie same answer the bishopp of Rochester made : whereby it doth evidentlie appear that it was a purpose, and a sett matter between you, by mutual conference and agreement.”

To these Sir Thomas answered, “ that he did not preciselie but conditionallie answere, that in case the statute were like to be a double edged sworde, he could not tell in the worlde, how a man should demean and order himself, but that he should fall in one of the daungers. Neither doe I know what answere the bishopp made ; whose answere, if it were agreeable and correspondent to mine, that had happened by reason of the correspondence and congruitie of our witts, learning, and studie, not that anie such

me alwaies reputed for one of little trust, as your lordshipps hath heard, so farr to abuse my sovereign lord, or anie of his noble counsellors, that I would unto him utter the secrets of my conscience, touching the kings supremacie, the speciall point and onlie marke at my handes so long sought for; a thing which I never did, nor never would, after a statute made, reveal to the kings highnes himself, nor to anie of his honourable counsellors; as it is not unknowne to your honours, at sundrie severall times sent from his grace's owne person unto the Tower to me for no other purpose? Can this in your judgements my lords, seem like to be true? And yet, if I had so done indeed my lords, as master Rich hath sworne, seeing that it was spoken but in familiar secret talke, nothing affirming, and onelie in putting of cases, without other displeasent circumstances, it cannot justlie be taken to be spoken *maliciouslie*; for where there is no malice, there can be no malicious offence. And never thinke my lords that so manie worthie bishoppes, so manie honourable personages, and so manie other worshipfull, vertuous wise and well learned men, as at the making of that lawe were in that parliament assembled, ever meant to have anie man punished by death, in whom there could be found no malice, taking *malitia* for *malevolentia*, for, if *malitia* is generallie taken for *sinne*, no man is then that can excuse himself. "*Si dixerimus quoniam peccatum non habemus, ipsi nos seducimus, et veritas in nobis non est.*" (1 Joan. 1.) And overlie this worde *maliciouslie* is in this statute materiall; as this term *forcible* is in the statute of *forcible entry*: by which statute, if a man enter peaceable, and put not his adversarie out forcible, it is no offence; but if he put him out forcible, then by that statute it is an offence, and so shall he be punished by this terme *forcible*. Besides this, the manifold goodness of the king's highness himself, that hath bene so manie waies my singular good and gracious sovereign, even at my first coming into his noble service, with the dignitie of his honourable privie counsell, vouchsafing to admit me into offices of great credit and worshipping, most liberallie advanced me, and finallie with the great weightie room of his graces high chauncellourshipp (the like he never did to temporall man¹ before), next to his royall person, the highest office of this noble Realme; so farre above my merits and qualities, thereto of his incomparable benignitie, honoured and exalted me, by the space

¹ To temporall man.] See p. 59.

of twentie years, and more, shewing his continuall favour towards me ; and untill at my poore humble suite it pleased his majestie, (giving me licence with his highness' favour, to bestowe the rest of my life for the provision of my soule, in the service of God), of his especiall goodness, therefore to dischargd and disburthen me ; all this his highnes's goodness I say, so long, so bountifullie extended towards me, in heaping honours upon honours, were in my minde my lords, matter sufficient to convince this slanderous surmise by this man so wrongfullie imagined against me."

Master Rich seeing himself disproved, and his credit so fowllie defaced, caused Sir Richard Southwell and master Palmer, who at the time of their communication were in the chamber with them, to be sworne what words passed betwixt them.

Whereupon master Palmer upon his deposition said, "that he was so busie about trussing up of Sir Thomas his books in a sacke, that he tooke no heed to their talke." Sir Richard Southwell likewise upon his deposition said, "that because he was appointed onlie to looke to the conveyance of his bookes, he gave no care unto them."

After this were manie other reasons by Sir Thomas More in his owne defence alledged, to the discredit of master Riche's fore-said evidence, and proof of the clearness of his owne conscience. All which notwithstanding, the jurie found him guiltie, in a verie short time. And incontinent upon their verdict, the lord chancellour, for that matter chiefe commissioner, beginning to proceed in judgment against Sir Thomas, Sir Thomas interrupted him ; "My lord" (quoth he), "when I was towards the lawe, the manner in such cases was, to aske the prisoner before judgment, why judgment should not proceed against him." Whereupon the lord chauncellour, staying his judgment, wherein he had partlie proceeded, demanded of him what he was able to say for the saving of his life. Who in this sort most humblie made answer. "Seeing that I see you are determined to condemn me. (God knoweth how justlie), I will now, in discharge of my conscience, speake my mind plainlie and frelie touching my inditement, and your statute therewithall.—And forasmuch as this statute is grounded upon an act of parliament directlie repugning to the lawes of God, and his holie church, the supream government and authority of which, or of anie part thereof may no temporall prince or king presume by lawe or right to take upon him, as rightfullie by the lawes of God belonging to the sea of Rome, a spiritual preeminence by the mouth of our Saviour

himself, personallie present upon earth, onelie to Saint Peter and his successors, bishoppes of the same sea by special prerogative graunted; to him, it was said '*Pasce oves meas*;' let Caesar give to Caesar that is Caesar's; to God that is God's:—it is therefore a lawe, amongst Christian men, insufficient and of no effect to chardge anie man therewithall."

This was spoken concerning the statute, and for proof, hereafter, like as amongst divers other reasons and authorities, he declared ², "that this realme of England, being but one member⁴ and part of the church of God, might not make a parliament lawe disagreeable to Christ's universall catholicke Church; no more than the citie of Bristowe, being but one poore member, in respect of the whole realme, may make a lawe against an act of parliament, to bind the whole realme under pain of death to obey it. So further he shewed, that it was not onelie contrarie to the lawes of God,⁵ but also contrarie to the lawes and statutes of our

² "*Pasce oves meas*."] See Casaubon's dedication of his *Exercitationes contra Baronium*. *Christian Institutes*, vol. iv. p. 58—60.

³ He declared.] But see Twisden's *Historical Vindication*, p. 71—3, 118, &c.

⁴ But one member.] See More's Letter to Cromwell. Strype's *Eccles. Mem.*, vol. i. p. 134. Records.

⁵ The lawes of God.] Yet time was when More did not entertain any such lofty notions of the divine right of the papal authority in England. In his *Confutation of Tindal's Answer*, part ii. p. 615, he thus expresses himself: "I never dydde putte the pope for parte of the dyffinicion of the church; diffynynge the church to be the common knowen congregacyon of all christen nacions under one head the pope.

"Thus did I never defyne the church, but purposely declyned therefrom, for I would not intrike and entangle the matter with two questions at once. For I wiste very well, that the church being proved this common known catholyke congregacion of all chrysten nacions, abydyng together in one fayth, neither fallen off, nor cut off; there might peradventure be made a *seconde* question after that, whether over all that catholyke church, the pope must needs be head and chief-governor, or chief spiritual shepheard: or *elles*, that the unyon of faythe standyng among them all, every province might have their own chief spiritual governor over itself, without anye recourse unto the pope; or any superioritie recognised to any other outward persone.

"And then if the pope were pope, or no, but, as I say, (divers) provincial patriarchs, archbishoppes, metropolitanes, or by what name soever the thing were called,—what authority, and what power either he, or they should have among the people;—these things well I wist woulde rayse among manye menne manye moe questions then one. For the avoydyng of all intricacion whereof I purposely forbare to putte in the pope as parte of the diffynicyon of the church, as a thing that needed not; sith if he be the necessary headde,

owne nation, yet in force and unrepealed, as most evidentlie it doth appear in Charta Magna, *Quod ecclesia Anglicana libera sit, et habeat omnia jura sua integra, libertates suas illesas*: Also he showed that it was contrarie to the sacred oath, which the kings highnes himself, and everie other Christian prince alwaies received with great solemnity at their coronations, inviolately to observe; alleaging moreover, that with no more right this realme of Englande refuseth obedience to the sea of Rome, than the child refuseth obedience to his owne naturall father. For as Saint Paul said to the Corinthians (1 Cor. 4.) ‘*I have regenerated you, my children in Christ* ;’ so might Saint Gregory pope of Rome, of whome by Saint Austin, his messenger, wee first received the Christian faith, of us Englishmen truelie say, “ You are my children, because to you I have given salvation, a farre higher and better inheritance, than anie carnall father can leave to his children; and by regeneration I have made you my spirituall children in Christ.”

Then was it by the lord chancellour answered, “ that seeing all the bishoppes, universities, and best learned of the realme had to this act agreed. it was much merveiled, that he alone against them all would so stifelie sticke thereat, and so vehementlie argue there against.” Which reason in effect the abbot of Westminster made against him, when he appeared before the commissioners at Lambeth. To this Sir Thomas replied, saying, “ that this seaven yeares, seriouslie and earnestlie he had beset his studies and cogitations upon this pointe, chieflie amongst others, of the pope’s authoritie; neither as yet, said he, have I chaunced upon anie ancient writer or doctour that so advaunceth it, as your statute doth of any secular or temporall Prince. If there were no

he is included in the name of the whole bodye. And, whether he be or not, if it be brought in question, were a matter to be treated and disputed besyde, and by itself.”

In another place, he names, in a letter to Cromwell (written about February, 1533—41) a time and occasion for the change in his sentiments, flattering indeed to the controversial vanity of his royal master, but somewhat unreasonably brought forward in the present altered state of affairs. “ Troath it is, that as I told you, when ye desired me to shew you what I thought in the question of the primacy of the pope, I was myself sometime not of that mind that the primacy of that see should be begun *by the institution of God, until I red in that matter those things that the king’s highness had written in his most famous book against the heresies of Martine Luther.*” *Works*, p. 1427, or Strype’s *Eccles. Memorials*, vol. i. p. 134.

more but myself upon my side, and the whole parliament upon the other, I would be sore afraid to leane to mine owne mind onelie against so manie ; but if the number of bishoppes and universities be so materiall as your lordshipp seemeth to take it, then see I little cause my lord, why that thing in my conscience should make any chaunge ; for I nothing doubt but that, tho' not in this realme, yet in Christendome about, of these well learned bishoppes and vertuous men that are yet alive, they be not the fewer part that are of my minde herein. But if I should speake of those that are alreadie dead, of whome many are now holie saints in heaven, I am very sure that it is the far greater part of them, that all the while they lived, thought in this case, that way which I thinke now, and therefore am I not bound my lorde to conforme my conscience to the counsell of our realme against the generall counsell of all Christendome ; for of the foresaid holy byshopps, I have for everie byshopp of yours above an hundred, yea well might I add, a thousand ; and for one counsell of parliament of your's (God knoweth what manner of one), I have all the counsell made this manie hundred yeares ; and for this one kingdom I have all other Christian realms." Then answered the duke of Norfolk, " Wee now plainlie perceave, that you are maliciouslie bent." " Nay, nay" (quoth Sir Thomas), " verie and pure necessitie, for discharge of my conscience, enforceth me to speake so much ; wherein I call and appeal to God, whose onelie sight pierceth the verie depth of mans hart, for witness : howbeit it is not so much for the supremacie that you seek my bloud, as because I would not condescend to the second marriage of the king, his first wife yet living."

Now Sir Thomas More for the avoiding of his inditement, had taken so manie exceptions as he thought meet, and manie more reasons than are here alleaged ; the lord chancellour loath to have the inditement wholie to depend upon him, there openlie asked the advice of the lord Fitz-James⁴, then lord chief justice of the kings bench, and joined with him in commission : " whether this inditement were sufficient or not." Who like a wise man answered, " My lord, by Saint Julian" (that was ever his oath) " I must needs confess, that if the act of parliament be lawefull, then the inditement is good enough." Whereupon the lord

⁴ *Lord Fitz-James.*] Sir John Fitzjames ; the title of *Lord* must allude to his office : there never was any peer of that name.

chancellour said to the rest of the lords, " My lords, you heare what my lord chief justice saith. What thinke you?" No man made answer in particular; and so immediatlie he gave judgment without anie further adoe, against Sir Thomas, in this manner, " Wee command, that Sir Thomas More, sometime knight, be carried back to the place from whence he came, and from thence be drawn through the citie to the publicke place of execution, there to be hanged till he be half dead, then to be cut down, his bowells presentlie to be taken out and burned, his head to be cut off, and his bodie to be quartered into fower parts; and the bodie and head to be sett up where the king shall appoint. So the Lord have mercie upon you!"

This sentence was chaunged into beheading onlie'. For it is an ancient custome of our countrie for men of high birth or office, condemned to die though for treason, to have this graunted them as a priviledge, to have but their heads cut off.

After this sentence was ended, the commissioners did further courtesie offer him if he had anie thing ells to alleage for his defence, to graunt him favourable audience. Who answered, - My lords, more I have not to say; but that like as the blessed apostle Saint Paul, as we reade in the Acts, was present, and consented to the death of Saint Stephen, and kept the cloathes of them that stoned him to death, and yet be they both twaine compeers and holie saints in heaven, and shall continue there friends together for ever; so I verilie trust, and shall therefore right hartilie pray, though your lordships have now here on earthe been my judges to my condemnation; wee may yet hereafter in heaven, all merrilie meet together to our everlasting salvation. And thus I desire Almighty God to preserve and defend the king's majestie, and to send him good counsell!"

Thus much now concerning his arraignment. After the which, he departed from the barre to the Tower againe, ledd by Sir William Kingstone, a tall, strong and comelie knight, constable of the Tower, and his deare friende. Whom when he had brought from Westminster to the Old Swanne, towards the Tower, with a heavie heart, the tears running downe amaine the old knights cheeks, he

: Into beheading onlie.] " Of which mercy of the king, word being brought to Sir Thomas, he merrily said, ' God forbid the king should use any more such mercy to any of my friends; and God bless all my posterity from such pardons.' " Lord Herbert, in *State Trials*, vol. i. p. 394.

bade him, farewell, scarce able to speake another worde. Sir Thomas More seeing him so sorrie, comforted him with as good words as he could possible devise, saying, " Good master Kingstone, trouble not yourself. I beseech you be of good cheer ; for I will pray for you, and for my good ladie your wife, that we may meet in heaven togeather, where we shall be merrie for ever."

15. When Sir Thomas came from Westminster towards the Tower, his daughter Margaret, desirous to see her father, whom she thought she should never see againe in this worlde, and also to have his last blessing, gave attendance about the Tower wharfe, where she knew her father would passe : whome as soon as she sawe, she reverentlie bowed herself upon her knees to take his blessinge. After she hastened towards him, without consideration or care of herself, pressing in amongst the thickest of the throng and companie of the guard, who with halberts and bills went round about him : she ran to her father, and there openlie in the sight of them all imbraced him about the necke, and kissed him most lovinglie. Who well liked her naturall and deare daughterlie affection towards him ; gave her his fatherlie blessing and manie godlie words of comfort ; besides telling her that whatsoever he suffered, though he suffered as an innocent, yet did he not suffer it without Gods holie will and pleasure. " For thou knowest, Megg, my deare daughter, thou knowest the verie bottom and secrets of my hart. So thou hast cause, rather to congratulate and rejoyce with me, and for me, that God hath thus gratiousely advanced me to this high honour, and hath made me worthie to spend my life, for the defence and upholding of virtue, justice, and religion, than to be dismaide or discomfited. Therefore be of good comfort." O noble and worthie voice of our Christian Socrates ! The old Socrates, that excellent philosopher, was also unjustlie put to death ; who when his wife at that time following, outrageouslie cried out, " Shall Socrates, so good a man, be put to death ? " " Peace my good wife " (quoth he) " and content thyself ; it is farr better for me to die a true and good man, than to live as a wretch and malefactor."

To come againe to mistress Roper. Being departed from her father, she was not satisfied with the former sight of him ; like one that had forgotten herself, being ravished with the entire love of her deare father, having no respect to herself, nor to the multitude of people that were about him, suddenlie she turned backe againe, ranne to him as before, tooke him about the neck.

and divers times most lovinglie kissed him; and at last with a full heavie hart was faine to depart from him: the beholding whereof was to manie there present so lamentable, that it made them for verie sorrowe and compassion to weep. Yet Sir Thomas, as one quite mortified to the worlde, and all worldlie affection, as though he were whollie fixed in the love of heaven, albeit he was a most loving, tender, and natural father to all his children, and above all other most dearelie loved this his daughter Margaret; yet the love of God, and the desire of heaven, had so mightilie subdued and conquered even nature itself, that he neither sighed nor wept, nor shewed any token of sorrowe or grieve, no nor once, for all this, chaunged his countenance: such was his temper and moderation of minde; such his resolution and carriage in this matter; as if he had been discharged of all human affection and incombrances of the same; more like an angell than a man^a. The like temper of his mind he showed at

^a *Then a man.*] This translation has not done justice to the singular beauty of the description in the original.

“His ita peractis, Thomas Morus reductus est in Turrim. Hic obiter accidit spectaculum ipsa condemnatione miserabilius. Margareta filiarum Mori natu maxima, mulier præter eximiam formæ venustatem cum summa dignitate conjunctam, judicio, ingenio, moribus et eruditione Patris simillima, per mediam populi turbam, perque satellitum arma semet injecit, et ad Parentem penetravit. Quum et mulier esset, et natura cum primis verecunda, tamen et metum et pudorem omnem excusserat impotens animi dolor, cum audisset Patrem in Curia mortis addictum esse. Hoc accidit priusquam Morus arcis portam ingrederetur. Ibi in charissimi Parentis collum irruens arctissimo complexu aliquamdiu tenuit eum. Cæterum ne verbum quidem interim potuit proloqui. ‘Curæ,’ inquit tragicus, ‘leves loquuntur, ingentes stupent.’ Movit stipatores, tametsi duos, hoc spectaculum. Horum itaque permissu Morus his verbis consolatus est filiam. ‘Margareta, patienter feras, nec te discrucies amplius. Sic est voluntas Dei. Jampridem nosti secreta cordis mei.’ Simulque dedit osculum, *ex consuetudine gentis* si quem dimittant. At illa cum digressa esset ad decem vel duodecim passus, denuo recurrit, et amplexa Parentem rursus inhæsit collo illius, sed elinguis præ doloris magnitudine. Cui Pater nihil locutus est, tantum erumpebant lacrymæ, vultu tamen a constantia nihil dimoto. Nec aliud supremis verbis mandavit quam ut Deum pro anima Patris deprecaretur.—Ad hoc pietatis certamen plurimis e populari turba lacrymæ excidere. Erant et inter satellites, ferum et immitte genus hominum, qui lacrymas tenere non potuerunt. Nec mirum, quum pietatis affectus adeo valida res sit, ut immitissimas etiam feras moveat. . . . Morum fortiter excepisse sententiam mortis, aut etiam carnificis securim, minus admirandum existimo quam pietatem erga suos potuisse vincere. Nihil enim addubito quin hic doloris gladius crudelius vulneravit Mori præ-

his arraignment ; for neither in speech nor countenance he showed any sign of alteration nor passion.

Thus Sir Thomas was brought to the Tower againe ; where he remained a we'night after his judgment ; from whence. the day before he suffered, he sent by a maide his shirt of haire. his discipline⁹, and a letter written with a cole, expressing his divine spirit, and not forgetting the parts of a loving father, to his daughter Margaret ; the copie whereof followeth ; and because it was the last that ever he wrote, I will sett it downe verbatim.

A Letter to his Daughter Margaret.

" Our Lord bless you good daughter, and your good husband, and your little boy, and all yours, and all my children, and all my God-children, and all our friends ! Recommend me, when you may, to my good daughter Cicilie, whom I beseech our Lord to comfort ; and I send her my blessing, and to all her children ; and pray her to pray for me. I send her a handkerchief. And God comforte my good sonne her husband !" (to witt, master Giles Heron).

" My good daughter Dansey hath the picture in parchment, that you delivered me from my ladie Conyers ; her name is on the back side : shew her it ; and I heartilie pray her, that you may send it againe in my name to my ladie, for a token from me to pray for me. I like speciall well Dorotheie Collie." (This Dorotheie Collie was afterwards wife to John Harris, Sir Thomas his secretarie. She oftentimes had access to Sir Thomas, and brought him manie presents and tokens from her mistress, mistress Margaret Roper). " I pray you be good to her. I would witt whether this be she you wrote to me of. If not, yet I pray you be good to the other, as you may, in her affliction. And to my daughter Joan Allen too : " (This was none of his daughters, nor any thing a-kin to him ; but because she waited on his daughter Margaret Roper, and was brought up of a little one in his house, in kindness he called her daughter). " Give her I pray you some kind answer, for she sued hither to me this day, to pray you to be good to her. I comber you good Margaret

cordia quam illa caruitis securis que collum amputavit." Erasmus under the assumed name of *Bartholomaeus Nucerinus*.

⁹ *Discipline.*] i. e. His whip for scourging himself. See p. 67 and 175.

much: but I would be sorrie it should be anie longer then to-morrow; for it is Saint Thomas's Eve, and the Utas¹ of Saint Peter." (to witt the sixth day of Julie; for the seventh day is the translation of Saint Thomas of Canterburie. Therefore most fithie God of his high providence had ordeined, that he that suffered for the supremacie of the pope, should suffer on that day wherein was combined two feasts of speciall defendants of that veritie): "and therefore tomorrow long I to go to God. It were a meet day, and verie convenient for me. I never liked your manners better towards me, than when you kissed me last." (He meaneth that time, when he came from judgment). "For I love when daughterlie love, and deare charitie hath no leisure to look to worldlie curtesie. Fare well my deare child, and pray for me, and I shall for you, and all your friends, that we may merrilie meet in heaven. I thanke you for your cost. I send now to my good daughter Clement her Algorisme stone²." (This mistress Clement, was not his naturall daughter, but was named before she was married, Margaret Gige. Her husband was called John Clement, a famous doctour of phisicke). "And I send her, and my God-sonne, and all hers, Gods blessing and mine. I pray you at convenient time recommend me to my good sonne John More. I liked well his naturall fashion." (This he meant, because he reverentlie kneeled downe, and asked him blessing, when he came from judgment.) "Our Lord bless him, and his good wife my loving daughter; to whom I pray him to be, as he hath great cause to be, good: and that if the land of mine come to his hande, he breake not my will concerning his sister Dansey. Our Lord bless Thomas, and Austine, and all that they have. Farewell." (This Thomas was John's eldest sonne, and is yet alive.)

Anno 1535. 5th Julii, pridie nativitatibus ejus.

16. Upon the next morrowe being Tuesday and the feast of

¹ *Utas*.] i. e. Octaves, from the French *huit*. See note, vol. i. p. 224.

² *Her Algorisme stone*.] "An arithmetical stone. Ab Arabibus nomen *Algorisimi* accepimus, pro praxi arithmetica per figuras numerales. Wallis." *Roper's Life* by Lewis, p. 185. It was sometimes written *augrim*.

"First by seconds, terces, and eke quarters

On *augrim* stones and on white cartes."

Lydgate's Hist. of Thebes.

St. Peter's octaves³, and the eve of St. Thomas of Canterburie, in the yeare of our Lord God 1535, in the twenty seventh year of the reign of king Henery the eighth, according as Sir Thomas in his letters the day before had wished; earlie in the morning came to him Sir Thomas Pope, his verie good frende, on a mee-
 sage from the king and his counsell, that he should prepare him-
 self; for before nine o'clocke the same morning he should loose
 his head.

"Master Pope" (quoth he) "for your good tidings, I most hartilie thanke you. I have bene alwaies much bounden to the king's highnes, for the benefits and honours that he hath still from time to time most bountifullie heaped upon me. Yet more bound am I unto his grace for putting me into this place, where I have had convenient time and place to have remembrance of my end. And so help me God! Most of all master Pope, I am bound to his highnes, that it pleaseth him so shortlie to ridd me out of the miseries of this wretched life: and therefore will I not faile earnestlie to pray for his grace both here, and also in an other worlde." "The king's pleasure is further" (quoth master Pope) "that at your execution, you shall not use manie wordes." "Master Pope," (quoth he) "you do well to give me warning of his grace his pleasure; for otherwise I had purposed at that time somewhat to have spoken; but of no matter where-with his grace nor anie other should have had cause to be offended. Nevertheless whatsoever I intended, I am readie obedientlie to conform myself to his graces commandment. And I beseech you good master Pope, to be meanes to his highnes, that my daughter Margaret may be at my buriall." "The king is contented alreadie" (quoth master Pope), "that your wife, children, and other friends shall have libertie to be present thereat." "O how much beholding then" (quoth Sir Thomas) "am I to his grace, that to my poor buriall vouchsafeth to have such gracious consideration." Wherewithall master Pope taking his leave with him, could not refraine from weeping; which Sir Thomas More perceiving comforted him in this wise. "Quiet yourself good master Pope, and be not discomforted; for I trust that wee shall once see each other in heaven full merrilie; where wee shall be sure to live and love togeather in joy and blisse eternallie."

³ *St. Peter's octaves.*] 6th July; the eve of the translation of St. Thomas of Canterbury.

After whose departure Sir Thomas, as one that had been invited to some solemn banquet, was mervellous glad of this day: which he knew, (either by the spirit of prophesie, or spoke it in the confidence he had in his familiaritie with God,) he appointed to render his soule into the hands of his Creatour, fullie and certainlie to receave of him the guerdon of his well doing. The day before he had sent away his spirituall weapons. Knowing the tyme of his warfare presentlie to have an end, he left off his mourning and disciplining of his bodie, which mightilie he did from the time of his condemnation, till now, in this manner. He wrapt himself in a linen sheet, like a bodie to be laid in a grave: so walked he most part of the night, and severelie punished his bodie with a whipp⁴; but now in token of joy and exultation of his minde, he changed himself into his best apparell. Which master lieutenant espying, advised him to put it off, saying that he that should have it was but a javell⁵. "What master lieutenant" (quoth he) "should I account him a javell, that shall doe me this day so singular a benefitt, that all the friends I have in the world neither have, nor can doe me the like good? Nay I assure you Sir, if it were cloth of gold, I would thinke it well bestowed upon him." But at length through the importunate persuasion of the lieutenant, he put off his camlet gown, which master Bonvise⁶, his deare friende, sent him after his imprisonment; and put on a gown of frieze; and to make the executioner amends, of that money which was left him, agreeably to the example of blessed Saint Ciprian, he caused an angell of gold to be delivered him.

17. Sir Thomas fasting, and clad in an old ill favoured friese gown, which to him was his marriage garment, and so meanlie apparellled the better to remember the povertie of his maister Christ, was by the lieutenant brought from the Tower towards the place of execution⁷; where by the way a certaine importunate woman, with a loud voice called unto him at the Tower gate,

⁴ *With a whipp.*] See above, p. 67, and note, p. 172.

⁵ *A javell.*] A worthless fellow. *Javelle*. Fr. Nares's *Glossary*, &c.

⁶ *Bonvise.*] See note, p. 95.

⁷ *The place of execution.*] "About nine he was brought out of the Tower. His beard was long, his face pale and thin; and carrying a red cross in his hand, he often lift up his eyes to heaven. A woman meeting him with a cup of wine, he refused it, saying, 'Christ at his passion drank no wine, but gall and vinegar.'" Lord Herbert in *State Trials*, vol. i. p. 395.

beseeching him to declare, that he had certaine evidences of her's, that were delivered him, when he was in office; saying, that sithence he was apprended she could by no means come to them againe; and that he would be a meane, that she might recover them, the loss whereof she said did much grieve her. "Good woman" (quoth he), "content thyself, and have patience awhile; for the king is so good and gracious to me, that even within this half hour he will disburthen me of all worldlie business, and help thee himself." A little further a good woman offered him wine to drinke. "Marrie good wife" (quoth he), "I will not drinke now. My maister had easell* and gall, and not wine given him to drinke."

A little further a third woman, and she was verie clamerous: "Do you remember master More, that when you were chauncellour, you were my hard friend, and did me great injurie in giving wrong judgment against me?" "Woman" (quoth he), "I am now going to my death. I remember well the whole matter; if now I ware to give sentence againe, I assure thee, I would not alter it. Thou hast no injurie, so content thee, and trouble me not."

Afterwards as he passed, there came to him a citizen of Winchester; who had been once with Sir Thomas before, and it was uppon this occasion. This poor man was grievouslie vexed with verie vehement and grievous tentations of desperation, and could never be ridd of it either by counsaile, or prayer of his owne or of his friends. At last a good friend of his brought him to Sir Thomas, then chauncellour; who taking compassion of the poor man's miserie, gave him the best counsaile and advice he could; but it would not serve. Then fell he to his prayers for him, beseeching earnestlie Almighty God to rid the poor man of his trouble of minde. He obtained it: for after that, the Hampshire man was never troubled with it anie more, so long as he would come to Sir Thomas More. But after he was imprisoned, and could have no access unto him, his tentations began againe, more vehement and troublesome than ever before; so he spent his daies with a heavie hart and without all hope of remedie. But when he heard that Sir Thomas was condemned, he posted from Winchester, hoping at least to see him as he should goe to execution; and so determined to speake with him, come what

* *Had easell.*] Eisell, vinegar. Nares's *Glossary*, &c.

would of it. And for that cause he placed himself in the way ; and at his coming by, he thrust through the throng, and with a loud voice said, " Master More, do you knowe me ? I pray you for our Lord's sake help me. I am as ill troubled as ever I was." Sir Thomas answered, " I remember thee full well. Go thy waies in peace, and praie for me, and I will not faile to praie for thee." And from that time after, so long as he lived, he was never troubled with that manner of tentation.

Thus he came to the scaffold, where taking the help of one of the officers to ascend, he desired all the people thereabouts to pray for him ; and being forbidden to make anie further speech, he desired all there that were present, to beare witness that he should suffer in and for the faith of the catholic church. " For I call heaven and earth to witness, I am the kings true and faithful subject ; the servant of Almightye God ; and determined to die in the profession of his holie religion." So he kneeled him downe on his knees, and with a loud voice said the fiftieth psalm, *Miserere mei Deus*, to the end, with some other prayers. After which he turned to the executioner and with chearfull countenance spake to him sayinge, " What man, pull up thy spirits, and be not afraid to do thine office ;" who, as the manner is, asked him forgiveness. Sir Thomas kissed him, and told him, " no mortall man could give that, he should receive at his hands : but I am sorie my necke is so short, therefore strike not awrie, for saving of thy honestie." So he tooke a napkin that he brought with him, wherewith he blindfolded his owne eies, stroaking his beard, which was then growne long in the time of his durance, and laid it over the block, and thereon laid his head even and quiet. So with one blow of an axe his sweet soule passed out of this worlde unto Almightye God. the verie same day that he most desired, and before foretold, to witt, the octaves of Saint Peter, the eve of Saint Thomas, the sixth of Julie in the yeare of our Lord 1535, in the twentie seventh of the reign of king Henery the eighth, and the yeare of his age fifty five, or fifty six, as some say.

18. Sir Thomas More was wont to say in manner of an adage, " A man may lose his head and take no harme : " so it was verified in him ; for he lost his head, but tooke no harme. For his temporall life, he now possesseth everlasting bliss and felicitie in the blissful quiers of saints and angells ; and in earth hath his fame eternized to all posterity ; and his name, not onelie of his

friends and well willers, but of his enemies and greatest adversaries, it is had in much reverence and regard.

Immediatelie after the execution of Sir Thomas More, word was brought thereof to the king; who being then at dice when it was told him, at the hearing thereof seemed to be wonderfullie amazed. "And is it true" (quoth the king)? "Is Sir Thomas More, my chauncellour dead?" The messenger answered, "Yea, if it may please your majestie." He turned him to queen Anne, who then stood by, and wistlie looking upon her said, "Thou, thou art the cause of this man's death." So presentlie went to his chamber, and there wept full bitterlie. For so unjust and violent a death of so innocent a man, could not but grieve the verie authors of it. It was wonderfull to thincke how the king could find in his hart to put this holie, innocent and famous man to death; but defiled with scisme, loaded with sinne, and overruled with inordinate affection to dame Anne, what did he not?

"Nay," saith a Welsh man when he heard this question moved, "that is not so great, for my neighbours of Carmarthen, when master Davies was arraigned, did at the same time arraigne, indite, and condemn Pius Quintus the pope, of high treason, long after his death." Indeed sinne now is at that ripeness, that now with praise and commendations those things be attempted, that in former ages without sinne might not be thought of.

Charles the emperour, the fifth of that name, a most reverent and victorious prince, gave a singular testimonie of the praise of this man. For when intelligence came to him of Sir Thomas More his death, he sent presentlie for Sir Thomas Elliott, our English ambassadour then with him, to whom said the emperour, "We understand that the king your maister hath put to death his faithfull servant, his grave and wise counsellor, Thomas More." Whereunto our ambassadour answered that he heard nothing thereof. "Well" (quoth the emperour), "it is too true. And this wee will saie, that if wee had been maister of such a servaunt, of whose doings our self have these manie yeares no small experience, we should rather have lost the best citie of our dominion, than have foregone so worthie a counsellour."

What moan and lamentation of all good men in other countries was made for this man's death well witnesseth that worthie man cardinall Poole, *lib. 3^{to} de unitate ecclesie*⁹: and Johannes Coch-

⁹ *De unitate ecclesie*.] See the passage quoted at p. 160.

Item libro contra Ricardum Sampsonum. The like doth Paulus Jovius in *Elogiis*, tit. 89. Gulielmus Paradinus; Johannes Fontanus; Laurentius Surinus; Onuphrius Patavinus, with manie others. But lest these may be suspected as partiall, for being of the same faith with him; the hereticks themselves that then lived, and since, spake honourable of him. See Johannes Carion, John Sleydan, Johannes Rivius; onlie one or two excepted, as Fox, Hall, Holinsheade, and such rabines, most obscure and base fellows, most unworthie to have names of historiographers; yea so impious and shameless they are in their assertions, that they beare no great credit amongst their owne fellows; so it greatlie skilleth not what they say; yet what they saye by the judgment of all indifferent, tendeth rather to his praise than reproach. One calleth him cruel and hard, for the mislike he shewed to the hereticks. Another calleth him a foolish wise man, or a wise fool. Another a jeaster. But maugre all the malice of heresie, and the iniquity of our most miserable tymes, this eulogium shall for ever be given him. Sir Thomas More for vertue, learning, and integritie of life of a lay man, was such a lord chauncellour, as England never had the like; so trew and blessed a confessor, in joyfullie suffering disgrace, imprisonment, losse of goods and lands for justice sake, as well he may be compared to the ancient confessors in that kinde. But his speciall and peerless prerogative is, in that he died a martyr for the defence and preservation of the unitie of the catholick church. And his martyrdome is so famous and noble, that it is not inferior to the martyrdome of those that suffered because they would not denie the holie faith of Christ: nay rather it seemeth to be more esteemed. For as the learned and great clerke Dionisius of Alexandria writeth, "that martyrdome (saith he) that a man suffereth to preserve the unitie of the church that it may not be broken and rent, is worthie no less commendations, but rather more, than the martyrdome that a man suffereth, because he will not sacrifice to idols: for in this cause a man doth die to save his owne soule; in the other for the whole church." Therefore he is a happie and blessed martyr; and a martyr in a cause, that nearer toucheth religion, and the whole faith, than doth the death of the blessed martyrs, Thomas of Dover, and Thomas of Canterburie: (under pardon of those saints be it spoken, for I intend not the diminution of their glorious deaths). The first was slain of the French

men landing at Dover in his monasterie. All his fellowes being fled, he being taken, and urged to reveal to them where the treasure and jewells of the church were, which he denying, by them was massacred. Afterwards God by him shewed manie miracles.

The second was, and is ever taken for a verie worthie martyr of the whole church of God, and even of king Henry the second also ; for whose displeasure, though by chance, not by his commandment, he was slaine. Albeit we have of late (God give us his grace to repent, and see our folie and impietie !) unshrined him¹, and buried his holie relicks ; and have made him, after so manie hundred yeares, a traytor to the king², who honoured him for a blessed saint, as did all the kings his successors : yet as we said, there is no great ods in their martyrdomes. For though the king, for the displeasure he bare to the pope, for that he maintained and defended Saint Thomas, did for a little while abrogate the popes authoritie ; and went about afore to cut off and abridge some appeals, wont to be made to the sea of Rome ; yet neither did the king take upon him the supremacie, nor in hart misliked to let the pope have it ; but shortlie restored the pope to his former authoritie, and revoked all his other misdoings. So in Sir Thomas More there is deeper cause of martyrdome than in either of these twaine. For Sir Thomas died directlie and onelie for the defence and unities of the catholic church. Howbeit there was great conformitie, both in birth and place, being both born in London : in their names, for they were both Thomas : their offices, for both were high chauncellours of England ; and in this, when Saint Thomas of Canterburie his troubles beganne, he came to the king carrying his cross himself, not suffering anie other to carrie it ; and in that Sir Thomas More, when his great troubles grew first on him, carried the crosse in procession in his parish church at Chelsey ; and both Thomases ever after, though not the materiall, yet the true crosse of tribulation. In this was some conformitie, that Sir Thomas More

¹ *Unshrined him.*] See Burnet's *History*, pt. i. book iii. ed. Nares, vol. i. p. 393.

² *Traytor to the king.*] By an act of Henry VIII. Becket's name was ordered to be struck out of the calendar, and the office for his festivity to be dashed out of all breviaries, and that this injunction was very generally obeyed in England the mutilations and erasures in the existing MSS. sufficiently attest.

died according to his desire upon the eve³ of Saint Thomas of Canterburie : but some diversitie there was, as well in that we have shewed, as in that Saint Thomas of Canterburie, defending the dignitie and priviledge of the church, suffered without any judgment or form of justice in his owne cathedrall church, there his consecrated head being cloven in pieces. Sir Thomas More was condemned with pretended justice, which aggravated the iniquitie of the fact, in Westminster Hall. The other was a bishopp and suffered in his church. Sir Thomas More, a temporall judge, had sentence given against him, where he and his father before him had ministered justice most uprightlie ; and in that place, wherein few yeares before, he had received such a praise, even by the kings owne commandment, as lightlie had not been given to anie other. Sir Thomas his head, for defending the right head of the church, was cut off by him that tooke the prerogative of Saint Peter and his successors, and set it upon his owne head. Sir Thomas his head was set upon the bridge of the citie where he was borne and brought up, uppon a high pole : a ruthfull spectacle for all good citizens ; and much more lamentable there to see his head, than it was to the Romans, to see the head of Marcus Tullius Cicero set up in the said citie, where he had by his eloquent orations preserved manie innocents from danger and perill. And yet Sir Thomas his head had not so high a place on the pole, as hath his blessed soule amongst the celestiall quiers of angells in heaven. Wherefore we may be bold to pray, that God will through the merits and intercessions of this glorious martyr, cast his pitifull eye of grace upon us, and reduce us to the unitie of his holie church, for the defence whereof Sir Thomas More in his holie sight suffered a precious death ! Therefore O most blessed God, for the merits of this holie martyr Saint Thomas, of thy infinite goodness, graunt this poor land thy holie grace, to acknowledge their present miserie, and to retourne again unto the bosom of thy holie spouse, the holy catholick church, through our Lord Jesus Christ ! Amen.

³ *The eve.*] i. e. July 6, the eve of the translation of St. Thomas. St. Thomas's day is the 9th of December, but the translation, owing perhaps to its being at a more favourable season, was much observed by pilgrims. Somner says, that on that day, in 1420, being the sixth jubilee, a hundred thousand strangers visited Becket's tomb.

19. *The description of Sir Thomas More according to the relation of those who best knew him* ⁴, and his Picture which was drawn when he was Chauncellour.

Sir Thomas More was no tall man ; all the parts of his bodie ⁵ were in good proportion, and congruous as a man could wish. His skinne was something white ; the colour of his face drewe rather to whiteness then to paleness, farr from redness, saving that some little red sparkes everie where appeared. His hair was blackish yellow, or rather yellow blackish ; his beard thynne ; his eyes grey and speckled ; which kinde of eies do commonlie betoken a good and sharpe witt, and as phisitions say, are least combered with diseases and faults ; his were not great, nor yet glittering, yet much pleasing. His countenance ⁶ was conformable to his nature and disposition, pleasant and aimiable, somewhat resembling and tending to the fashion of one that would seem to smile. His voice was neither boysterous nor bigg ; nor yet too small and shrill ; he spake his wordes verie distinctlie and treatable, without anie manner of hastines or stuttering ; and albeit he delited in all kinde of melodie, yet he seemed not of his owne nature to be apt to sing himselfe. He enjoyed the health of his bodie verie well : and although he was never a strong man, yet was he able to goe through with anie laboure and paines meet and convenient for him to dispatch his busines. A little before he gave over his office of high chauncellourship, he beganne to be troubled with a little sicknes ; and after he was shut up in the Tower it much encreased. When he was a young man, he used and delighted in drinking of water ; his common drinke was verie small ale ; and as for wine he did but sipp of it, and that onlie for companies sake, or for pledging his friends. He delighted more to feed upon beef, and salt meats, coarse bread, and that verie well leavened, than upon fine meats and bread. He loved well milke, and fruit, and especially eggs. He had a great pleasure to behold the forme and fashion of beasts and fowles. There was not lightlie

⁴ *Who best knew him.*] These particulars are taken from the MS. Life by Harpsfield.

⁵ *Parts of his bodie.*] “Dexter humerus paulo videtur eminentior lævo, præsertim cum incedit, id quod illi non accidit naturâ, sed assuetudine.”—*Erasmi Epistol.*

⁶ *His countenance.*] See his portrait by Holbein, in the collection published by Amberlyne from the original drawings belonging to her Majesty.

anie kinde of birds, that he had not in his house. He kept an ape, a fox, a wesill, a ferritt, and other beasts more rare. If there had been anie strange thing brought out of other countries, and worthie to be looked on, he was desirous to buie it; and all this was to the contentation and pleasure of such as came to him; and himself now and then would make his recreation in beholding them.

Here followeth the translation of his epitaph, which he wrote in Latin, and would have it placed in his tomb of stone, which himself, while he was lord chauncellour, caused to be made in his parish church of Chelsey, where he dwelled.

“THOMAS MORE a Londoner, born of no noble family, but of an honest stocke; somewhat brought up in learning: after that in his young daies he had been a pleader in the lawes certaine yeares, being one of the under sheriffs of London; was of noble king Henerie the eighth (which alone of all kings worthilie deserved, both with sworde and penne to be called defender of the faith, a glorie before not heard of) called into the Court, and chosen one of the Counsell, and made Knight: then made Under Treasurer of England, after Chauncellour of the Duchy of Lancaster, and last of all, with great favour of his Prince, Lord Chauncellour of England. But in the meane season, he was chosen Speaker of the Parliament; and besides was divers times, in divers places the kings ambassadour; and last of all at Cameray, joyned fellowe and companion with Cuthbert Tunstall, (chief of that embassage, bishopp of London, and within a while after bishopp of Durham, who so excelleth in learning, witt, and virtue, that the whole world scant hath at this day, anie more learned, wiser, or better) where he both joyfullie sawe and was present ambassadour, when the leagues between the chiefe princes of Christendome were renewed, and peace, so long looked for, restored to Christendome: which peace O Lord, stable, and make perpetuall! When he had thus gone through this course of offices or honours, and neither the gracious prince could disallow his doings, nor he was odious to the nobilitie, nor unpleasant to the people, but yet to theeves, murtherers, and hereticks grievous: at last John More his father, knight, and chosen of the prince to be one of the justices of the Kings Bench, a civill man, pleasant, harmless, gentle, pitifull,

just, and uncorrupted, in yeares old, but in bodie (more then for his yeares) lustie ; after that he perceaved his life so long lengthened, that he sawe his sonne Lord Chauncellour of England, thinking himself now to have lived long enough, gladlie departed to God. His sonne then, his father being dead, to whom as long as he lived being compared, he was wont both to be called yonge, and himself so thought too, missing now his father departed, and seeing fower children of his owne, and of their ofsprings eleven, beganne in his owne conceite to wax olde : and this thought of his was encreased by a certaine sicklie disposition of his breast, even by and by following as a signe or token of age creeping upon him. He therefore, irked and wearie of worldlie busines, giving up his promotions, attained at last by the incomparable benefitt of his most gentle prince (if it please God to favour his enterprise) that thing, which in a manner from a child he alwaies wished and desired ; that he might have some yeares of his life free, in which he little and little withdrawing himself from the busines of this life, might continuallie remember the immortallitie of the life to come.

“ And he hath caused this tomb to be made for himself (his first wife's bones brought hither too), that might everie day put him in minde of death, that never ceaseth to creepe on him. And that this tomb, made for him in his life time, be not in vaine ; nor that he feare death coming upon him, but he may willinglie, for the desire of Christ, die and finde death, not utterlie death to him, but the gate of a welthier life. help him (I beseech you, good reader) now with your prayers while he liveth, and when he is dead also.”

Finis.

Laus Deo, beataque Virgini Marie.

WILLIAM TINDALL.

Will the wise of the world, trow ye, put their most deare friends and tenderly-beloved children into their enemies hands to kill, alay, burn?—That is a madnesse unto them above all madnesse.—And yet doth God use this order; and this is an high and singuler wisdome in his sight, which the world taketh to bee most extreame madnesse.

JOHN ROGERS.

WILLIAM TINDALL.

WILLIAM TINDALL¹ the faithfull minister and constant martyr of Christ, was borne about the borders of Wales, and brought up from a childe in the universitie of Oxford, where he by long continuance grew up, and increased as well in the knowledge of tongues, and other liberal arts, as specially in the knowledge of the scriptures, whereunto his mind was singularlie addicted: inso much that hee lying then in Magdalene Hall, read privily to certaine students and fellowes of Magdalen Colledge, some parcell of divinitie; instructing them in the knowledge and truth of the scriptures. Whose maners also and conversation being correspondent to the same, were such, that they that knew him, reputed and esteemed him to be a man of the most vertuous disposition, and of life unspotted.

Thus he in the universitie of Oxford increasing more and more in learning, and proceeding in degrees of the schooles, spying his time. remooved from thence to the universitie of Cambridge, where after he had likewise made his abode a certaine space, being now further ripened in the knowledge of Gods word, leaving that universitie also, hee resorted to one maister Welch a knight of Glocester shire, and was there schoolemaister to his children, and in good favour with his maister. This gentleman, as hee kept a good ordinarie commonly at his table, there resorted to him many times sundry abbots, deanes, archdeacons, with divers other doctors and great beneficed men; who there together with M. Tindall sitting at the same table, did use many times to enter communication and talke of learned men, as of Luther and

¹ Tindall.] *alias* Hitchins.

of Erasmus: also of divers other controversies and questions upon the scripture.

Then maister Tindall as he was learned and well practised in Gods matters, so hee spared not to shew unto them simply and plainly his judgement: and when they at any time did vary from Tindall in opinions and judgement, he would shew them in the booke, and lay plainly before them the open and manifest places of the scriptures, to confute their errors, and confirme his sayings. And thus continued they for a certaine season, reasoning and contending together divers and sundry times, till at length they waxed weary, and bare a secret grudge in their harts against him.

Not long after this, it happened that certaine of these great doctors had invited M. Welch and his wife to a banquet; where they had talke at will and pleasure, uttering their blindness and ignorance without any resistance or gainesaying. Then M. Welch and his wife coming home and calling for M. Tindall, began to reason with him about those matters, whereof the priests had talked before at their banquet. M. Tindall answering by scriptures, maintained the truth, and reproved their false opinions. Then saide the Lady Welch, a stout and a wise woman (as Tindall reported), "Well" (saide shee) "there was such a doctour which may dispend a hundred pounds, and an other two hundred pounds, and an other three hundred pounds, and what; were it reason, thinke you, that we should beleewe you before them?" Maister Tindall gave her no answer at that time; and also after that (because he saw it would not availle) he talked but little in those matters. At that time he was about the translation of a booke called *Enchiridion militis Christiani*², which being translated he delivered to his maister and lady. Who after they had read and well perused the same, the doctorly prelates were no more so often called to the house, neither had they the cheere and countenance when they came, as before they had. Which thing they marking and well perceiving, and supposing no lesse but it came by the means of maister Tindall, refrained themselves, and at last utterlie withdrewe themselves, and came no more there.

As this grew on, the priests of the countrey clustering together,

² *Militis Christiani.*] A celebrated and valuable piece of Erasmus. See *Life of Colet*, above, vol. i. p. 446.

began to grudge and storme against Tindall, railing against him in alehouses and other places. Of whome Tindall himselfe in his prologue before the first book of Moses, thus testifieth in his owne wordes, and reporteth, "that he suffered much in that country by a sort of unlearned priestes, being full rude and ignorant (sayth hee) God knoweth : which have seene no more Latine than that onelie which they read in their portesses and missalles³ : (which yet manie of them can scarcely reade⁴)

³ *Portesses and missalles.*] The Portesse, Portuas, Porthose, &c., so called from the Fr. *porter*, consisted of a volume of prayers, offices, &c., which the clergy might take along with them as a ready *Manual* for all ordinary occurrences. It was the same book which is now denominated a breviary. See note at p. 316 of vol. i.

A missal is a volume containing all things belonging to the service of the mass.

"*Nicolas.* But fare well. Mass will be done, or I come. *Oliver.* It makes no matter for one day. I will read thee a piece of the Scripture, instead of thy Masse. *Nicol.* I care not for the Scripture : and Sir John bad me beware of it, for it would make me an heretique. *Oliv.* Sir John then readeth not the Scripture? *Nicol.* No : he saith he wil meddle no further than his *Portas*. *Oliv.* The Scripture is God's word, opened to us from heaven by the holic prophetes, apostles, and Christe himselfe. . . . And as for his *Portas*, ther is in it a meany of lies, craftily coined, to deceive such unstable soles as delight in blindnes, deceived themselves, and deceiving other."—*Michael Wood's Dialogue, or familiar talk.* Signat. D 8. A. D. 1554.

By the statute 3 and 4 Edw. VI. cap. 10, all Antiphoners, *missals*, grailes, processionals, manuals, legends, pies, *portuasses*, primers, in Latin or English, *couchers*, journals, ordinals, and all other books were abolished.

⁴ *Can scarcely reade.*] Thus Tindal, in his *Answer to Sir Thomas More's Dialogue* (A. D. 1530, *Works*, p. 278), does not scruple to affirm, "Yea, and true, I dare say, that there be twenty thousand priests and curates this day in England, and not so few, that cannot give you the right English unto this text in the *Pater Noster*, *Fiat voluntas tua, sicut in cælo, et in terra*, and answer thereto." And long after, even so late as 1554, in the *Injunctions* of Bonner, bishop of London, art. 6, concerning archdeacons, &c., the archdeacons are strictly required "diligentlie to instructe and teache the priestes and curates, especiallie, amonges other thynges to lyve vertuouslie, honestlie, and well ; and to understande and knowe perfectlie the words of the canon of the mass, and the forme and order of sacramentes, especiallie of baptism ; and chieffie in those wordes and thinges which are of the substance of the sacrament, in any wise." Thus we have a virtual, authoritative, and unquestionable confession, that the worship of God, their divine service, performed in an unknown tongue, was indeed a "dead letter," wholly unedifying to many of the clergy, not less than to the laity. These were the fruits which they reaped from the obstinacy of controversy, and the hardening, barbarizing influence of an abused authority and pride and power. Such was the retri-

except it bee *Albertus de secretis mulierum*, in which yet though they bee never so sorily learned, they pore day and night, and make notes therein, and all to teach the midwives, as they saie: and also an other called Lynwood⁴, a booke of constitutions to gather tythes, mortuaries, offerings, customes, and other pillage, which they call not theirs, but Gods part, the dutie of holie church, to discharge their consciences withal. For they are bound that they shall not diminish but encrease all things unto the uttermost of their powers, which pertain to holie church." Thus these blind and rude priests flocking together to the alehouse (for that was their preaching place) raged and railed against him, affirming that his sayings were heresie: adding moreover unto his sayings of their own heads, more than ever he spake, and so accused him secretly to the chancelor, and other of the bishops officers.

It followed not long after this, that there was a sitting of the bishops chauncellour appointed, and warning was given to the priests to appear; amongst whome M. Tindall was also warned to be there. And whether hee had anie misdoubt by their threatenings, or knowledge given him that they would lay some things to his charge, it is uncertaine; but certaine this is (as he himselfe declared) that he doubted their privie accusations; so that he by the waie in going thitherwards, cried in his mind hartlie to God, to give him strength fast to stand in the truth of his word.

Then when the time came of his appearance before the chan-

bution, which in their pertinacious adherence to the infallible decrees of popes, and councils, and provincial synods, they were content to suffer in themselves and their people, and sought to inflict and bind for ever upon the Reformers, whom they called heretics, and upon England, to all future generations!—In this state of things, we shall the less wonder, that "a great many of the popish clergie tooke the *chaunge of our church service from Latin into English* so greavously, for *none other cause*, such greate clerkes they were, but that when they were put to it, they *could read no English*."—Nowell's *Reproof of Dorman's Disproof*, fol. 17. They had been hardly tasked, and harshly schooled once under the rod of Bonner's *Injunctions*, and it was too much to put them down again in the school of Christ, and to cause these "greate clerkes," in their mature years, to become once more as it were "little children," even though it were to learn to read their mother tongue.

⁴ *Lynwood*.] William Lindwood's *Provinciale seu Constitutiones Anglie libris V*. It contains the Constitutions of fourteen archbishops, from Langton to Chicheley inclusive. See Fuller's *Church History*, pp. 175, 6.

cellor, he threatend him grievously, reviling and rating him as though he had been a dog, and laid to his charge many things, wherof no accuser yet could bee brought forth (as commonly their maner is, not to bring forth the accuser) notwithstanding that the priests of the country the same time were there present.—And thus M. Tindall, after those examinations escaping out of their hands, departed home and returned to his master againe.

There dwelt not far off a certain doctor that had bin an old chancellor before to a bishopp, who had been of olde familiar acquaintance with M. Tindall, and also favoured him wel. Unto whom M. Tindall went and opened his mind upon divers questions of the scripture: for to him he durst be bolde to disclose his heart. Unto whom the doctor said; “Do you not know that the pope is very antichrist, whom the scripture speaketh of? But beware what you say; for if you shall be perceived to be of that opinion, it will cost you your life:” and said moreover, “I have bin an officer of his; but I have given it up, and defie him and all his workes.”

It was not long after, but M. Tindall happened to be in the company of a certain divine, recounted for a learned man, and in communing and disputing with him, he drave him to that issue, that the said great doctor burst out into these blasphemous words, and said; “We were better to be without Gods lawes then the popes⁶.” Master Tindall hearing this, full of godly zeale, and not bearing that blasphemous saying, replied againe and said; “I defie the pope and all his lawes:” and further added, that if God spared him life, ere many yeares he would cause a boy that driveth the plough to know more of the scripture than he did.

⁶ *Without Gods lawes then the popes.*] This was by no means an unprecedentedly daring and enthusiastic flight. If we may believe Erasmus, it was among other subjects debated commonly in the schools in solemn disputations, “*Whether the Pope could abrogate that which was decreed by the Apostles; or determine that which was contrary to the evangelical doctrine; or make a new article in the Creed; Whether he had a greater power than St. Peter, or only equal? Whether he can command angels? Whether he can only take away Purgatory? Whether he be a mere man, or as God participates both natures with Christ? Whether he be not more merciful than Christ was, since we do not read that he ever recalled any from the pains of Purgatory?*” — Erasmus’s *Annotat. on 1 Timothy*, c. i. ver. 6.

After this, the grudge of the priests increasing still more and more against Tindall, they never ceased barking and rating at him; and laide manie sore things to his charge, saying that he was an hereticke in sophistry, an hereticke in logicke, an hereticke in divinitie; and said moreover to him, that he bare himselfe bolde of the gentlemen there in that countrey: but notwithstanding, shortly he should be otherwise talked withall. To whom M. Tindall answering againe thus saide, "that he was contented they should bring him into any country in all England, giving him ten pounds a yeere to live with, and binding him to no more but to teach children and to preach."

To be short, M. Tindall being so molested and vexed in the country by the priests, was constrained to leave that country and to seeke an other place: and so comming to M. Welch, hee desired him of his good will, that he might depart from him, saying on this wise to him: "Sir I perceive I shall not be suffered to tarrie long here in this country, neither shall you be able though you would, to keepe me out of the hands of the spirituality, and also what displeasure might growe thereby to you by keeping me, God knoweth: for the which I should be right sorrie." So that in fine, M. Tindall with the good will of his master, departed; and eftsoones came up to London, and there preached awhile, according as he had done in the country before, and specially about the town of Bristow, and also in the said towne, in the common place called S. Austines Greene.

At length he bethinking himself of Cuthbert Tonsal then bishop of London, and especially for the great commendation of Erasmus¹, who in his annotations so extolleth him for his learning, thus cast with himselfe, that if hee might attain unto his service hee were a happie man. And so comming to sir Henry Gilford the kings controller, and bringing with him an oration of Isocrates, which he had then translated out of Greek into English, he desired him to speake to the said bishop of London for him. Which he also did, and willed him moreover to write an epistle to the bishop, and to go himselfe with him. Which he

¹ *Of Erasmus.*] "As I this thought, the byshop of London came to my remembraunce, whom Erasmus (whose tongue maketh of little gnats great elephants, and lifteth up above the stars whosoever giveth him a little exhibition) prayseth exceedingly in his Annotations on the New Testament." Tindal's *Works*, p. 2.

did likewise, and delivered his epistle to a servant of his, named William Hebilthwaite^a, a man of his old acquaintance. But God, who secretlie disposeth the course of things, sawe that was not the best for Tindal's purpose, nor for the profit of his church; and therefore gave him to find little favour in the bishops sight. The answer of whom was this, that his house was full; he had no then he could well finde, and advised him to seeke in London abroad, where he said he could lacke no service. And so remained he in London^b the space almost of a yere, beholding and marking with himselfe the course of the world, and especially the demeanour of the preachers, how they boasted themselves and set up their authoritie and kingdom; beholding also the pompe of the prelates, with other things moe which greatlie misliked him: in so much that he understood, not onely there to be no rowme in the bishops house for him to translate the new testament: but also that there was no place to do it in all England. And therefore finding no place for his purpose within the realme, and having some aid and provision by Gods providence

^a *Hebilthwaite.*] Whose physiognomy appears to have attracted the particular attention of the famous Dr. Nicholas Wotton. See Mr. Fraser Tytler's *Collection of Letters*, vol. i.

^b *And so remained he in London.*] We have an account of Tindall's habits at this time, in a letter to Cardinal Wolsey and the rest of the Council, written from the Tower by Humfrey Mummoth or Monmouth, then in confinement there.

"Four yeres and a half past, and more, I herde the foresaid Sir William (Tindall) preach two or three sermones at St. Donstones in the West in London: and after that, I chanced to meet with him; and with communication I examined what lyvings he had. He said 'he had none at all; but he trusted to be with my Lord of London in his service.' And therefore I had the better fantasy to him. And afterward he went to my Lord, and spake to him, as he told me. And my Lord of London answered him, 'that he had chaplaines enough; and he said to him, that he would have no more at that tyme.'" And so the priest came to me againe, and besought me to help him. And so I took him into my house half a yere: and *there he lived like a good priest, as me-thought*. He studied most part of the day, and of the night, at his book. And he would eat but sodden meat by his good wil; nor drink but small single beer. I never saw him weare linen about him, in the space he was with me. I did promys him ten pounds sterling, to praie for my father and mother their sowles, and al Christen sowles. I did paie it him, when he made his exchange to Hamborow," &c. Strype's *Ecclesiast. Memorials*, vol. i. p. 246. Appendix. Also, compare Fox, p. 909. edit. 1610.

conduce thereunto, than if the scripture were turned into the vulgar speech, that the poore people might also reade and see the simple plaine word of God. For first he wiselie casting in his mind perceived by experience, how that it was not possible to stablish the laie people in anie truth, except the scripture were so plainly laid before their eyes in their mother tongue³, that they might see the processe, order, and meaning of the text: for else whatsoever truth should be taught them, these enemies of the truth would quench it againe, either with apparent reasons of sophistry, and traditions of their own making, founded without all ground of scripture; either else juggling with the text, expounding it in such a sense, as impossible it were to gather of the text, if the right proces, order and meaning thereof were seen.

Againe, right well he perceived and considered, this onely, or most chiefly to be the cause of all mischief in the church, that the scriptures of God were hidden from the peoples eyes: for so long the abhominable doings and idolatries maintained by the pharisaicall clergy, could not be espied; and therefore all their labour was with might and maine to keepe it downe, so that either it should not be read at all, or if it were they would darken the right sense with the mist of their sophistry, and so entangle them which rebuked or despised their abhominations, with arguments of philosophie, and with worldlie similitudes, and apparant reasons of naturall wisdom: and with wresting the scripture unto their owne purpose, contrarie unto the processe, order and meaning of the text, would so delude them in descanting upon it with allegories, and amaze them, expounding it in manie senses laide before the unlearned laie people, that though

³ *In their mother tongue.*] "It is not much above an hundred year ago, since scripture hath not been accustomed to be read in the vulgar tongue, or in English, within this realm" (the grand prevention and prohibition of this blessing was occasioned by the constitutions of archbishop Arundel in the year 1408): "and many hundred years before that, it was translated and read in the *Saxon* tongue, which at that time was our mother tongue: whereof there remain yet diverse copies, found lately in old abbies, of such antique manner of writing and speaking, that few men now be able to read and understand them.—And when *this* language waxed old, and out of common usage, because folke should not lacke the fruit of reading the scripture, it was again translated" (viz., by Wickliffe) "into the newer language; whereof also yet many copies remain and be daily found." *Prologue to Archbishop Cranmer's Bible*, A. D. 1540.

thou felt in thy heart, and wert sure that all were false that they said, yet couldst thou not solve their subtile riddles.

For these and such other considerations, this good man was moved (and no doubt stirred up of God) to translate the scripture into his mother tongue, for the publicke utilitie and profit of the simple vulgar people of the country: first setting in hand with the new Testament, which hee first translated³ about the

³ *Which hee first translated.*] More correctly in the year 1526. For we find by a mandate issued by archbishop Warham to the suffragan bishops of his province, bearing date Nov. 3, in that year, that there were copies of two editions at the least, some with, others without marginal annotations, then in circulation: for all which he directs inquisition to be made, and that the copies be immediately burned. In the same mandate, *The Parable of the Wicked Mammon*, *The Obedience of a Christian Man*, and *An Introduction to the Epistle to the Romans*, all written by William Tindall, together with several more English Tracts, and others in Latin by Luther, Zuinglius, Brentius, &c. are prohibited. Wilkins's *Concilia*, vol. iii. p. 706, 7.

It was probably about the latter end of the year 1526, or in the next year, that a large parcel of these New Testaments were burnt at St. Paul's Cross by the order of bishop Tonstal; of which Fox gives the following account.

"The New Testament began first to be translated by William Tyndall, and so came forth in print, about the yeere of our Lord 1529 (1526): wherewith Cuthbert Tonstall bishop of London, with Sir Thomas More, being sore agreeved, devised how to destroy that false erroneous translation, as he called it. It happened that one Augustin Packington a mercer, was then at Antwerp, where the bishop was. This man favoured Tyndall, but shewed the contrarie unto the bishop. The bishop being desirous to bring his purpose to passe, communed how that he would gladly buy the New Testaments. Packington hearing him say so, said; 'My Lord, I can doe more in this matter than most merchants that be here, if it bee your pleasure. For I know the Dutchmen and strangers that have bought them of Tyndall, and have them here to sell; so that if it be your Lordship's pleasure, I must disburse money to pay for them, or else I can not have them: and so I will assure you to have everie booke of them that is printed and unsold.' The bishop thinking he had the matter secured, said, 'Doe your diligence, gentle master Packington; get them for me, and I will pay whatsoever they cost: for I intend to burne and destroy them all at Paules Cross.' This Augustine Packington went unto William Tindall, and declared the whole matter; and so upon compact made betweene them, the bishop of London had the bookes, Packington the thankes, and Tyndall had the money. After this, Tindall corrected the same New Testaments againe, and caused them to be newly imprinted, so that they came thicke and threefold over into England. When the bishop perceived that, he sent for Packington, and said to him, 'How commeth this that there are so many New Testaments abroad? You promised me that you would buy them all.' Then answered Packington, 'Surely I bought al that was to be had. But I perceive that they have

yeare of our Lord 1527. After that, he took in hand to translate the olde Testament, finishing the five bookes of Moses⁴, with sundry most learned and godly prologues prefixed before every one, most worthy to be read and read againe of all good Christians: as the like also he did upon the new Testament.

He wrote also divers other workes under sundry titles, amongst the which is that most worthy monument of his, intituled, *The obedience of a christian man*: wherein with singular dexterity he

printed more since. I see it will never be better, so long as they have letters and stamps: wherefore you were best to buy the stamps too; and so you shall be sure.' At which answer the bishop smiled: and so the matter ended.

"In short space after it fortun'd, that George Constantine was apprehended by Sir Thomas More, which was then chancellour of England, suspected of certaine heresies. During the time that he was in the custodie of master More, after divers communications, amongst other things master More asked of him saying, 'Constantine I would have thee be plaine with mee in one thing that I will aske, and I promise thee I will shew thee favour in all other things, whereof thou art accused. There is beyond the sea Tindall, Joye, and a great many of you; I know they cannot live without helpe; There are some that helpe and succour them with money, and thou being one of them hadst thy parte thereof, and therefore knowest from whence it came. I praye thee tell me, who be they that helpe them thus?' 'My lord,' quoth Constantine, 'I will tell you truly: it is the bishop of London, that hath holpen us; for he hath bestowed amongst us a great deal of monie upon New Testaments to burn them, and that hath bene and yet is our onlie succour and comfort.' 'Now by the truth,' quoth More, 'I think even the same; for so much I tolde the bishop, before he went about it.'"
Fox's Acts, p. 929.

Anne Boleyn's own copy of Tindal's translation of "The Newe Testament, imprinted at Antwerp by Marten Emperour, Anno M.D.xxxiiij." is still extant among the books bequeathed, in 1799, to the British Museum, by the Rev. C. M. Cracherode. It is upon vellum, illuminated. Upon the gilding of the leaves, in a red letter, are the words ANNA REGINA ANGLIÆ. See Ellis' *Letters*, 1st ser. vol. ii. p. 45, where is a letter from her to Cromwell, in favour of Richard Herman of Antwerp, who had been expelled from the English house there, on account of his "helpe to the setting forth of the Newe Testamente in Englishhe."

* *The five bookes of Moses.*] This translation of the Pentateuch was printed A.D. 1530. It was done from the Hebrew. In the following year he published, with a large Prologue prefixed, a translation of the prophet Jonah; which completes the catalogue of Tindall's performances in translating the Scriptures. In 1535 Coverdale, building upon what had before been done by Tindall, first published the whole Bible in English, dedicating it to king Henry VIII. See Lewis's *Hist. of the English Translations of the Bible*, p. 72, &c. edit. 1739.

instructeth all men in the office and duty of Christian obedience ; with divers other treatises, as, *The wicked Mammon ; The practice of prelates*, with expositions upon certaine parts of the scripture, and other bookes also answering to Sir Thomas More and other adversaries of the truth, no lesse delectable, then also most fruitfull to be read : which partlie before being unknowne unto many, partly also being almost abolished and worne out by time, the printer hereof (good Reader) for conserving and restoring such singular treasures, hath collected and set forth⁵ in print in one generall volume, all and whole together ; as also the workes of John Frith, Barnes and other, as are to be seene most speciall and profitable for thy reading.

These bookes of W. Tindall being compiled, published and sent over into England, it cannot be spoken what a doore of light⁶

⁵ *Collected and set forth.*] The book was published in folio, with a Preface by John Fox, under the following title : “ *The whole workes of W. Tyndall, John Frith, and Doctor Barnes, three worthy Martyrs and principall teachers of this Church of England, collected and compiled in one tome together, beyng before scattered, &c. London, printed by John Daye, an. 1573.* ”

⁶ *What a doore of light.*] Many of the tracts of Tindall, it is certain, may still be read with great pleasure and profit. Unless perhaps we except Sir Thomas More, he was the ablest English writer of his time. Of one of his best and most popular works, *The Obedience of a Christian Man*, Strype has preserved an anecdote so interesting, that I should do wrong, if I did not assign a place to it in these pages.

“ Upon the lady Anne ” (*Boleyn*) “ waited a fair young gentlewoman, named Mrs. Gainsford : and in her service was also retained Mr. George Zouch, father to Sir John Zouch. This gentleman, of a comely sweet person, a Zouch indeed, was a suitor in way of marriage to the said young lady : and among other love tricks, once he plucked from her a book in English, called ‘ Tyndall’s Obedience, which the lady Anne had lent her to read. About which time the cardinal had given commandment to the prelates, and especially to Dr. Sampson, dean of the King’s Chapel, that they should have a vigilant eye over all people for such books that they came not abroad ; that so much as might be, they might not come to the king’s reading. But this which he most feared fell out upon this occasion. For Mr. Zouch (I use the words of the MS.) was so ravished with the Spirit of God speaking now as well in the heart of the reader, as first it did in the heart of the maker of the book, that he was never well, but when he was reading of that book. Mrs. Gaynsford wept because she could not get the book from her lover ; and he was as ready to weep to deliver it. But see the providence of God ! Mr. Zouch standing in the chapel before Dr. Sampson, ever reading upon this book, and the dean never having his eye off the book in the gentleman’s hands, called him to him, and then snatched the book out of his hand, asked his name, and

they opened to the eies of the whole English nation, which before were many yeeres shut up in darknesse.

whose man he was. And the book he delivered to the cardinal. In the mean time the lady Anne asked her woman for the book. She on her knees told all the circumstances. The lady Anne shewed herself not sorry nor angry with either of the two. But, said she, 'Well, it shall be the dearest book that ever the dean, or cardinal took away.' The noble woman goes to the king, and upon her knees she desireth the kings help for the book. Upon the kings token the book was restored. And now bringing the book to him, she besought his grace most tenderly, to read it. The king did so, and delighted in the book. 'For,' saith he, "*this booke is for me and all kings to read.*" And in a little time the king, by the help of this virtuous lady, by the means aforesaid, had his eyes opened to the truth, to search the truth, to advance Gods religion and glory, to abhor the popes doctrine, his lies, his pomp and pride, to deliver his subjects out of the *Egyptian* darkness, the *Babylonian* bonds, that the pope had brought him and his subjects under. And so contemning the threats of all the world, the power of princes, rebellions of his subjects at home, and the raging of so many and mighty potentates abroad, he set forward a reformation in religion, beginning with the triple-crowned head at first, and so came down to the members, bishops, abbots, priors, and such like."—Strype's *Ecclesiast. Memorials*, vol. i. p. 112. The reader of this book will see that it was calculated to have a very great influence on the progress of public opinion; and no wonder therefore that the popish clergy did what they could to prevent its circulation.

An Italian translation of this tract, by Sebastiano Roccagliata of Genoa, which is dedicated to Sir Thomas Copley in 1559, is preserved among the MSS. of the old Royal Library in the British Museum. (14 A. vi)

Fox has given us an account of the manner in which another very celebrated reforming book fell into the king's hands, and of other attendant circumstances, which I shall also beg leave to introduce. I apprehend that these anecdotes point out more truly the intertexture of the events, and the progress of the Reformation than many long discourses. The book was the *Supplication of Beggars*, which was answered, in the year 1529, by Sir Thomas More, then Chancellor of the Dutchy of Lancaster, in a tract intitled *The Supplication of Souls in Purgatory*. *Works*, p. 288—339.

"Mr. Simon Fish was a gentleman of Grayes Inne. It happened the first year that this gentleman came to London to dwell, which was about the year of our Lord 1525, that there was a certaine play or interlude made by one Mr. Roo of the same Inne, gentleman, in which play was matter against the cardinall Wolsey. And where none durst take upon them to play that parte, which touched the said cardinall, this foresaid master Fish tooke upon him to do it; whereupon great displeasure ensued against him, upon the cardinals part: Insomuch as he being pursued by the said cardinal, the said night that this tragedie was played, was compelled of force to voide his owne house, and so fled over the sea unto Tyndall. Upon occasion whereof the next year following, this booke (the *Supplication of Beggars*) was made (being about the year 1527), and so not long after, in the year (as I sup-

At his first departing out of the realm, he tooke his journey into the further parts of Germany, into Saxony, where he had

pose) 1528, was sent over to the Ladie Anne Bulleins, who then lay at a place not far from the court. Which booke her brother seeing in her hande, tooke it and read it, and gave it her again, willing her earnestly to give it to the king, which thing she so did.

"The king after he had received the booke, demanded of her who made it. Whereunto she answered and said, a certain subject of his, one Fish, who was fled out of the realme for fear of the cardinall. After the king had kept the booke in his bosom three or four daies, as is credible reported, such knowledge was given by the kings servantes, to the wife of the said Simon Fish, that she might boldly send for her husband without all perill or danger. Whereupon she thereby being encouraged, came first and made sute to the king for the safe return of her husband. Who understanding whose wife she was, shewed a mervellous gentle and cheareful countenance towards her, asking where her husband was. She answered, 'If it like your grace not farre off.' Then said he, 'Fetch him, and he shall come and go safe without perill, and no man shall do him harme:' saying moreover, that he had much wrong that he was from her so long; who had bene absent now the space of two yeares and a halfe. In the which meane time, the cardinal was deposed, as was afore shewed, and master More set in his place of the chancellorship.

"Thus Fish's wife, being emboldened by the kings words, went immediately to her husband, being lately come over, and lying privily within a mile of the court, and brought him to the king, which appeareth to be about the yeare of our Lord 1530. When the king saw him, and understood he was the author of the booke, he came and embraced him with loving countenance; who after long talke, for the space of three or foure houres, as they were riding together on hunting, at length dimitted him, and bade him take home his wife, for she had taken great pains for him. Who answered the king againe, and said, 'he durst not so do, for feare of Sir Thomas More then chancellor, and Stokesley then bishop of London.' The king taking his signet off his finger, willed him to have him recommended to the lord chancellor, charging him not to be so hardie as to worke him any harme. Master Fish receiving the kings signet, went and declared his message to the lord chancellor, who took it as sufficient for his owne discharge; but he asked him if he had any thing for the discharge of his wife; for she a little before had by chance displeased the friers, for not suffering them to say their gospels in *Latin* in her house, unlesse they would say it in *English*. Whereupon the lord chancellour, although he had discharged the man, yet leaving not his grudge towards his wife, the next morning sent his man for her to appeare before him, who, had it not been for her young daughter, who then lay sicke of the plague, had been like to come to much trouble: of the which plague, her husband, the said master Fish deceasing within halfe a yeare, she afterward married one master James Bainham, Sir Alexander Bainhams sonne, a worshipfull knight of Gloucestershire; the which foresaid Master James Bainham, not long after was burned, as incontinently after in the processe of this storie shall appeare.

conference with Luther, and other learned men in those quarters. Where after he had continued a certain season, he came down from thence into the Neatherlands, and had his most abiding in the towne of Antwerpe, untill the time of his apprehension: whereof more shall be said God willing hereafter.

Amongst his other bookes which he compiled, one worke he made also for the declaration of the sacrament (as it was then called) of the altar: the which he kept by him, considering how the people were not as yet fully perswaded in other matters tending to superstitious ceremonies and grosse idolatry. Wherefore he thought as yet the time was not come to put forth that worke; but rather that it should hinder the people from other instructions, supposing that it would seeme to them odious to heare any such thing spoken, or set forth at that time, sounding against their great goddessse Diana, that is, against their masse, being had every where in great estimation, as was the goddessse Diana amongst the Ephesians whom they thought to come from heaven.

Wherefore M. Tindall being a man both prudent in his doings, and no lesse zealous in the setting forth of Gods holie truth, after such sort as it might take most effect with the people, did forbear the putting forth of that worke, not doubting but by Gods mercifull grace, a time should come, to have that abomination openly declared, as it is at this present day: the Lord almightie be alwaies praised therefore, Amen!

These godlie bookes of Tindall, and especially the new Testament of his translation, after that they began to come into mens hands, and to spread abroad, as they wrought great and singular profit to the godlie¹, so the ungodlie envying and disdaining that

"And thus much concerning Simon Fish, the authour of the booke of beggars; who also translated a booke called the *Sum of the scripture* out of the Dutch." Fox's *Acts*, p. 924.

¹ *Profit to the godlie.*] The following anecdote exhibits strikingly the eagerness and delight with which the Scriptures were received, and at the same time, the bitter domestic trials and conflicts to which occasionally the publication of them gave birth.

"One William Maldon happening in the company of John Fox, in the beginning of the reign of queen Elizabeth, and Fox being very inquisitive after those that suffered for religion in the former reign, asked him, if he knew any that were persecuted for the gospel . . . He told him he knew one that was whipped by his own father in king Henry's reign. And when Fox was very inquisitive who he was and what was his name, he confessed it was himself; and upon his desire he wrote out all the circumstances. Namely,

the people should be any thing wiser than they, and againe fearing least by the shining beames of truth, their false hypocrisie and workes of darknesse should be discerned; began to stir with no small adoo, like as at the birth of Christ, Herode and all Jerusalem was troubled with him. But especially Sathan the prince of darkness, maligning the happie course and successe of the gospell, set to his might also, how to impeach and hinder the blessed travailes of that man: as by this, and also by sundry other waies may appeare. For at what time Tindal had translated the fift book of Moses called *Deuteronomium*, minding to print the same at Hamborough, he sailed thitherward; where by the way upon

that ' when the king had allowed the Bible to be set forth, and to be read in all churches, immediately several poor men in the town of Chelmsford in Essex, where his father lived, and he was born, bought the New Testament, and on Sundays sat reading it in the lower end of the church. Many would flock about them to hear their reading; and he among the rest, being then but fifteen years old, came every Sunday to hear the glad and sweet tidings of the gospel. But his father observing it, once angrily fetched him away, and would have him to say the Latin mattins with him; which grieved him much. And as he returned at other times to hear the Scripture read, his father still would fetch him away.—'This put him upon the thoughts of learning to read English, that so he might read the New Testament himself. Which when he had by diligence effected, he and his father's apprentice bought the New Testament, joining their stocks together; and to conceal it, laid it under the bed-straw, and read it at convenient times. One night, his father being asleep, he and his mother chanced to discourse concerning the crucifix, and the kneeling down to it, and knocking on the breast then used, and holding up the hands to it, when it came by on procession. This he told his mother was plain idolatry, and against the commandment of God, where he saith, "Thou shalt not make any graven image, nor bow down to it, nor worship it." His mother enraged at him for this, said, "Wilt thou not worship the cross, which was about thee when thou wast christened, and must be laid on thee when thou art dead?" In this heat the mother and son departed, and went to their beds. The sum of this conference she presently repeats to her husband, which he impatient to hear, and boiling in fury against his son, for denying worship to be due to the cross, arose up forthwith, and goes into his son's chamber, and taking him by the hair of his head with both his hands, pulled him out of the bed, and whipped him unmercifully. And when the young man bore this beating, as he related, with a kind of joy, considering it was for Christ's sake, and shed not a tear; his father, seeing that, was more enraged, and ran down and fetched an halter, and put it about his neck, saying he would hang him. At length, with much entreaty of the mother and brother, he left him almost dead.' I extract this out of the original relation of the person himself, which he gave to John Fox." Strype's *Life of Crammer*, p. 64, 5.

the coast of Holland, he suffered shipwracke, by the which he lost all his bookes, writings and copies, and so was compelled to beginne all againe anew, to his hindrance and doubling of his labours. Thus having lost by that ship, both money, his copies and time, he came in another ship to Hamborough, where at his appointment maister Coverdale taried for him, and helped him in the translating of the whole five bookes of Moses, from Easter till December, in the house of a worshipful widow, mistris Margaret Van Emmerson, anno 1529. a great sweating sicknesse being the same time in the towne. So having dispatched his businesse at Hamborough, he returned afterward to Antwerpe againe.

Thus as Sathan is, and ever hath been an enemie to all godlie endeavors, and chiefly to the promoting and furtherance of Gods word, as by this and many other experiments may be seene; so his ministers and members following the like qualitie of their master, be not altogether idle for their parts; as also by the popes chaplaines and Gods enemies, and by their cruell handling of the said M. Tindall the same time, both here in England and in Flanders, may well appeare.

When Gods will was, that the newe Testament in the common tongue should come abroad, Tindall the translator thereof added to the latter end a certaine epistle, wherein he desired them that were learned to amend it, if ought were found amisse. Wherefore if anie such default had beene, deserving correction, it had been the part of curtesie and gentlenesse, for men of knowledge and judgment to have shewed their learning therein, and to have redressed that was to be amended. But the spirituall fathers then of the clergy being not willing to have that booke to prosper, cried out upon it, bearing men in hand, that there were a thousand heresies in it, and that it was not to be corrected, but utterly to be suppressed. Some said, "it was not possible to translate the scripture into English; some that it was not lawfull for the laie people to have it in their mother tongue; some that it would make them all heretikes." And to the intent to induce the temporall rulers also unto their purpose, they made matter, and saide "that it would make the people to rebell and rise against the king." All this Tindall himselfe in his owne prologue before the first booke of Moses declareth: and addeth further, shewing what great paines was taken in examining that translation, and comparing it with their owne imaginations and tearms, that with lesse

labor (hee supposeth) they might have translated themselves a great part of the bible: shewing moreover, that they scanned and examined every tittle and point in the saide translation, in such sort and so narrowlie, that there was not one *i* therein, but if it lacked a pricke over his head, they did note it, and numbred it unto the ignorant people for an heresie. So great were then the froward devises of the English clergy (who should have beene the guides of light unto the people) to drive the people from the text and knowledge of the scripture, which neither they would translate themselves^{*}, nor yet abide it to be translated of others: to the intent (as Tindall saith) that the word being kept still in darknesse, they might sit in the consciences of the people through vaine superstition and false doctrine, to satisfie their lusts, their ambition, and unsatiable covetousnesse, and to exalt their owne honor above king and emperor, yea and above God himselfe.

The bishops and prelates of the realme, thus (as ye have heard) incensed and inflamed in their minds, (although having no cause,) against the olde and newe Testament of the Lord newly translated by Tindall, and conspiring together with all their heads and counsellis, how to repeale the same, never rested before they had brought the king at last to their consent. By reason whereof a proclamation in all haste was devised and set forth under publicke

^{*} *Would translate themselves.*] "But let us graunt" (says Dr. Robert Barnes, in a tract, *That it is lawfull for all men to read the Holy Scripture*) "that that translation was so false: why did you not there take upon you openly for to amend it—and to set forth truly the holy testament of Christ? You must needs graunt that there is an holy testament of his in earth (except you will denye Christe—), where is it? Why have we it not? If *that* weare not it, why do not *you* set the very true testament out? You were ready to condemne another mans faythful labour and diligence; but you had no charytie to amende it. If you had condemned *that* all onely because of errorr, yet at the least wayes you should both of charitie, and also of dutie have set forth the trewe text, and then would men have thought, that you condemned the other by the reason of errorrs. But men may now evydently see, that you dyd not condemne it for errorrs sakes, but all onely because the veritie was therein, that which you could not abyde that men should knowe." *Works*, p. 283. edit. 1572. fol. In another place, he remarks, very pertinently: "This dare I say boldly, that the new testament in Englishe, is ten times truer, then the old translation in Latin is; in the which bee many places that do want whole sentences; and many places that no man can defend without heresie, as this texte, *Non omnes immutabimur*; (1 Cor. xv.) &c. &c." *Ibid.* 295.

authoritie, but no just reason shewed, that the Testament of Tindals translation, with other works mo both of his and of other writers, were inhibited⁹ and abandoned, which was about the yeare of our Lord, 1527.—And yet not contented herwith, they proceeded further, how to entangle him in their nets, and to bereave him of his life. Which how they brought to passe, now it remaineth to be declared.

In the registers of London it appeareth manifest, how that the bishops and Sir Thomas More having anie poore man under *coram*, to be examined before them, namely, such as had beene at Antwerp, most studiously would search and examine all things belonging to Tindall, where and with whom he hosted, whereabouts stood the house, what was his stature, in what apparell he went, what resort he had, &c. All which things when they had diligently learned, then began they to worke their feates; as you shall heare by the relation of his owne host.

William Tindall being in the towne of Antwerp, had bin lodged about one whole yeere in the house of Thomas Pointz an Englishman, who kept there an house of English marchants. About which time came thither one out of England, whose name was Henry Philips, his father being customer of Poole, a comely fellow, like as he had beene a gentleman, having a servant with him: but wherefore hee came, or for what purpose he was sent thither, no man could tell.

Maister Tindall divers times was desired forth to dinner and supper among marchants; by the meanes whereof this Henry Philips became acquainted with him, so that within short space M. Tindall had a great confidence in him; and brought him to his lodging to the house of Thomas Pointz, and had him also once or twise with him to dinner and supper, and further entred such friendship with him that through his procurement, hee lay in the same house of the said Pointz: to whome he shewed moreover his bookes and other secrets of his studie; so little did Tindall then mistrust this traitor.

But Pointz having no great confidence in the fellowe, asked maister Tindall how he came acquainted with this Philips. Maister Tindall answered, that hee was an honest man, handsomely learned,

⁹ *Were inhibited.*] See Mandate of Abp. Warham, dated Lambeth, Nov. 3, 1526. *Wilkins*, vol. iii. p. 706, 7.

and very conformable. Then Pointz perceiving that he bare such favour to him, said no more, thinking that hee was brought acquainted with him by some friend of his. The said Philips being in the towne three or foure daies, upon a time desired Pointz to walke with him forth of the towne to shewe him the commodities thereof; and in walking together without the towne, had communication of divers things, and some of the kings affaires: by the which talke Pointz as yet suspected nothing; but after, by the sequels of the matter, hee perceived more what hee intended. In the meane time this he well perceived, that hee bare no great favour, either to the setting forth of any good thing, either to the proceedings of the king of England. But after, when the time was past, Pointz perceived this to be his minde, to feele if hee could perceive by him, whether hee might breake with him in the matter for lucre of money, to helpe him to his purpose: for he perceived before that he was monied, and would that Pointz should thinke no lesse: but by whome, it was unknowne. For he had desired Pointz before to helpe him to divers things; and such things as hee named, hee required might be of the best, "for," saide he, "I have money enough." But of this talke came nothing, but that men should thinke he had some things to do, for nothing else followed of his talke. So it was to be suspected, that Philips was in doubt to moove this matter for his purpose to any of the rulers or officers of the town of Antwerpe, for doubt it should come to the knowledge of some Englishmen, and by the meanes thereof M. Tindall should have had warning.

So Philips went from Antwerpe to the court of Bruxels, which is from thence twentie foure English miles, the king having there no ambassador: for at that time the king of England and the emperor were at a controversie, for the question betwixt the king and the Lady Katherine, which was aunt to the emperor: and the discord grew so much, that it was doubted least there should have bin warre betweene the emperour and the king, so that Philips as a traitor both against God and the king, was there the better retained, as also other traitors moe besides him: who after he had betrayed master Tindall into their hands, shewed himselfe against the kings own person, and there set forth things against the king. To make short; the said Philips did so much there, that he procured to bring from thence with him to Antwerp

the procuror generall, which is the emperors attorney, with other certaine officers : as after followeth. The which was not done with small charges and expences, from whomsoever it came.

Within a while after, Pointz sitting at his doore, Philips' man came unto him, and asked whether maister Tindall were there, and saide his maister would come to him: and so departed. But whether his maister Philippes were in the towne or not, it was not knowne: but at that time Pointz heard no more, neither of the maister nor of the man. Within three or foure daies after, Pointz went forth to the town of Barrow, being 18 English miles from Antwerpe, where hee had businesse to doe for the space of a moneth or sixe weekes; and in the time of his absence, Henrie Philippes came againe to Antwerpe to the house of Pointz; and comming in, spake with his wife, asking her for master Tindall, and whether hee would dine there with him, saying; "What good meat shall wee have?" She answered, "such as the market will give." Then went hee forth againe (as it is thought) to provide; and set the officers which he brought with him from Bruxelles, in the streete, and about the doore. Then about noone he came againe, and went to maister Tindall, and desired him to lend him 40 shillings, "for (said hee) I lost my purse this morning, comming over at the passage betweene this and Machelin." So maister Tindall took him 40 shillings, the which was easie to be had of him, if he had it: for in the wylie subtilties of this world he was simple and unexpert.

Then said Philips, "M. Tindall you shall be my guest here this day." No, said M. Tindall, "I goe forth this day to dinner, and you shall goe with me and be my guest, where you shall be welcome." So when it was dinner time, master Tindall went forth with Philippes, and at the going out of Pointz house, was a long narrow entrie, so that two could not goe in a front. M. Tindall would have put Philips before him, but Philips would in no wise, but put M. Tindall afore, for that he pretended to shew great humanitie. So master Tindall being a man of no great stature, went before, and Philippes a tall comely person followed behinde him, who had set officers on either side of the doore upon two seates; which being there, might see who came in the entrie: and comming through the same entrie, Philips pointed with his finger over M. Tindals head downe to him, that the officers which sate at the doore, might see that it was he whome they should take; as the officers that tooke M. Tindall, afterward told Pointz,

and saide to Pointz when they had laide him in prison, that they pittied to see his simplicitie when they tooke him. Then they tooke him and brought him to the emperors attourney or procurer generall, where he dined. Then came the procurer generall to the house of Pointz, and sent away all that was there of M. Tindals, as well his books as other things: and from thence Tindall was had to the castle of Filford, 18 English miles from Antwerpe, and there he remained untill he was put to death.

Then incontinent by the helpe of English marchants, were letters sent in the favour of Tindall, to the courte of Bruxels. Also not long after, letters were directed¹ out of England to the councell at Bruxels, and sent to the marchants adventurers to Antwerpe, commaunding them to see that with speede they should be delivered.

But good Tindall could not escape their hands, but remained in prison still, who being brought unto his answere, was offered to have an advocate and a proctor: for in any criminall cause there, it shall be permitted to have counsaile, to make answere in the lawe. But hee refused to have anie such, saying, that he would answere for himselfe: and so hee did.

At last, after much reasoning, when no reason would serve, although he deserved no death, he was condemned by vertue of the emperors decree made in the assemblie at Ausbrough; and uppon the same, brought forth to the place of execution, was there tied to the stake, and then strangled first by the hangman, and afterward with fire consumed in the morning, at the towne of Filford,² an. 1536, crying thus at the stake with a fervent zeale, and a loud voice, "*Lord, open the king of Englands eyes.*"

Such was the power of his doctrine, and sinceritie of his life,

¹ *Letters were directed.*] "Letters sent from England by the lord Cromwell and others, in the behalfe of master Tindall." Fox.

² *Of Filford.*] "Sed ad Tyndallum redeo; qui demum post multos exantlato labores, Antverpiæ opera et prodizione Angli cujusdam (ut quidam suspicantur) Philipsii, at non sine episcoporum procuracione, a Lovaniensibus theologis captus, atque in carcerem abreptus est. Interim Dom. Cromwelius literis sæpe ac diligenter ad Lovanienses perscriptis, omni conatu eum eripere satagebat. Demum post annuam custodiam per Lovanienses eductus ad ignis supplicium, postquam ad palinodiam nulla ratione nec ille adduci, nec ipsi ab errorum pertinacia abduci potuerunt, Bruxellis lata mortis sententia judiciaria Vilfordiam Brabantis oppidum pertrahitur exurendus, ubi cum magna constantia vitam invictus Christi martyr posuit in Domino." Fox's Latin edit., p. 138.

that during the time of his imprisonment (which endured a yeare and a half) it is said, he converted his keeper, his daughter, and other of his household. Also the rest that were with him conversant in the castle, reported of him, that if he were not a good christian man, they could not tell whom to trust.

The procurator generall, the emperours attourne, being there, left this testimony of him, that he was "*Homo doctus, pius, et bonus* : that is, a learned, a good, and a godly man."

The worthy vertues and doings of this blessed martyr, who for his painefull travailes, and singular zeale to his countrey, may be called in these our daies, an apostle of England, it were long to recite.—Amongst manie other, this because it seemeth to mee worthie of remembrance, I thought not in silence to overpasse, which hath unto me credibly beene testified by certaine grave marchants, and some of them also such as were present the same time at the fact, and men yet alive. The story whereof is this.

There was at Antwerp on a time, amongst a companie of marchants, as they were at supper, a certaine juggler, which through his diabolicall enchantments or art magicall, would fetch all kinds of viands, and wine from any place they would, and set it upon the table incontinent before them, with many other such like things. The fame of this juggler being much talked of, it chanced that as M. Tindal heard of it, he desired certaine of the marchants, that he might also be present at supper to see him play his parts.

To be brieve, the supper was appointed, and the marchants with Tindall were there present. Then the juggler being required to play his feates, and to shewe his cunning, after his wonted boldnesse began to utter all that he could doe, but all was in vaine. At the last, with his labour, sweating and toying, when he saw that nothing would go forward, but that all his enchantments were voide, hee was compelled openly to confesse, that there was some man present at supper, which disturbed and letted all his doings.—So that a man even in the martyrs of these our daies, cannot lacke the miracles of true faith, if miracles were now to be desired.

As concerning the workes and bookes of Tindall, which extend to a great number, thou wast tolde before (loving reader) how the printer hereof mindeth, by the Lords leave, to collect them all in one volume together, and put them out in print. Wherefore

it shall not greatlie at this time be needfull to make any severall rehearsall of them.

And as touching his translation of the new Testament, because his enemies did so much carpe at it, pretending it to bee so full of heresies, to answer therefore to their sclaunderous tongues and lying lips, thou shalt heare and understand, what faithfull dealing, and sincere conscience he used in the same, by the testimonie and allegation of his owne words, written in his epistle to John Frith, as followeth; "I call God^a to record against the daie we shall appeare before our Lord Jesus, to give a reckoning of our doings, that I never altered one syllable of Gods word against my conscience, nor would this daie, if all that is in earth, whether it be honour, pleasure, or riches might be given me, &c."

And here to ende⁴ and conclude this history with a few notes touchinge his private behaviour in dyet study and charitable zeale, and tender releiving of the poore. First, he was a man verie frugale and spare of bodie, a great student, and earnest labourer, namely in the settinge forth of the scriptures of God. He reserved or hallowed to himselfe two dayes of the weeke, which he named his dayes of pastime, and those dayes were Monday,

^a *I call God.*] A solemn avowal of this nature, on the opposition of its truth, was both prudent and just. For what did the Popish party pretend? "*the constitution of the bishops,*" says Sir Thomas More, "is not *that the Scripture shall not be in English*; but, that no man may translate it by his own authority; or read it, till they had approved it." And what is Tindall's reply? "If no translation shall be had, untill *they* give licence, or till they approve it, it shall never be had. And so it is all one in effect, to say there shall be none at all in English, and to say, 'till we admit it,' seeing that they feign all the cavillations they can, to prove it *were not expedient*. And thereto they have done their best to have had it *enacted by parliament*, that it *should not be in English*."—Answer to Sir Thomas More's Dialogue, A.D. 1530. *Works*, p. 318, fol. And as a specimen of the temper of one of them, Fitz-James, bishop of London, More having affirmed that "he was wise, virtuous, and cunnyng," Tindal replies, 'For all those three, yet he would have made the old deane Colet of Pauls an hereticke, for translating the *Pater noster* in English, had not the byshop of Canterbury" (Warham) "holpe the Deane."

⁴ *And here to ende.*] This paragraph the editor has added from the conclusion of the Life of William Tindall, prefixed by John Fox to the edition of his works printed, along with the works of John Frith and Dr. Robert Barnes, by John Day, in the year 1573.

the first daye of the weeke, and Saturday the laste day in the weeke. In the Monday he visited all such poore men and women as were fled out of England, by reason of persecution, unto Antwerp; and those, well understanding their good exercises and qualities, he did very liberally comfort and relieve: and in like manner provided for the sicke and diseased persones. On the Saturday he walked rounde about the towne in Antwerpe, seeking out every corner and hole where he suspected any poore person to dwell, (as God knoweth there are many), and where he found any to be well occupied, and yet over burthened with children, or else were aged, or weake, those also he plentifully relieved. And thus he spent his two dayes of pastime, as he called them. And truly his almes was very large and great: and so it might well bee: for his exhibition that hee had yearly of the Englishe marchaunts was very much, and that for the most part he bestowed upon the poore, as aforesayde. The rest of the dayes in the weeke he gave himself wholly to his booke, wherein he most diligently travelled. When the Sunday came, then went he to some one merchauntes chamber, or other, whither came many other merchauntes, and unto them would he reade some one parcel of scripture, either out of the Old Testament or out of the New, the which proceeded so fruitefully, sweetely, and gently from him (much like to the writing of Saint John the evangelist) that it was a heavenly comfort and joy to the audience to heare him reade the scriptures. And in like wise after dinner, he spent an houre in the afore sayd maner. He was a man without any spot or blemishe of rancour or malice; full of mercy and compassion; so that no man living was able to reprove him of any kinde of sinne or crime; albeit his righteousness and justification depended not thereupon before God, but onely upon the bloode of Christ, and his fayth in the same; in the which faythe constantly he dyed, as is sayde, at Filforde, and now resteth with the glorious company of Christes martyrs blessedly in the Lord; who be blessed in all his saints! Amen.—And thus much of W. Tyndall, Christes blessed servaunt and martyr.

A notable and woorthie Letter of Master William Tyndall, sent to John Frith, under the name of Jacob.

“The grace of our Saviour Jesus, his patience, meekenesse, humblenesse, circumspection, and wisdom, be with your heart, Amen.

“Deerely beloved brother Jacob mine harts desire in our Saviour Jesus is, that you arme your selfe with patience, and be cold, sober, wise, and circumspect, and that you keepe you alowe by the ground, avoiding hie questions that passe the common capacitie. But expound the law truly, and open the vail of Moses to condemne all flesh, and proove all men sinners, and all deedes under the law, before mercy have taken away the condemnation thereof, to bee sinne and damnable: and then as a faithfull minister, set abroach the mercie of our Lord Jesus, and let the wounded consciences drinke of the water of him. And then shall your preaching be with power, and not as the doctrine of the hypocrits; and the Spirit of God shall worke with you, and all consciences shall beare record unto you, and feelee that it is so. And all doctrine that casteth a miste on those two, to shadow and hide them, I meane the law of God and mercie of Christ, that resist you with all your power. Sacraments without signification, refuse. If they put significations to them, receive them, if you see it may help; though it be not necessarie.

“Of the presence of Christs bodie in the Sacrament, meddle as little as you can, that there appeare no division among us. Barnes will bee hote^s against you. The Saxons be sore on the

^s *Barnes will bee hote.*] Dr. Robert Barnes, a zealous Lutheran in the doctrine of the Eucharist. He had spent a considerable time in Germany, and was intimately acquainted with Luther, Melancthon, Justus Jonas, &c. Frith, who seems to have been a person of very extraordinary endowments, but was put to death when a very young man, wrote with surprising perspicuity and vigour according to that doctrine, which was afterwards, under the influence of Cranmer and Ridley, restored as the established doctrine of the Church of England. Tindall, during his abode in foreign parts, had seen the calamitous effects which had been produced by the controversies on this subject between the two contending parties, which occasioned the first division between the *Lutheran*, and *Calvinistic* or *reformed* churches; and he was anxious to prevent the introduction of the like evils into England. The Lutheran notion of consubstantiation never made much progress in this kingdom.

affirmative, whether constant or obstinate, I remit it to God. Philip Melancthon is said to be with the French king. There be in Antwerpe that say, they saw him come into Paris with an hundred and fifty horses, and that they spake with him. If the Frenchmen receive the word of God, hee will plant the affirmative in them. George Joy would have put forth a treatise of that matter, but I have stopt him as yet: what he wil do if he get mony, I wot not. I believe he would make many reasons little serving to the purpose. My mind is, that nothing be put forth till we heare how you shall have sped. I would have the right ~~me~~ preached, and the presence to bee an indifferent thing, till the matter might be reasoned in peace at leasure of both parties. If you be required, shew the phrases of the scripture, and let them talke what they will. For as to beleve that God is everie where, hurteth no man that worshippeth him no where but within the heart, in spirit and veritie: even so to beleve that the bodie of Christ is every where (though it can not bee proved) hurteth no man that worshippeth him no where save in the faith of his gospell.—You perceive my mind: howbeit if God shew you otherwise, it is free for you to doe as he mooveth you.

“ I ghesseed long agoe, that God would send a dazing into the head of the spiritualtie, to catch themselves in their owne subtiltie, and I trust it is come to passe. And now me thinketh I smell a counsell to bee taken, little for their profites^a in time to come. But you must understand, that it is not of a pure heart and for love of the truth, but to avenge themselves, and to eat the whores flesh, and to sucke the marrow of her bones. Wherefore cleave fast to the rocke of the helpe of God, and commit the end of all things to him: and if God shall call you, that you may then use the wisdome of the worldly, as farre as you perceive the glorie of God may come thereof, refuse it not: and ever among, thrust in, that the scripture may be in the mother tongue, and learning set up in the universities. But and if ought bee required contrarie to the glorie of God and his Christ, then stand fast, and commit your selfe to God, and be not overcome of mens persuasions, which happely shall say, We see no other way to bring in the truth.

^a *Little for their profites.*] The allusion seems to be to the difficulties and penalties under which the clergy were brought, on the charge of transgressing the statute of *Premunire*, of which further particulars will be found below in the account of Cromwell. See Index, under *Premunire*.

“ Brother Jacob, beloved in my heart, there liveth not in whome I have so good hope and trust, and in whom mine heart rejoyceth and my soule comforteth her selfe, as in you: not the thousand part so much for your learning, and what other gifts else you have, as that you will creepe alowe⁷ by the ground, and walke in those things that the conscience may feelee, and not in the imaginations of the braine: in feare, and not in boldnesse: in open necessarie things, and not to pronounce or define of hid secrets, or things that neither helpe or hinder whether they be so or no; in unitie, and not in seditious opinions: insomuch that if you bee sure you know, yet in things that may abide leasure, you will deferre, or say (till other agree with you), “ Mee thinke the text requireth this sense or understanding.” Yea and that if you bee sure that your part be good, and an other hold the contrarie, yet if it be a thing that maketh no matter, you will laugh and let it passe, and referre the thing to other men; and stick you stiffely and stubburnely in earnest and necessarie things.—And I trust you be perswaded even so of me. For I call God to record against the day we shall appeare before our Lord Jesus, to give a reckoning of our doings, that I never altered one syllable of Gods word against my conscience, nor would this day if all that is in the earth, whether it be pleasure, honour, or riches, might bee given mee. Moreover, I take God to record to my conscience, that I desire of God to my selfe in this world, no more than that without which I can not keepe his lawes.

⁷ *Creepe alowe.*] Compare this word with its opposite *a-loft*. So in Pierce Ploughman's *Vision*, fol. 63, edit. 1550.

“ And willest of birds and beasts hir breeding to know,
Why some be *a-lowe*, and some *a-loft*.”—

Compare also Ploughman's *Complaint*, Fox's *Acts*, p. 371.

“ It is thy saying, ‘Those that *kyeth* himselfe shoulde be *lowed*, and those that *lowethe* themselves shoulde be *ankeyghed*.’ ”

Respecting Frith's admirable prudence and moderation in the doctrine of the Eucharist, and on the opinions of Dr. Barnes, the reader may consult Fox's *Acts*, p. 943. Tindall himself has given, besides the present excellent letter, many proofs of the same temper in the course of his valuable writings; not only on the points in dispute in connexion with that article, which of all the controversies at the æra of the Reformation were most fully and warmly debated; but also upon the abstruse and thorny questions respecting grace and predestination.

" Finally, if there were in mee any gift that could helpe at hand, and aide you if need required ; I promise you I would not bee farre off, and commit the ende to God ; my soule is not faint, though my bodie be wearie. But God hath made me evill favoured in this world, and without grace in the sight of men, speechlesse and rude, dull and slowe witted : your part shall bee to supply that lacketh in me ; remembring, that as lowlinesse of hart shall make you high with God, even so meekenesse of words shall make you sinke into the harts of men. Nature giveth age authoritie, but meekenesse is the glorie of youth, and giveth them honour. Aboundance of love maketh me exceede in babbling.

" Sir, as concerning purgatorie, and many other things, if you be demaunded, you may say, ' If you erre, the spiritualtie hath so led you, and that they have taught you to beleeve as you doe. For they preached you all such things out of Gods word, and alleged a thousand texts, by reason of which texts you beleaved as they taught you. But now you finde them liars, and that the texts meane no such things, and therefore you can beleieve them no longer ; but are as ye were before they taught you, and beleieve no such thing : howbeit you are readie to beleieve, if they have any other way to proove it', for without prooffe you cannot beleieve them, when you have found them with so many lies, &c.' If you perceive wherein we may helpe, either in being still, or doing somewhat, let us have word, and I will doe mine uttermost.

" My lord of London hath a servant called John Tisen, with

¹ *Any other way to proove it.*] It is not to be doubted but that the advocates of this doctrine, though they might be beaten out of scripture, had still other proofs to produce for the maintenance of their cause. A fit of the gout, be it known, is a good demonstration of purgatory. Or rather the Knights of Purgatory were armed *cap a pe*, and if the *head* did fail, yet (as happens with other knights occasionally in similar circumstances of distress) they had a weight of argument in the *toe* which was irresistible.

" Purgatory is *proved* by example of a byshop that was vexed with a hete in his feete that none might refreshe them. It happed in sommer on a day as fyshers fyshed in the sea, they caught a great yse, the whiche they bare to the byshop, and put it under his feete a certayne houre ; and then the byshop harde a voyce that complayned, the which he adjured ; and it answered and sayd, ' I am the soule of a preest that suffereth here my purgatory ; and if thou were in the state of grace, and sayde an hundred masses for me, I shuld be delivered and saved!'—*the which was done.*"—*Shepherd's Calendar*, signat. M. 6. edit. 1556.

a red beard, and a blacke reddish head, and was once my scholar; he was seene in Antwerpe, but came not among the English men; whither hee is gone an embassadour secret I wot not.

“The mightie God of Jacob be with you to supplant his enemies, and give you the favour of Joseph; and the wisdom, and the spirit of Stephen be with your heart and with your mouth, and teach your lips what they shall say, and how to answer to all things. Hee is our God if we despaire in our selves, and trust in him: and his is the glorie, Amen. (A.D. 1533.)

“WILLIAM TYNDALL.

“I hope our redemption is nigh.”

CROMWELL, EARL OF ESSEX.

At length truth shot its ray into this chaos of disordered reason. But it came not directly from its source : but from the ferment of such passions as error and corruption are apt to raise amongst those who govern in, and benefit by, that state of confusion. For when a reform happens to arise from within, it cannot be supposed to have its birth in a *love* of truth ; hardly in the *knowledge* of it. Generally some oblique passion gratifies itself in decrying the grosser corruptions, supported by, and supporting, those it hates. The machine thus set a going, truth has fair play : she is now at liberty to procure friends, and to attach them to her service. This was the course of things in the revolution we are about to speak of : and is the natural rise and progress of religious reformatations in general. For if, in the state of such established error, Providence was to wait, till a love of truth had set men upon shaking off their bondage, its dispensations could never provide that timely aid which we now find they always do to distressed humanity. For when the corruption hath spread so wide, as to make truth, if by chance she could be found, an indifferent object ; what is there left, to enable men to break their fetters, but the clashing interests of the corruption itself ? And it is knowing as little of the *religious*, as of the *moral* course of God's Providence, to upbraid those, who have profited of this blessing, with the baseness of the instruments that procured it.

BISHOP WARBURTON.

CROMWELL, EARLE OF ESSEX.

THOMAS CROMWELL although borne of a simple parentage, and house obscure, through the singular excellencie of wisdom and dexteritie of wit wrought in him by God, coupled with like industrie of minde and desertes of life, rose to high preferment and authoritie; in so much that by steps and staires of office and honour, he ascended at length to that, that not onely he was made earle of Essex, but also most secret and deare counsellour to king Henry, and vicegerent unto his person; which office hath not commonly beene supplied, at least not so fruitfully discharged, within this realme.

First as touching his birth¹, he was borne at Putney or ther-

¹ *As touching his birth.*] Cardinal Pole has treated Cromwell with great severity in his *Apologia ad Carolum Quintum Cesarem*. The invective is long: but is too much to our purpose to be altogether passed by. The occasion upon which it is introduced is in declaring the influence and negotiations of Cromwell respecting the divorce of Henry VIII. from queen Catharine.

—Si nomen quærat, Cromvillum eum appellant; si genus, de nullo quidem ante eum, qui id nomen gereret, audi. Dicunt tamen, viculum esse prope Londinum, ubi natus erat, et ubi pater ejus pannis vendendis victum quæritabat; sed de hoc parum refert. Nunc si conditio quærat, sic quidem de eo intellexi, aliquem in Italia fuisse gregarium militem; fuisse etiam mercatorem, nec tamen longius progressum in mercatura fuisse, quam ut scriba esset mercatoris, et libros rationum servaret; optime vero novi illum mercatorem, qui Venetus erat natione, cui operas suas locabat. Tandem hujus conditionis pertæsus, domum reversus, caudicibus se immiscuit, his qui jura regni profitentur: in quo eo magis se proficere sperabat, quod versuti et callidi ingenii sibi conscius esset ad defendendum tam iniquum,

about, being a smiths sonne, whose mother married after to a shyreman. In the simple estate and rude beginnings of this man (as of divers other before him) wee may see and learne that the excellencie of noble vertues and heroicall prowesses, which advance to fame, and honor, stand not only upon birth and bloud, as priviledges only intailed and appropriate to noble houses; but are ~~disposed~~ indifferently and proceede of the gift of God, who raiseth uppe the poore abjecte manie times out of the dunghill, and matcheth him in throne with peeres and princes. (Psal. 113.)

As touching the order and manner of his comming up, it would be superfluous to discourse what may bee said at large: only by way of storie it may suffice to give a touch of certaine particulars, and so to proceede.

Although the humble condition and povertie of this man was at the beginning (as it is to many other) a great let and hinderaunce for vertue to shewe her selfe, yet such was the activitie and forward ripenes of nature in him, so pregnant in wit and so readie he was, in judgement discreet, in tongue eloquent, in service faithfull, in stomacke couragious, in his penne active, that being conversant in the sight of men, he could not long be unespied,

quam æquum, quod ex externorum commercio valde acuerat, cum nostrorum hominum ingeniorum simplicitatem semper contemneret. Nec tamen in hoc genere valde crevit, antequam ad monasteriorum ruinam perventum est. Quod incepit vivente adhuc cardinali Eboracense, dum monasteria quædam, pene a suis deserta, et illorum bona ac prædia, in subsidium pauperum, qui in Gymnasiis literis operam dabant, essent conversa. Hic vero notus esse cœpit, idque ostendit, ad hanc artem solum se natum fuisse, ad ruinam et vastationem, id quod crebra aliarum artium mutatio declaravit, in quibus nihil crevit, in hac vero statim celebris esse cœpit, et pluribus notus; ita tamen in illis initiis artis suæ notus, ut cum cardinalis, cujus assecla fuit, et ex cujus autoritate et imperio illam suam artem exercebat, ab administratione reipublicæ remotus esset, et dignitate privatus, ipse omnium voce, qui aliquid de eo intellexerant, ad supplicium posceretur. Hoc enim affirmare possum, qui Londini tum adfui, et voces audiui, adeo etiam ut per civitatem universam rumor circumferretur, eum in carcerem fuisse detrusum, et propediem productum iri ad supplicium. Neque vero hoc effugisset, nisi Dei in regem justissima ira, hujus vitam Satanæ dedisset, &c. *Epistola Reginaldi Poli Cardinalis*, vol. i. p. 126. Brixie, 1744. In the same Apology, Pole gives a curious account of an interview which he had with Cromwell, in the house of cardinal Wolsey, about the year 1529, in which, he tells us, Cromwell sounded him on his dispositions with regard to Henry's divorce, and strenuously recommended to Pole for his instruction in politics and the knowledge of courts, the famous book of Machiavelli, *De Principe*. Ibid. p. 133—138.

nor yet unprovided of favour and helpe of friends to set him forward in place and office. Neither was any place or office put unto him, whereunto hee was not apt and fit. Nothing was so harde which with witte and industry hee could not compasse. Neither was his capacitie so good, but his memorie was as great in retaining whatsoever he had attained. Which well appeareth in canning² the text of the whole new testament of Erasmus' translation without book, in his journey going and comming from Rome : whereof ye shall heare anone.

Thus in his growing yeares, as hee shot up in age and ripenes, a great delight came in his minde to stray into forraine countries, to see the world abroad, and to learne experience, whereby hee learned such tongues and languages, as might better serve for his use hereafter.

And thus passing over his youth, being at Antwerpe, he was there retained of the English marchants³ to be their clarke or secretarie, or in some such like condition placed pertaining to their affaires.

It happened the same time, that the towne of Boston thought good to send up to Rome, for renuing⁴ of their two pardons, one called *the great pardon*, the other *the lesser pardon*. Which thing although it should stand them in great expenses of mony (for the popes merchandise is alwaies deare ware) yet notwithstanding such sweetnes they had felt thereof, and such gaine to come to their towne by that Romish merchandise (as all superstition is commonly gainefull) that they like good catholicke marchants, and the popes good customers, thought to spare for no coste, to have their leases again of their pardons renewed, whatsoever they paide for the fine. And yet was al this good religion then : such was the lamentable blindness of that time.

This then beeing so determined and decreede amongst my

² *Canning.*] Learning.

³ *English marchants.*] Who at that time resided together in a factory.

⁴ *For renuing.*] This renewing of the virtue and force of pardons, was one among the ordinary expedients for gain to the pope and others. Thus it was alleged among the articles against cardinal Wolsey, (art. 22.) "Also the said lord cardinal to augment his great riches, hath caused divers pardons granted by the pope, to be suspended, which could not be revived till the said lord cardinal were rewarded, and also have a yearly pension of the said pardon." *State Trials*, vol. i. p. 376.

countrimen of Boston, to have their pardons needs repaired from Rome, one Geoffrey Chambers with another nion was sent for the messengers, with writings and small quantitie, well furnished, and with all other things as needfull and necessarie for so chargeable and costly exploit; who came in his journey to Antwerpe, and misdoubting himselfe to weake for the compassing of such a waightie piece of business, conferred and perswaded with Thomas Cromwel to associate in that legacie, and to assist him in the contriving thereof. Cromwell, although perceiving the enterprise to be of no small difficultie, to traverse the popes court, for the unreasonable pences amongst those greedy cormorants, yet having some skill of the Italian tongue, and as yet not grounded in the judgement of religion in those his youthfull daies, was at length overcome by the hope of gain, and content to give the adventure, and so tooke his way towards Rome. Cromwell loth to spend much time, and loth to spend his mony; and againe perceiving that the greedy humor must needs be served with some present or reward (for without rewards there is no doing at Rome) began to consider with himselfe, what thing best to devise, wherein he might serve the popes devotion.

At length, having knowledge how that the popes holiness greatly delighted in new fangled strange delicates, and dishes, it came in his minde to prepare certaine fine dishes, after the best fashion, made after our country maner in England, which to them of Rome was not known nor before.

This done, Cromwell observing his time accordingly, when the pope was newly come from hunting into his pavillion, hee with his companions approached with his English presentes, brought with a three mans song (as we call it) in the English tongue, all after the English fashion. The pope sodainely marvelled at the strangenes of the song, and understanding that the English men, and that they came not emptie handed, willed to be called in. Cromwell there shewing his obedience, offering his jolly junkets, such as kings and princes onely use in the realme of England use to feede upon, desired that he might be accepted in benevolent part, which he and his companions as poore suitors unto his holinesse, had there brought presented, as novelties meete for his recreation.

Pope Julius^a seeing the strangeness of the dishes, commanded by and by his cardinall to take the assay^b. Who in tasting thereof, liked it so well, and so likewise the pope after him, that knowing of them what their suites were, and requiring them to make knowne the making of that meate, hee incontinent without any more adoe, stamped both their pardons, as well the greater as the lesser.

And thus were the jolly pardons of the towne of Boston obtained as you have heard, for the maintenance of their decayed port. The copie of which pardons (which I have in my hands) brieflie comprehended, commeth to this effect^c. "That all the brethren and sisters of the gylde of our Lady in Saint Botolphes church at Boston, should have free licence to chuse for their

^a *Pope Julius.*] Julius II., Giuliano della Rovere.

^b *Assay.*] Trial by tasting. See Cavendish's *Life of Wolsey* in vol. i. p. 626.

^c *To this effect.*] In Becon's *Reliques of Rome*, Works, vol. iii. fol. 358, &c. may be found a collection of several other pardons, similar to these granted to the town of Boston. But omitting them, I shall only produce, because it is not long, the account given by Strype, in his *Life of Sir Thomas Smith*, p. 60, of one granted, so late as the year 1555, to William Smythick, Esq.; the privileges of which, being imparted by him to Sir Thomas, were, as Strype conjectures, his security in those days of peril, and bitter persecution.

"It was, that he and any five of his friends, whom he should nominate, with their children of both sexes, should be exempted, from all sentences of excommunication, suspension, and interdict, and other censures ecclesiastical, upon whatever occasion or cause inflicted; transgressions of any vows, or commands of the church; guilt of perjuries, and homicide, whether casual or mental; laying violent hands upon any ecclesiastical persons, excepting prelates; omissions in whole or in part of fasts, canonical hours, divine offices, and penances enjoined: also from all and singular their sins whereof they are contrite and confessed, although they were such as for which the apostolick see were to be consulted. Likewise many other indulgences were by virtue hereof granted; as, to have a portatile altar, to receive the sacrament privately; that in lent, and other fasting times of the year, they might eat eggs, butter, cheese, and other milk-meats, and flesh, without scruple of conscience.—Smythick chose Sir Thomas Smith for one of his five friends, specified in the bull, to be partaker of these Catholick privileges.—This, no question, was a good skreen for Sir Thomas in these evil days." In Ames's *Typographical Antiquities*, under the name William Facques (p. 134), may be found, at full length, the patent of admission of one Richard Woolman into all the benefits of these Boston pardons. The writing bears date, Boston, 10 Decemb. A. D. 1508.

- Also should have licence to carie about with them an altuar stone¹ whereby they might have a priest to saie them masse, or other divine service, where they would, without prejudice of any other church or chappell, though it were also before day, yea and at three of the clock after midnight in the summer time.

- Furthermore, that all such brethren and sisters of the said gylde, which should resort to the chappell of our Ladie in Saint Botolphes church at the feast of Easter, Whitsontide, Corpus Christi, the nativitie or Assumption of our Ladie, or in the octaves of them, the feast of S. Michaell, and first Sunday in Lent, should have pardon no lesse then if they themselves personally had visited the Stations of Rome¹.

- Provided that every such person man or woman, entring into the same gylde, at his first entrance should give to the finding of 7 priests, 12 quiresters, and 13 beadsmen, and to the lights of the same brotherhood, and a grammar schole, six shillings eight pence, and for every yeare after twelve pence.

- And these premisses being before granted by pope Innocentius and pope Julius 2. this pope Clement² also confirmed, granting moreover, that whatsoever brother or sister of the same gylde through povertie, sicknesse, or any other let could not resort personally to the said chappell, notwithstanding, hee should bee dispensed withall, as well for that, as for all other vowes, irregularities, and censures canonically whatsoever, onlie the vowe of going

and other cursed synnes be thus destroyed.—I say not this for no desyre that I have to here your shryft, for it is but a payne to me, save for charge that I have of your soules. For I had lever mynyster all the sacramentes that length to myn office forty tymes; than that ones. But I doo it for to dystroye the false subtylte that ye use in shryfte agaynst the helthe of your soules: And so God helpe me." fol. 169.

¹ *An altuar stone.*] A portable altar, called in Latin, *altare viaticum*, or *alt. portatile*. "This was some real stone, insigned with the cross, and duly consecrated; and to be of such a length and breadth, as might conveniently hold the holy cup, and consecrated host: with an apt frame of wood, whereon to set it. . . . They were very rarely granted but by the pope himself, or his penitentiary." *Staveley's Hist. of Churches in England*, p. 214. Weever in his *Funeral Monuments* exemplifies a bull of pope Martin the Vth, indulging the privilege of an altar of this description to the English Merchants of the Staple at Calais, p. 133. edit. 1767. in *Deptford*. See also the note, p. 223, on the pardon granted to William Smythick.

² *The Stations of Rome.*] See Becon's *Works*, vol. iii. fol. 203—5. A. D. 1563.

³ *Pope Clement.*] Clement VII. in 1526.

the Stations of Rome, and going to Saint James of Compostella excepted.

" He also granted unto them power to receive full remission, *a pena et culpa*, once in their life, or in the houre of death.

" Item, that having their aultar stone, they might have masse said in any place, though it were unhallowed. Also in the time of interdict, to have masse or any sacrament ministered : and also being departed, that they might be buried in christian buriall, notwithstanding the interdict.

" Extending moreover his grant to all such brethren and sisters, in resorting to the foresaid chappell of our Ladie upon the Nativitie, or Assumption of our Lady, giving supportation to the said chappell, at every such festivall day, to have full remission of all their sins. Or if they for any impediment could not be present at the chappell aforesaid, yet if they came unto their owne parish church, and there said one *Pater noster*, and *Ave Maria*, they should enjoy the same remission above specified : or whosoever came every Friday to the same chappell, shuld have as much remission, as if he went to the chappell of our Ladie called *Scala Cæli* ⁴.

" Furthermore, that whatsoever christian people, of what estate or condition soever, either spirituall or temporall, would aid and support the chamberlaines or substitutes of the foresaid gylde, should have five hundredth yeares of pardon.

" Item, to all brothers and sisters of the same gylde was granted free libertie to eate in time of Lent, or other fasting daies, egges,

⁴ *Called Scala Cæli.*] At Rome, " in the church of our Lady called *Scala Cæli*, is also great pardon. This is one of the first temples that was built in the world unto the honour of the blessed virgine Marye. It is called *Scala Cæli*, because in it blessed St. Bernard deserved to see a *ladder*, which reached up even unto the very heavens. In this Church whosoever say Masse, or cause Mass there to be said for the soules that are in Purgatory, the aforesaid soules are delivered out of hand, thorow the vertue of the Masse and the merites of the blessed Virgine. Moreover whatsoever thinge is devoutly asked in that place, it is strayghtwayes wythoute all doubtte obtayned. And there is great aboundance of pardon *a pena et culpa toties quoties*." Becon's *Works*, vol. iii. fol. 202. It is the church of Santa Maria *in ara Cæli*, which crowns the summit of the Capitoline Hill, and is supposed to occupy the site of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, or according to others, Jupiter Feretrius. It has on the outside a flight of one hundred and twenty-four steps of Grecian marble, which are said to have formed the ascent to the temple of Romulus Quirinus.

milk, butter, cheese, and also flesh, by the counsaile of ther ghostly father and physition, without any scruple of conscience.

- Item, that all partakers^a of the same gylde, and beeing supporters thereof, which once a quarter, or every Friday or Saturday, either in the said chappell in Saint Botulphs church, or any other chappell, of their devotion shall say a *Pater noster*, *Ave Maria* and *Credo*, or shall say or cause to be said masses, for soules departed in paines of purgatorie, shall not onehie have the full remission due to them which visite the chappell of *Scala Celi*, or of S. John Lateran^b; but also the soules in purgatorie shall enjoy full remission, and bee released of all their paines.

"Item, that all the soules departed of the brothers and sisters of the said gylde; also the soules of their fathers and mothers shall be partakers of all the praiers, suffragies, almoses, fastings, masses, and mattens, pilgrimages, and all other good deeds of the holy church militant for ever."

These indulgencies, pardons, grants, and relaxations were given and granted by pope Nicholas the fift, pope Pius 2. pope Sixtus, and pope Julius the second; of which pope Julius it seemeth, that Cromwell obtained this pardon aforesaid, about the yeare of our Lord 1510. Which pardon againe afterward through the request of king Henry, an. 1526. was confirmed by pope Clement^c the seventh.—And thus much concerning the pardon of Boston, renewed by the meanes of Thomas Cromwell, of pope Julius the second.

All this while it appeareth, that Cromwell had yet no sound taste nor judgement of religion, but was wilde and youthfull, without sence or regard of God and his worde, as hee himselfe was wont oftentimes to declare unto Cranmer archbishop of Canterbury, shewing what a ruffian he was in his yong daies; and how he was in the wars of the duke of Bourbon at the siege of Rome, also what a great doer he was with Geffrey Chambers in publishing and setting forth the pardon of Boston every where in churches as hee went; and so continued, till at length by learning

^a *All partakers.*] See Lewis's *Life of Wickliffe*, p. 24, 5. edit. 1820; who gives a copy of one of these Letters of Fraternity, as they are called.

^b *S. John Lateran.*] Of the privileges of the Church of St. John Lateran at Rome, an ample account, containing many very curious particulars, may be found in Becon's *Works*, vol. iii. fol. 199, 200.

^c *Pope Clement.*] Of the bull of this pope, Becon gives a copious abstract, *Works*, vol. iii. fol. 359.

the text of the New Testament without booke of Erasmus' translation^a in his going and comming from Rome (as is aforesaid), he began to be touched and called to better understanding.

In this meane time Thomas Woolsey, cardinall of Yorke, began to beare a great port in England, and almost to rule all under the king, or rather with the king; so that the freshest wits, and of best towardnesse, most commonly sought unto him. Among whome was also Thomas Cromwell to his service advanced; where he continued a certaine space of yeares, growing up in office and authoritie, till at length he was preferred to be sollicitour to the cardinall.

There was also about the same time, or not much different, in the houshold of the said cardinall, Thomas More, afterward knight, and chauncellor of England; and Steven Gardiner, after bishop of Winchester, and of the king's counsell. All these three were brought up in one houshold, and all of one standing almost together. Whose ages as they were not greatly discrepant, nor their wits much unequal; so neither was their fortune and advancements greatly divers, albeit their dispositions and studies were most contrarie. And thogh peradventure in More and in Gardiner there was more arte of the letters, and skill of learning; yet notwithstanding there was in this man a more heavenly light of the minde, and more prompt and perfect judgement, eloquence equall, and as may be supposed, in this man more pregnant; and finally in him was wrought a more heroicall and princely disposition, borne to greater affaires in the common wealth, and to the singular helpe of many.

It happened that in this meane season, as Cromwell was placed in this office to be sollicitour to the cardinall, the said cardinall had then in hand the building of certaine colleges, namely his college in Oxford, called then Frideswide, now Christs Church. By reason whereof, certain small monasteries and priories, in divers places of the realme, were by the said cardinall suppressed, and the lands seased to the cardinals hands. The doing whereof was committed to the charge of Thomas Cromwel. In the expedition whereof he shewed himselfe verie forward and industrious; in such sort as in the handling thereof, he procured to himselfe much grudge with divers of the superstitious sort, and with some also of noble calling about the king. And thus was Cromwell

^a *Erasmus' translation.*] Compare above, *Life of Bilney*, p. 26.

first set a worke^a by the cardinall, to suppress religious houses. Which was about the yeare of our Lord, 1525.

As this passed on, it was not long, but the cardinall which had gotten up so high, began to come down as fast, first from the chancellorship, in which he was placed Sir Thomas More; then he fell into a premunire: so that his household being dissolved, Thomas Cromwell amongst other, laboured also to be retained into the kings service.

There was at the same time one Sir Christopher Hales knight, master of the rolles, who notwithstanding he was then a mighty

^a *Cromwell first set a worke.*] A list of the monasteries dissolved for the erection of Cardinal College, Oxford, amounting in number to twenty, with the names of their founders, and values, is given in Strype's *Eccles. Memorials*, vol. i. p. 88. Appendix. The pope's bulls, and the king's letters patents authorizing the dissolution are in great part published, along with other pertinent documents, by Dr. Fiddes in his *Appendix of Records to the Life of Wolsey*. See also Wilkins's *Concilia*, vol. iii. p. 705, &c.

This act of the cardinal's, which gave the first employment of that nature to Cromwell, and led the way to the utter overthrow of the monasteries and other religious houses, in which Cromwell was so important an agent, did not, as Fox indeed intimates, pass without severe animadversions, even while it was carrying into execution. King Henry himself, it appears, had too much good sense, not to be full of apprehensions respecting its illegality; as he writes in a letter to the cardinal: "As touching the help of religious houses to the building of your college, I would it were more, *so it were lawfully*; for my intent is none, but that it should appear so to all the world; and the occasion of all their mumbling might be secluded and put away. For surely there is great murmuring of it, throughout all the realm, both good and bad . . . This grieveth me, I assure you, to hear it spoken of him, which I so entirely love." Fiddes's *Life of Wolsey*, p. 378. edit. 2d.

A very few years after, when the grand overthrow was approaching, the precedent given by the cardinal is adverted to in a passage, full of bitter reflections on the past, and trembling forebodings of the future, by bishop Barlowe in his *Dialogue concerning the Lutheran factions*. The characters have been speaking of what had already been done of the like kind in Germany. "Nicholas. Oure Lorde forbyd that it shuld chaunce so here! Wylliam. Yet lacke there not in England, that wyshe ful hartely after suche a ruffelyng chaunge; the more parte suche as hope to wyn, and have nothyng to lese; and yet some so mad that have of theyr owne, and whyche happely might repent it fyrst of all. *I let passe my lord cardinals acte in pullyng downe and suppressing of religious places, our Lord assoile his soule!* I will wrestle with no soules. *He knoweth by this tyme, whether he dyd well or evill.* But thys dare I be bolde to saye, that the countreis where they stode, fynde suche lacke of them, that they woulde he had let them stand. And thinke you then that there would be no lack founden, if the remanaunt were so served too?" signat. H 3. edit. 1553.

papist, yet bare he such favour and good liking to Cromwell that hee commended him to the king, as a man most fit for his purpose, having then to do against the pope. But heere before is to be understoode, that Cromwell had greatly beene complained of, and diffamed by certaine of authority about the king, for his rude maner and homely dealing in defacing the monkes houses, and in handling of their altars, &c. Wherefore the king hearing of the name of Cromwell, began to detest the mention of him; neither lacked there some standers by, who with reviling words ceased not to increase and inflame the kings hatred against him. What their names were it shall not neede here to recite. Among other there present at the same hearing, was the lord Russel, earle of Bedford, whose life Cromwel before had preserved at Bonony, through politike conveyance, at what time, the said earle comming secretly in the kings affaires, was there espied; and therefore being in great danger to be taken, through the meanes and policie of Cromwell escaped.

This lord Russell therefore not forgetting the old benefites past, and with like gratuity willing againe to requite that hee had received, in a vehement boldnes stooke forth, to take upon him the defence of Thomas Cromwell, uttering before the king many commendable words in the behalfe of him, and declaring withall how by his singular devise and policy, he had done for him at Bononie, beeing there in the kings affaires, in extreame perill. And for as much as now his majesty had to doe with the pope, his great enemy, there was (he thought) in all England none so apt for the kings purpose, which could say or doe more in that matter, than could Thomas Cromwell; and partly he gave the king to understand wherein. The king hearing this, and specially marking the latter end of his talke, was contented and willing to talke with him, to heare and know what he could say.

This was not so privily done, but Cromwell had knowledge incontinent, that the king would talke with him, and whereupon: and therefore providing before hand for matter, had in a readinesse the copie of the bishops oath, which they use commonly to make to the pope at their consecration: and so being called for, was brought to the king in his garden at Westminster, which was about the yeare of our Lord, 1530.

Cromwell after most loyall obeysance, doing his dutie to the king, according as hee was demanded, made his declaration in all pointes, this especially making manifest unto his highnesse, how

to shew, and that no lesse also he could manifestly proove, if his highnesse woulde give him leave: and therewith shewed the bishoppes oathe unto the king.

The king following the veine of his councell, tooke his ring off his finger, and first admitting him into his service, sent him therewith to the Convocation house among the bishops. Cromwell comming with the kings signet boldly into the clergie house, and there placing himselfe among the bishoppes, (William Warham being then archbishop) began to make his oration, declaring unto them the authoritie of a king, and the office of subjectes, and especially the obedience of bishops and churchmen under publicke lawes, necessarily provided for the profit and

trary to the oath that they make unto us, so that they seeme to be his subjects and not ours:’ and so the king delivering to them the copie of the oth, required them to invent some other, that he might not thus be deluded of his spiritual subjects. The speaker thus departed, and caused the oth to be read in the commons house; the very tenor whereof hereof ensueth.

“ ‘ *The oth of the Clergy to the Pope.*

“ ‘ I *John Bishop, or Abbot of A* : from this houre forward shall be faithful and obedient to Saint Peter, and to the holy Church of Rome, to my Lord the pope, and his successors canonically entering. I shall not be of council or consent, that they shall lose either life or member, or shall be taken, or suffer any violence, or any wrong by any meanes. Their counsell to me credited by them, their messengers or letters, I shall not willingly discover to any person. The popedom of Rome, the rules of the holy fathers, and the regalities of Saint Peter, I shal helpe and retaine, and defend against al men. The legate of the see apostolicke, both going and coming, I shal honourably entreate. The rightes, honours, priviledges, authorities of the church of Rome and of the pope, and his successors, I shall cause to be conserved, defended, augmented, and promoted. I shal not be in counsell, treaty, or any acte in which any thing shall be imagined against him or the church of Rome; their rights, states, honours, or powers: and if I knew any such to be moved or compassed, I shall resist it to my power, and as soone as I can, I shal advertize him, or such as may give him knowledge. The rules of the holy fathers, the decrees, ordinances, sentences, depositions, reservations, provisions, or commandments apostolicke, to my power I shall keepe, and cause to be kept of other. Heretickes, schismatickes, and rebels to our holy father and his successors, I shall resist and persecute to my power. I shall come to the synod when I am called, except I be letted by a canonical impediment. The threshold of the apostles I shall visite personally, or by my deputy. I shall not aliene or sell my possessions, without the popes counsell. So God help me and the holy Evangelistes!’ ” Fox’s *Acts*, p. 961. Compare *Christian Institutes*, vol. iv. p. 126—9.

et of the commonwealth. Which lawes notwithstanding they all transgressed, and highly offended in derogation of the kings royall estate, falling in the lawe of *Premunire*, in that not only they had consented to the power legative of the cardinall, but also in that they had all sworne to the pope, contrarie to the feialtie of their soveraigne lord the king, and therefore had forfeited to the king all their goods, chattels, lands, possessions, and whatsoever livings they had.—The bishops hearing this, were a little amazed, and first began to excuse, and deny the fact. But after that Cromwell had shewed them the very copy of their oath made to the pope at their consecration, and the matter was plaine, that they could not deny it, they began to shrink, and fall to intreatie, desiring respite to pause upon the matter. Notwithstanding, the ende thereof fell so out, that to be quit out of that *premunire*³, by act of parliament, it cost them to the king for both the provinces, Canturbury and Yorke, no lesse then one hundred eightene thousand, eight hundred and forty pounds, which was about the yeare of our Lord, 1530.

After this, an. 1532. Sir Thomas Cromwell growing in great favour with the king, was made knight and maister of the kings privy house, and shortly after was admitted also in the kings privy counsell, which was about the comming in of queen Anne Bullen. Furthermore, within two yeares after the same, an. 1534. he was made maister of the Rolles, Doctor Tailor being discharged.

Thus Cromwell springing up in favour and honour, after this, the yeare 1537. a little before the birth of king Edward, was made knight of the garter, and not long after was advaunced to the earledome of Essex, and made great chamberlaine of England. And besides all which honours, he was constitute also vice-gerent to the king⁴, representing his person. Which office

³ *Of that premunire.*] See Fox's *Acts*, p. 959. Wilkins's *Concilia*, vol. iii. 725—43. Burnet's *Hist. of the Reformation*, vol. i. p. 102—9. Edit. 4th. Haller's *Eccles. Hist.*, vol. ii. p. 61—3. But the most elaborate and satisfactory account of the whole of this famous transaction, with its connexions and dependencies, the overthrow of the pope's and the enactment of the kings supremacy, is given by Dr. Wake in his *State of the Church and clergy of England*, p. 474—80, &c.

⁴ *Vicegerent to the king.*] His commission to this appointment may be found in Burnet's *History of the Reformation*, vol. ii. book ii. no. 29, and in Wilkins's *Concilia*, vol. iii. p. 784, &c. "His offices of vicar-general and of vice-gerent," as Burnet tells us, "are often confounded;" but adds, "they were two

although it standeth well by the lawe, yet seldome hath there been seene any besides this Cromwell alone, either to have sustained it, or else to have so furnished the same with counsaile and wisdom, as Cromwell did.—And thus much hitherto concerning the steppes and degrees of the lord Cromwelles rising up to dignitie and high estate.

Now somewhat would be said likewise of the noble actes, the memorable examples, and worthy vertues not drowned by ease of honour in him, but increased rather, and quickened by advancement of authoritie and place, to worke more abundantly in the commonwealth. Among the which his worthy acts and other manifold vertues, in this one chiefly above all other riseth his commendation, for his singular zeale and laborious travell bestowed in restoring the true church of Christ, and subverting the synagogue of antichrist, the abbeies, I meane, and religious houses of friers and monkes. For so it pleased almighty God by the meanes of the said lord Cromwell, to induce the king to suppress first the chauntries, then the friers houses and small monasteries, till at length all the abbeies in England both great and lesse, were utterly overthrowne and pluckt up by the rootes. The which act and enterprise of him, as it may give a president of singular zeale to all realmes christened, which no prince yet to this day scarce dare follow ; so to this realme of England it wrought such benefite and commoditie, as the fruit thereof yet remaineth, and will remaine still in the realme of England, though we seeme little to feele it. Rudely and simply I speake what I suppose, without prejudice of other which can inferre any better reason. In the meane time my reason is this : that if God had not raised up this Cromwell as he did, to be the instrument of rooting out

different places, and held by different commissions. By the former, he had no authority over the bishops, nor had he any precedence ; but the other, as it gave him precedence next to the royal family, so it clothed him with a complete delegation of the king's whole power in ecclesiastical affairs. For two years he was only vicar-general." Burnet, vol. i. p. 173. "The king substituted him for due administration of justice, in all causes and cases concerning ecclesiastical jurisdiction ; as well as for godly information and redress of all errors, heresies, and abuses of the church (as the act of parliament has it, 31 Hen. VIII. c. 10). Yet because there was no example, either of king of Israel (they said), though lawfully in their own persons, enjoying this mixt power of spiritual and temporal—or of pope deriving their whole ecclesiastical power immediately on any else (especially a *secular* person) they thought it strange." *Herbert's Life of Henry VIII.*, p. 466.

ries and celles of strange religion,—what other men see, not; for my part I never yet saw in this realme any Cromwell since Cromwels time, whose heart and courage not sooner have beene subverted with the money and bribes as, then he to have subverted any abbey in all England.

here I must of necessitie answere the complaint of certain cuntry men. For so I heare of many the subversion of monasteries to be reprehended, as evill and wicked. “The g (say they) might have been converted unto schooles and of learning. The goods and possessions might have beene ed to much better and more godly use of the poore, and ining of hospitaltie.” Neither doe I deny, but that these are well and godly spoken of them, and could willingly x their opinion with my whole hart, if I did not consider a more secret and deeper meaning of God’s holy pro- e, than at the first blush peradventure to all men doth e.

I first to omit the wicked and execrable life of these as orders, full of all feditie⁴, and found out by the king’s

all feditie.] Bishop Burnet having made a remark of a *special* nature, applicable to this *general* invective of Fox, it may be right to produce the remark upon it by Henry Wharton; and then to add from the volume a few other passages connected with the former history, and dissolution of the monasteries.

e monks,” (says the bishop, p. 189, vol. ii.) “became lewd and disordered so impudent in it, that some of their farms were let, for bringing in tribute to their lusts.”

d forbid,” proceeds the critic, “that any professors of Christianity, ess the greatest pretenders to it, should be guilty of such monstrous eases, or that any others should believe it of them, without evident This accusation is taken from Fuller’s *Church History* (p. 318,) who so more than one example of this kind, and that of a convent, not of but of *canons regular* (of Waltham), not upon his own knowledge, single testimony of a most notorious lying villain, Stephen Marshall; r all, is so ingenuous that he professes himself to disbelieve it.—On trary, our author suppresses his authority, and brings no other testi- raises the number from *one* to *many*, and delivers a dubious matter ng most certain. Surely if the monks had been guilty of any such t could not have escaped the knowledge of their visitors, who searched rged all their faults with the utmost industry; nor would it have known to Bale, brought up among them,” (i. e. among the Carme- nor omitted by him in his ‘*English Votaries*,’ wherein he has set to defame the monastic order, and the unmarried clergy, with in- malice: nor would instances of it be wanting in those many leiger

visitours, and in their registers also recorded, so horrible to be heard, so incredible to be beleaved, so stinking before the face of

books of the monasteries still remaining, wherein they registered all their leases, and that for their own private use." *Specimen of Errors*, p. 41, 2.

Again, in another cardinal point, their disposition, in comparison with that of the secular clergy, to translate and therewith to promote the knowledge and study of the Holy Scriptures: the bishop having affirmed (p. 194) "the use of the Scripture in the vulgar tongue, continued for several ages, till the state of monkery arose, and then, it was not consistent with their designs, not with the arts used to promote them, to let the Scriptures be much known."

Wharton proceeds, "The order of monks is now extinct in England, so that whatsoever may be said against them, there is no danger of a reply from them. Yet still so much respect is owing to the readers, as not to impose any thing upon them, which hath not at least the appearance of truth. That this accusation will not have to those, who know with what industry the monks in many nations, but more especially here in England, translated the Scriptures into the vulgar tongue. We have the names left of seven English monks, who, before the conquest, translated the Scriptures, or some part of it, into the Saxon tongue. After the conquest we do not find so many translations made; but of those which were made, as many were owing to the monks as to the secular clergy." *Ibid.* p. 43. Of their general application to study and learning, in different ages, see the same work, p. 12—4.

But, another point of moment is the alleged enormous extent, and the imputed mismanagement of their temporal possessions.

"About the end of the 8th century" (*Hist. Reformat.* p. 187.) "the monks had possessed themselves of the greatest part of the riches of the nation," (So also part ii. preface, p. 9,) "and the best part of the soil of England being in such ill hands, it was the interest of the whole kingdom to have it put to better uses."

"Such high figures and hyperbolic expressions are better reserved for harangues, and do not well agree with history. The end of the eighth century was the year of our Lord God, at which time very few monasteries had been yet founded; nor had the monks then in all appearance gained possession of the hundredth part of the riches of the nation. Afterwards indeed, they increased exceedingly in number, riches, and possessions, especially in the 10th, 11th, and 12th centuries: but after all, upon a just account, they will not be found, even in title, to have possessed above a fifth part of the nation; and considering that long before the reformation, they were wont to lease out their lands to laymen for easy fines, and small rents, as bishops, and deans and chapters now do; it may be truly said that they did not in reality possess the tenth part of the riches of the nation.—Now for that *other* charge, that the best part of the soil of the nation, being in such ill hands, it was the interest of the nation to have it put to better uses, it is altogether erroneous. From the beginning to the end, none ever improved their lands and possessions to better advantages, by building, cultivation, and all other methods, than the monks did, while they kept them in their own hands, and when they leased them out to others, it was the interest of the nation to have

iod and man, that no marvaile it is of God's vengeance from heaven provoked, wold not suffer any stone or monument of these abhominable houses to be unplucked up. But (as I said, setting these things passe under chaste silence, which for very shame will abhorre any story to disclose :) let us now come to the first institution of these orders and houses of monkerie, and consider how and to what end they were first instituted and rected here among the Saxons, at the first foundation of them, about the time 666.

In the former part of this history, declaration was made by whom, and at what time these monkish houses here in England among the Saxons (flowing no doubt out of the order of S. Benet, and brought in by Augustine) began first to be founded, as by Augustine the monke, Furseus, Medulphus, Aldanus, Leswinus bishop of Dorcester, Dunstane and divers others.

The end and finall cause^a why they were builded, appeareth in

such easy tenures continued to great numbers of persons who enjoyed them. To this may be added, they contributed to the public charges of the nation equally with the other clergy; and the clergy " (voting their own subsidies in convocation) " did always contribute in proportion above the laity, so that we cannot find to what better uses these possessions have been since put; save only that inconsiderable part of them which remains to bishoprics, cathedrals, and schools, founded by king Henry VIII." Ibid. p. 40, 1.

Lastly. The reader is desired to observe that the principle of the surrender of their property, by the parties in possession, was recognised as an indispensable condition, previous to the commencement of the work of seizure and spoliation. Some bowed the head to the storm, in the spirit of meekness and submission, and gave in their consent. But, in a vast number of cases, the means resorted to were such as have been described shortly by Lodge, in his *Portraits of illustrious Personages*, vol. i. art. Cromwell, as follows :

" The principals of some religious houses were induced to surrender by threats ; those of others, by pensions : and when both those methods failed, the most profligate monks were sought for, and bribed to accuse their governors, and their brethren, of horrible crimes. Agents were employed to violate nuns, and then to accuse them, and, by inference, their respective societies, of incontinence. All who were engaged in this wretched mission, took money of the terrified sufferers as a price of a forbearance which it was not in their power to grant. Cromwell himself accepted great sums from several monasteries, to save them from that ruin which he alone knew to be inevitably decreed. He executed his commission, however, entirely to Henry's satisfaction, and received the most splendid rewards."

^a And *small cause*.] With Fox's arguments upon this question, compare Nowell's (dean) *Reproof of Dorman's Proof*, fol. 13—14 b. 4to. 1565.

stories to be, *pro remissione et redemptione peccatorum; pro remedio et liberatione animæ; pro amore celestis patriæ; in elemosinam animæ; in remissionem criminum; pro salute regnarum; pro salute et requie animarum patrum et matrum, fratrum, et sororum nostrarum, parentum, et omnium benefactorum; in honorum gloriosæ Virginis, &c.* As maie appeare in ancient histories, in olde charters and donations unto religious houses; and in the chronicle of Ingulphus; as also all other stories be full of the same.

So king Ethelstane for killing his brother Edwine, builded two monasteries, Midleton, and Michelney, for his soule. Which doctrine and institution, for so much as it tendeth and soundeth directly against the foundation of Christian religion, against the testament of God, the gospell of Jesus Christ, the freedome of our redemption, and free justification by faith, it is therefore to be condemned as execrable and horrible, as evill or worse than the life of the persons, and not only worthy to be suppressed to the foundation, but to be marvailed rather that God would suffer it to stand so long. Albeit Gods mighty vengeance and scourge hath not ceased from time to time, to work against such impious foundations, from the time of their first setting up. For besides the invasions of the Danes, (which may seeme to be stirred up of God, especially for the subversion of abbeyes) let olde histories be searched, what monasterie almost in all this realme, was either left by the Danes, or reedified againe after the Danes, but by some notorious casuallie of fire sent by Gods hand, it hath beene burnt up?

Furthermore, the more these abbeyes multiplied, and the longer they continued in time, the more corruption still they drew unto them. And albeit wee read the name of monkes to have continued from the old ancient time, yet notwithstanding the monkes of those daies were not like to the monkes of our time, nor their houses then, like to our abbeyes now. So we read of the monkes of Bangor before the comming of Augustine: but those monkes got their living with toile and labour of their hands, and had no other lands nor lordships to live upon. Againe, neither were they as ministers then, but as laymen: according as Hierom describeth the monks of his time, saying; "*A monkes office is not to preach, but to mourne. The state of a monke is one thing, and the state of a priest is another. Priests feede the flocks of Christ: I am fed,*" &c.

Also in the storie of Ingulphus abbot of Croyland, thus I find, anno 1075. "Being installed in the abbey of Croyland, I found there to the number of lxii. monkes. Of which monkes, four of them were lay brethren, besides the monkes of other monasteries, which were also professed to our chapter, &c."

The like matter also appeareth in the fourth canon of the councill of Chalcedon, where it is provided, *Ne monachi se ecclesiasticis negotiis immisceant, &c. Et Leo, epist. 62. vetat monachos a laicos, etsi scientiæ nomine glorientur, admitti ad officium docendi et concionandi.*

Thus it appeareth about or before the time of Hierome, that monkes in the first persecutions of the primitive church were laie men, and companies of Christians associating themselves together, either for feare of persecution, or for eschewing the company of heathen Gentiles. Afterward in continuance of time, when the gentiles began to be called to Christianitie, the monkes yet keeping their name, and growing in superstition, would not joyne with other christians, but kept still their brotherhoods, dividing themselves from other christians, and professing a kinde of life strange and divers from the common trade. Upon this diversitie of life and profession, followed also like diversitie of garments and attire differing from their other brethren. After this moreover came in the rule of S. Benedict, injoining to them a prescribed forme of going, of wearing, of watching, sleeping, rising, praying, of silence, sole life and diet, and al things almost differing from the vulgar sort of common christians.

Whereby men seeing their austeritie, began to have them in great admiration. And thus growing up in opinion of holinesse¹,

¹ *In opinion of holinesse.*] William Thomas, to whom we have already been several times indebted, in his contemporary *Apology for King Henry VIII.*, gives the following account of these matters:—

"His majestie, for the better discovering of those hypocrites, sent forth commissioners into all the provinces of his realme:" and then, after a detail of the results, quite as appalling as that of Fox, he thus proceeds:

"Upon the returne of these commissioners, when the kynge was fully informed of the case, incontinently he called his parliament. Butt, or ever the counsellors of the same could assemble together, here came that abbot, and there came that priour; now came that abbesse, and then came that freer from all partes of the realme unto the kynge, offerynge their monasteries into his handes, besechyng him to pardon them their synnes *de pena* onely, and not *de culpa*: insomuch his majestie accepted many of them, and pardoned them all, except a few onely of the most notable ribaulds. . . . And

of lay men and labourers, they came at length to be clergymen, and greatest doers of all other in Christes religion : insomuch

thereupon followed the sayd parliament (in the which all these materes were not onely published, butt also confessed by the false religious persons, brought openly in judgment), and it was concluded, both by the barons, and also by the commons of the sayde parliament, that these monasteries should be extirped, and the goodes and revenue thereof disposed as the kynge and hys counsell should thinke it expedient.

" He made his learned doctoures to search out the grounde of these many sortes of religion ; who conferryng the same substancially with the gospel, founde it to be cleane contrary to the christian religion, by many mo reasons then I can well remembre. I shall here rehearse one or two of them, to the entent you may the better taist what wickedness, and what superstitions religion doth comprehend.

" First the *religious* do professe themselves to lyve muche more holyly than the secular people do ; and by as muche as they can well perswade the world, that they are no synners, butt rather just and upright persons, by this reason they have wyped themselves cleane out of Christ's vocation, who sayth (Matth. ix.), *he came not to call the just persons, but the synners.*

" And then the good workes that they pretended to do, are all outward works, as apparelyng themselves in religious habite, syngyng and roryng out in the queres, sayng of theyr servyce in Latine ; with matines and masses and holy abstinence from fleshe this day and that morow, when they have filled theyr belyes with good fish, fruite, and wyne : and such other are their holy outward operations. Whereas Christ exhorteth us to beware that we worke not our justice before men, but secretly in gevyng of almes, that the one hand know not of the other ; in quiet and hertie prayers, in fastyng, in patience, and charitie, and so forth.

" Furthermore the vowes that these religious make, and that they teache others to make, are cleane repugnaunt unto Christes doctryne, who teacheth his faithful evermore humbly to submit themselves to the wyll of the Father ; as by the example of his prayer in the garden, the night before his death, it is manifest. For when the flesh had prayed the Father to delyver hym from the present passion, incontinently the spirit rebuked hymself, sayng, '*No Father ; not as I wyll, butt as thou wilt.*' And yet these religious promysyng unto God that which they are already bounde to observe, that is to say, *chastitie, obedience, and povertie*, whiche in effecte the infirmitie of the flesh aloweth no creature to performe, they wyll not that God deale wyth them as he wyll, but as they themselves wyll : who wyth theyr superstitious workes, wyll enforce God to geve them, not onely health and welth in this world, butt also paradise in the other world : and by theyr example have taught the ignoraunt multitude, not to content themselves with the infirmities, adversities, povertie, persecutions, and passions that God sendeth them in this world ; but with vowes of images, of candles, of pilgrimage, of chaunge of apparel, and suche other baggage ; to enforce God by his sayntes, and not by Christ, to geve them helth, prosperitie, riches, and joye, accordyng to theyr inconstaunt pleasure. And hereof hath folowed the byldyng of monasteries,

that at last there was none reputed almost for a religious man or perfect christian unlesse he were a monke: neither almost was any advanced to any dignitie of the church, but either he was a monke, or afterwarde he put on monkes weed. According as in

synagoges, chappels, chauntreys; with burnyng of lights, incense, syngyng of masses, and ringyng of bells, the blynde people belevyng with those worldly tryfes to gratifie the divine majestie.—But what saith the prophet? What saith Steven; and what saith Paul? God, say they, dwelleth not in temples made with handes, nor can receyve nothing of any earthly matter. For what thinge have we here, that he hath not created? And what avayleth unto God our foolish sacrifices, as Davyd sayth? If thou, Lord, would have sacrifices, I wold offer them unto thee; butt the incense pleaseth thee not, the true sacrifice unto God therefore is, the humble, contrite, and contented spirite; and not these temples, images, incense, flesh, fishe, or fruite. . . .

“ Finally, these doctors found that Paul in his epistles, had reproved the Corinthians for dividyng themselves after the names of those Christian preachers who had bene ministers to their conversion, because some one sayde; *I am of Paul, and another sayde, I am of Apollo, I of Cepha, and I of Christ.*—*What,* (sayd Paul), *was I crucified for you? Is Christ divided amongst you?* No! (sayde he); I have taught you to be one self thinge in Christ, without division either of name or of doing.—So that in conclusion, these orders of Fraunces, of Domineke, of Benett, of Bryged, and of so many others, now condemned by these doctours, are thynges cleane contrary unto the true Christian religion, in which all the faithful in Christe, bounde together with the knot of charitie, are regenerate to one selfe order and rule, without difference either of name, habit, or colour.

“ Wherefore the kynge beyng clerely perrwaded of all handes that this unhappy, ydle, and devilish generation, was necessary to be rooted out of this world, proceded then to the destruction of those synagoges with the self same diligence Titus and Vespacianus used towards the destruction of Hierusalem.—And dyd he not therein as he shold do, trow you?

“ Yea, sayd one of the gentylmen, if he had disposed these things to the use of the poore and nedeful, and not taken it to his own private commoditie.—Agaynst the poore, sayd I, I will not speake; butt this muche I wyll say, that if the substance had bene converted unto the poore, the poore should have become richer then the princes and nobles: for our religious in England were *quasi nihil habentes, et omnia possidentes*, not in spirit but in dede.—I wote how your freeres here in Italie observe their sworne povertie.—And yet this is well true, that his majestie in dyvers provinces of the realme, hath converted parte of those monasteries towards the bryngyng up of orphanes, and sustentacion of the poore; though well that parte be but a small quantitie in respect of the whole.—And thus, because I wyll not be tedious, havynge sayde enough, as me semeth, upon thys poynt, I wyll now answer unto the *insurrection of the North.*” P. 74—82.

Compare also Nowell's *Reproof of Dorman's Disproof*, fol. 13, 4; where the argument is prosecuted in a manner very similar to the above.

the stories of this realme is to be seene, how in the time of Dunstan archbishop of Canturbury, of Ethelwold bishop of Worcester, and of Oswald bishop of Winchester, pope John 13. writing to king Edgar, willed him in his letters, to see in his cathedrall churches none to bee promoted to be bishops, but such as were of the monasticall religion: and willed him moreover to exclude the secular prebendaries at Winchester, and to place in monkes, and that none of the secular clarkes there should bee chosen bishop, but either taken out of the same convent of that church, or of some other abbey.

So was also king Henry the second commanded to do in the house of Waltham, where the secular canons were remooved out, and regular canons intruded. The same did Oswald bishop with the church of Worcester. Likewise in their sees did Dunstane archbishop of Canterbury, Osketellus archbishop of Yorke, Ethelwold bishop of Worcester (who in stories is reported to be *Multorum fundator monasteriorum*), Leswinus also, bishop of Dorchester, with other bishops mo about the time and raigne of king Edgar. Odo archbishop of Canturburie before Dunstane, an. 934. after his election refused to take that dignitie upon him, before he had received the habite of a monke in the abbey of Florence in France, because as the story telleth (if it be true) *Nullus ad id tempus nisi monachali schemate indutus, archiepiscopus fuisset*. That is, Because al the archbishops of Canturbury before him, had been monkes. In like maner Baldwinus also, an. 1114, after hee was elected archbishop of Canturbury, tooke upon him the habite and profession of Mereton abbey. And so did Reginaldus his next successor after him.

As concerning therefore the origine of monkes, yee have heard how first they began of lay men onely, leading a straiter life from the societie of other persons; who then following the rule of S. Benet, were called regulars and votaries; and yet all this while had nothing to doe with any ecclesiasticall ministerie, till the time of pope Bonifacius the fourth, an. 609, who then made a decree, that monkes might use the office of preaching, of christening, of hearing confessions, and assoyling men of their sinnes, differing from priests onely in this, that they were called *Regulares*, and priests were called *Seculares*. The monkes were votaries, the priests had free libertie to have wives, till the time of Lanfranke and Anselme. Albeit Athanasius in his epistle *Ad Dracontium*, witnesseth also, that he knew monkes in the old

time and bishops, which were married and had children. Furthermore, as ignorance and superstition with time increased, so the number and swarme of monkes still more and more multiplied, in such sort, as not onlie they thrust out secular priestes from their houses, but also out of them were made, popes, cardinals, archbishops, and bishops, to governe churches. Of which number began Austen the first archbishop of the see of Canterbury and the most part of all other archbishops after him, untill the time of the conquest, and after.

All this while the friers were not yet come. Neither the discipline of S. Dominike, nor the testament of S. Francis, nor the order of the Austen brothers, nor of the Carmelites was yet heard of. Which at last came in with their pageants, and plaied their part likewise, an. 1220. beeing much more full of hypocrisie, blindness, idolatry, and superstition, than were the monkes: so that, what with monkes on the one side, and with the friers of the other side, while all things were ruled by the rules of Saint Benet, by the canons of the Pope, by the doctrine of S. Dominike, and by the testament of S. Francis, Christs Testament was trodden under foote^a, the rule of Gods word neglected, true christian

^a *Trodden under foote.*] So Wickliffe urges in his *Treatise against the Friars*, p. 58. (A. D. 1608. James's edit.) "Friars also by Lucifer's pride higher themselves, and holden them holier than all other out of their sect, for as much as they binden them to new traditions, of sinful men, the which be full of error over" (i. e. over and above,) "the most sufficient rule of Jesu Christ, that left no profitable ne needful thing out of his rule. For though a priest or bishop do never so truelie the office that God bade priests do, yet they saien he is more holie if he come to their new fained religion and obedience. They have founden a better religion than Christ made for his apostles and priests, so it seems that they maken themselves wiser than Christ, more wittie, and more full of charitie; sith they teachen better way to heaven, than Christ did."—Again, "monks should learn what is active life and contemplative, and then they might know, that they have neither the one, nor the other; since they consider more the vain statutes of sinful men, and perchance of devils, than the commands of God, works of mercy, and points of charity." *Writings of the rev. and learned John Wickliffe, D. D.* p. 141. London. 1831.

And hence it is, that Wickliffe, after affirming in his *Treatise against Friars*, that they "been the cause, beginning, and maintaining of perturbation in Christendom, and of all evils of this worlde," concludes with saying, that "these errors shullen never be amended til friars be broughte to freedome of the gospel, and cleane religion of Jesu Christ." (p. 62.) Words which may be regarded as almost a prophetic anticipation of what was to befall them and the world, 150 years after, under king Henry VIII.

religion defaced, faith forgotten, the right way of salvation abolished, sound doctrine oppressed, Christs servants persecuted, and the peoples soules uncomforted, yea and the true Church of Christ almost cleane extirped; had not almightie God (who can not forget his promise) provided remedie in time, in raising up this Cromwell his servant, and other like champions, to cut up from the roote the houses of them, which otherwise would utterly have rooted up the house of the Lord, and had subverted a great part already.

Wherefore, whosoever findeth himself agreeed with Cromwells doings in suppressing these monasteries of monkes and friers, let him wisely consider with himselfe, first the doctrine, lawes and traditions of these men; which hee shall finde rebelling to the religion of Christ, pernicious to our salvation, derogatorie to Christs glory, full of much blasphemie and damnable idolatry. Secondly, let him likewise well advise the horrible and execrable lives of these cloysterers, or at the least search out the rolles and registers of matters found out by inquisition in King Henry the 8. his daies, against them: which here is not to be spoken of, unlesse we will speak as Matthew Paris speaketh of the court of Rome; *Cujus factor usque ad nubes fumum teterrimum exhalabat.*

All which things well considered, what marvell is it then, if God of his just judgement did set up the aforesaid lord Cromwell to destroy these sinfull houses, whome their owne corruptions could suffer no longer to stand? And as touching the dissipation of their lands and possessions to the handes of such as they were bestowed upon, if it so pleased the king in bestowing those abbey lands upon his nobles and gentlemen, either to restore them againe unto them from whence they came, or else to gratifie his nobilitie, by that meanes of policie not to mislike his doings, what is that to Cromwell?—"But they might (say you) have beene much better employed to other more fruitful uses." Brieflie to aunswere thereunto; what may bee done presently in a commonwealth, is not enough to say: but what may also follow must be considered. If this throwing downe of abbeyes had happened in such free and reformed cities or countries, as are amongst the Germans, where the state governed and directed by lawes, rather than by rulers, remaineth alwaies alike and unmutable, who doubteth but such ~~houses~~ were standing still, the possessions might well be transposed to such uses abovesaid, without any feare or perill: but in

such realmes and kingdomes as this, where lawes and parliaments be not alwaies one, but are subject to the disposition of the prince, neither is it certaine alwaies what princes may come ; the surest way therefore to send monkerie and poperie packing out of the realme, is to doe with their houses and possessions as king Henry here did, through the motion of the counsell of Cromwell. For else who seeth not in queene Maries time^{*}, if either the houses of monkes had stood, or their lands had been otherwise disposed than into the hands of such as they were, how many of them had beene restored and replenished againe with monkes and friers, in as ample wise as ever they were ? And if dukes, barons, and the nobilities scarce were able to retaine the lands and possessions of abbeyes distributed to them by king Henry, from the devotion of queen Mary, seeking to build againe the walles of Jerico, what then should the meaner sort have done, let other men conjecture. Wherefore it is not unlike, that Gods heavenlie providence did

^{*} *Who seeth not in queene Maries time.*] Whatever may be men's different judgments respecting either the justice, the expediency, or the necessity of the dissolution of the religious houses, and the purity of the motives by which its conductors were actuated, there can be but one sentiment concerning the truth of this observation of the historian. All therefore who love the reformation, even though they may differ from this writer in his general argument, are bound to acknowledge the healing and merciful hand of God, which does not cease to convert the evil counsels of man to the furtherance of his own gracious designs.

"Let me here report (says Sir Henry Spelman) what hath been related to me from the mouth of Sir Clement Edmonds, lately a clerk of his majesty's council, that did take his knowledge from the council-books : namely, that, in the beginning of queen Mary's reign, the parliament was not willing to restore popery, and the supremacy of the pope, unless they might be suffered to retain the lands which were lately taken from the monasteries. This resolution was signified to Rome, whereto the pope gave answer, that for the lands belonging to religious houses he would dispense for detaining of them, but for the situation of the houses, churches, and such consecrated ground, there could be no alienation thereof to profane uses," *History of Sacrilege*, p. 244. Warton, in his *Life of Sir Thomas Pope*, after giving an account to the same effect as the above, with the addition of some further particulars, concludes the subject with the following reflexion.

"Thus an equivalent was granted on both sides. The nobility and gentry were settled in the quiet enjoyment of their estates ; and the Pope, although most essentially weakened by the alienation of that wealth on which his power so much depended, was reinstated in his supremacy over the church." p. 43. See also *Parl. Hist.* vol. i. p. 626, 7.

well foresee and dispose these things before by this man, in working the destruction of these abbeyes : whereupon, as often as he sent out any to suppress any monasterie, hee used most commonly to send them with this charge, that they should throwe downe those houses even to the foundation.

Which words although it may seeme percase to some to bee cruelly spoken of him ; yet contrariwise doe I suppose the doing thereof not to bee without God's speciall providence and secret guiding : or else we might peradventure have had such swarmes of friers and monkes possessed in their nests again, before this day in England, in so great a number, that ten Cromwells afterward unneth should have beene suffered to have unhoused them.

Wherefore if the plantation which the Lord God never planted, be pluckt up by the rootes, let God alone with his working, and let the monasteries goe ¹.

¹ *Let the monasteries goe.*] They seem, at the time, not to have been, at least for their own sake, very greatly lamented. Even bishop Gardiner, by his own account, in a sermon which he had preached, the first Sunday in Lent, A. D. 1539, appears to have expressed himself on the subject with a considerable degree of levity ; and in a strain too, which he seems to have thought would not be disagreeable to his hearers.

" Amonges other thinges I noted the devyll's craft, what shift he useth to deceyve man, whose felicitie he envieth. And therefore he coveteth to have man idle, and voyde of good workes ; and to be ledde in that idlenes with a wanne hope, to lyve merrily and at his pleasure here, and yet have heaven at the last. And for that purpose he procured out pardons from Rome, wherein heaven was sold for a litle money : and for to retayle that marchaundise, the devyll used freres for his ministers. *Now they be gone*, with all their trunperry."—Then, he proceeds, with his accustomed mixture of shrewdness and fallacy to show how the devil expects to obtain the same gain from another quarter. "*But*" (says he) "*the devyll is not yet gone*. And now he perceyveth it can no longer be borne to bye and sell heaven ;—both the marchaundise is abhorred, and the ministers also ;—we cannot away with freres, ne can abyde the name ; the devyll therefore hath ex-cogitate to offre heaven, *without workes for it*, so frely that men shall not neede for heaven to worke at all, whatsoever opportunitie they have to worke. Mary, if they wyll have an *higher* place in heaven. God wyll leave no worke unrewarded, but as for to be in heaven, *that nedes no workes* at all ; but *only beleeve, only, only*.—*nothinge els*.—And to set forth this devils craft, there were, I sayd, ministers : but no moe fryers, fyre on the name and the garment ! But now they be called by an Englyshe name. *Brotherne*, and go appparelled like other men : amonges which be some of those that were freres, and served the devyll in retayling of heaven in pardons : for they can ²will of the devylls service. But, yf the kynges majestie, as he hath banysed

Now that you have seene, what this *Mallous Monachorum* hath done in defacing the synagogue of the pope; let us see how the said Cromwell againe did travaile in setting up Christes church and congregation.

After that the bishop of Romes power and authoritie was banished out of England, the bishops of his sect never ceased to seek all occasion how either to restore his head again, being broken and wounded, or at the least to keepe upright those thinges which yet remained: wherein although their labours were not altogether frustrate, yet had they brought much more to passe, if Cromwell (as a mighty wall and defence of the church) had not resisted continually their enterprises.

It happened, that after the abolishing of the pope, certaine tumults began to rise about religion. Whereupon it seemed good unto K. Henry, to appoint an assembly of learned men and bishops, which should soberly and modestly intreate and determine those things which pertained unto religion. Briefly, at the king's pleasure all the learned men, but specially the bishops assembled, to whom this matter seemed chiefly to belong. Cromwell thought also to be present himself with the bishops, who by chance meeting with Alexander Alesius² by the way, a Scottish

freres by the *Frenche* name, wolde also banysh these that call them selfe *brethren* in Englyshe, the devyll shulde be greatly discomforted in his enterpryse, and idlenes thereby banyshed; whiche the devyll *wyll elles perswade by mysunderstandinge of scriptures as he did in the advauncement of pardons*. This my sermon was thought to some very plaine." *Declaration of such true articles as George Joye hath gone about to confute as false*, fol. 5, 6. A. D. 1546. 4to.

² *Alexander Alesius*.] Fox's account of this assembly is taken from a tract written soon after by Aless, with the following title. "Of the auctorite of the word of God agaynst the bishop of London, wherein are conteyned certen Disputacyons had in the Parlament Howse, betwene the Bishops, abowt the number of the Sacraments and other things, very necessary to be known; made by Alexander Alane Scot, and sent to the Duke of Saxon." The book is now exceedingly rare.

Alexander Aless was a native of Edinburgh, and one of the canons of St. Andrews, who, having at first opposed the protestants, became afterwards a convert to their doctrines, and took refuge in Germany. Soon after the advancement of Cranmer to the see of Canterbury, Aless, who had lived much with the German divines, especially Melancthon, was invited into England from Antwerp, as he himself informs us, "by the right noble lord Crumwell, and the archbishop of Canterbury," and after being "lovingly received" not only by them, but also by the king himself, he was sent down to read a theo-

man, brought him with him to the convocation house, where all the bishops were assembled together. Which was in the year 1537. The bishops and prelates attending upon the coming of Cromwell, as he was come in, rose up, and did obeisance to him as to their vicar generall, and he again saluted every one in their degree, and sate downe in the highest place at the table, according to his degree and office, and after him every bishop in his order, and doctors. First over against him sate the archbishop of Canturbury [Cranmer], then the archbishop of Yorke [Edward Lee] the bishops of London [John Stokesley], Lincolne, [John Longland], Salisbury [Nicholas Shaxton], Bathe [John Clerk], Ely [Thomas Goodrich], Herford [Edward Fox], Chichester [Richard Sampson], Norwich [William Rugge or Repps], Rochester [John Hilsey], and Worcester [Hugh Latimer], &c. There Cromwell in the name of the king (whose most deare and secret counsellor at that present hee was, and lord privie seale, and vicar generall of the realme) spake these words in maner following.

“ Right reverend fathers in Christ ; the king’s majestie giveth you high thanks that ye have so diligently without any excuse, assembled hither according to his commandement. And ye bee not ignorant that yee be called hither to determine certain controversies, which at this time be mooved concerning the christian religion and faith, not only in this realm, but also in all nations throughout the world. For the king studieth day and night to set a quietnes in the church, and he cannot rest until all such controversies be fully debated and ended, through the determination of you and of his whole parliament. For although his speciall desire is to set a stay for the unlearned people, whose consciences are in doubt what they may beleieve ; and he himself by his excellent learning, knoweth these controversies well enough, yet he wil suffer no common alteration, but

logical lecture at Cambridge ; but meeting with opposition there, he returned to London, studied medicine under Doctor Nicholas, an eminent physician, and was now practising in that art, when met in the manner described by the lord Cromwell. After the fall of Cromwell he returned to Germany, and was made professor of divinity at Francfort on the Oder, which place he soon left, in consequence of giving offence to the elector of Brandenburg. He retired to Leipzic, and was there also chosen professor of divinity, which post he retained until his death in 1565.

by the consent of you and of his whole parliament. By the which thing yee may perceive both his high wisdom, and also his great love toward you. And he desireth you for Christes sake, that al malice, obstinacie, and carnall respect set apart, ye will friendly and lovingly dispute among your selves of the controversies mooved in the church, and that ye will conclude all things by the word of God without al brawling or scolding; neither wil his majestie suffer the scripture to be wrasted and defaced by any glosses, any papisticall lawes, or by any authoritie of doctours or counsels; and much lesse will he admit any articles or doctrine, not contained in the scripture, but approved onely by continuance of time and olde custome, and by unwritten verities, as ye were woont to doe. Ye know wel enough that ye be bound to shew this service to Christ and to his church; and yet notwithstanding his majestie wil give you high thankes, if yee will set and conclude a godly and a perfect unity; whereunto this is the onely way and meane, if ye will determine all things by the scripture, as God commaundeth you in Deuteronomie, which thing his majestie exhorteth and desireth you to doe."

When Cromwell had ended this his oration, the bishops rose up altogether, giving thankes unto the kings majesty, not only for his great zeale toward the church of Christ, but also for his most godly exhortation, worthy so christian a prince.

Immediately they rose up to disputation, whereas Stokesly bishop of London, first of all, being the most earnest champion and maintainer of the Romish decrees, (whom Cromwell a little before had checked by name, for defending unwritten verities) endeavoured himselfe with all his labour and industry, out of the olde schoole glosses, to maintaine the seven sacraments of the church. The archbishop of York, Lincolne, Bathe, Chichester, and Norwich also favoured his part and sect. On the contrarie part, was the archbishop of Canturbury, the bishops of Salisbury, Ely, Herford, and Worcester, with many other.

After much communication had on either part, and that they had long contended about the testimonie of the doctours, which as it seemed unto them, dissented and disagreed among themselves, the archbishop of Canturbury at the last spake and said thus unto them.

"It besee meth not men of learning and gravitie to make much

babling and brawling, about bare words, so that we agree in the very substance and effect of the matter. For to brawle about words, is the property of sophisters and such as meane deceit and subtilty, which delight in the debate and dissension of the world and in the miserable state of the church; and not of them which seek the glory of Christ, and should studie for the unity and quietnes of the church. There be waightly controversies now moved and put forth not of ceremonies and light things, but of the true understanding, and of the right difference of the law and of the gospel: of the maner and way how sinnes be forgiven: of comforting doubtful, and wavering consciences, by what means they may be certified that they please God, seeing they feele the strength of the law, accusing them of sin: of the true use of the sacraments, whether the outward worke of them doth justifie man, or whether we receive our justification by faith. Item, which bee the good workes, and the true service and honour which pleaseth God: and whether the choise of meates, the difference of garments, the vowes of monkes and priests, and other traditions which have no worde of God to confirme them; whether these (I say) be right good works, and such as make a perfect christian man or no? Item, whether vaine service, and false honouring of God, and mans traditions, doe binde mens consciences, or no? Finally, whether the ceremony of confirmation, of orders, and of annealing, and such other (which cannot be proved to be institute of Christ, nor have any word in them to certifie us of remission of sins) ought to be called sacraments, and to bee compared with baptisme and the supper of the Lord, or no?

“ These bee no light matters, but even the principall points of our Christian religion. Wherefore wee contend not about words and titles, but about high and earnest matters. Christ saith, *Blessed be the peacemakers, for they shall be called the sonnes of God.* And Paul writing unto Timothy, commanded bishops to avoid brawling and contention about wordes, which be profitable to nothing but unto the subversion and destruction of the hearers; and monisheth him specially, that he should resist with the scriptures when any disputeth with him of the faith; and he addeth a cause, whereas he saith, *Doing this, thou shalt preserve both thy selfe, and also them which hear thee.* Now if yee will follow these counsellors, Christ and Paul, all contention and brawling about words must bee set apart, and ye must stablish a

golly and a perfect unity and concord out of the scripture. Wherefore in this disputation, we must first agree of the number of the sacraments, and what a sacrament doth signifie in the holy scripture; and when wee call baptisme and the supper of the Lord, sacraments of the gospell, what wee meane thereby. I know right well, that S. Ambrose and other authors call the washing of the disciples feet and other things sacraments: which I am sure you your selves would not suffer to be numbered among the other sacraments."

When he had ended ³ his oration, Cromwell commanded Alesius which stode by (whome he perceived to give attentive eare to that which was spoken) to shew his minde and opinion, declaring to the bishops before, that he was the kings scholler ⁴, and therefore desired them to bee contented to heare him indifferently.

Alesius after he had first done his dutie unto the L. Cromwell, and to the other prelates of the church. said in this wise.

"Right honorable and noble lord, and you most reverend

³ *When he had ended.*] "This exhortacyon" (says Ales, in the tract just referred to) "did the archbishop make *most soberly and discretely, as he is a man of a singular gravity, with such sweetnes* that it did my hart good to hear him. And because I did signifie by some token of my countenance that this admonicyon of the archbishop did please and delight me excellently wel, the lord Cromwel had me speake what I thought of this disputation. But he told the bishops before, that I was the king's scolar, and therefore he desired them to be content to heare me indifferently. Than I after the rude maner of the scholes, rather than after any courtly solemnitye, bowing my knee for a token of cutesy and reverence, as it became me, without any preface at all, begun to speake after this maner. Ryght honorable &c.," as in Fox. Alane's *Auctorite*, &c. signat. A 8.

⁴ *The kings scholler.*] "Cheke being once at court with Butts (the king's physician), he took occasion to recommend Cheke to the king for a singular scholar, and particularly for his study and proficiency in the Greek tongue. And being thus known to the king, he soon after advanced him to the honour to be his scholar, together with one Smith of Queen's college, afterwards sufficiently known, being secretary of state, and employed in embassies abroad. To both whom the king exhibited for the encouragement of their studies, and for the bearing of their expences of travel into foreign countries. A very good practice formerly used by our princes, to fit and train up young scholars for the service of the king and court, to be ambassadors, secretaries, privy counsellors, bishops, tutors to the nobility, and the like; having learned the languages of other countries, acquainted themselves with their customs, and visited the courts of princes." Strype's *Life of Sir John Cheke*, p. 7. See also Strype's *Life of Sir Thomas Smith*, p. 10, 11. And Fuller's *History of Cambridge*, p. 139.

fathers and prelates of the church, although I come unprepared unto this disputation, yet trusting in the aid of Christ, which promiseth to give both mouth and wisdom unto us when wee be required of our faith, I will utter my sentence and judgement of this disputation. And I thinke that my lord archbishop hath given you a profitable exhortation, that yee should first agree of the signification of a sacrament, whether ye will call a sacrament, a ceremony institute of Christ in the gospell, to signifie a speciall or a singular vertue of the gospell, and of godlines (as Paule nameth remission of sinnes to be) or whether ye meane, every ceremony generally, which may bee a token or a signification of an holy thing, to bee a sacrament? For after this latter signification, I wil not sticke to grant you that there be seven sacraments, and more too, if ye will. But yet Paule seemeth to describe a sacrament after the just signification, whereas he saith, *That circumcision is a token and a seale of the righteousness of faith.* (Rom. 4.) This definition of one particular sacrament, must be understand to pertain unto all sacraments generally; for the Jewes had but one sacrament only, as all the sophisticall writers doe grant. And hee describeth baptisme after the same manner, in the fift to the Ephesians, whereas he saith, *That Christ doth sanctifie the church, (that is to say all that bee baptized), through the bathe of water in the worde of life* (Ephes. 5.) For here also he addeth the word and promise of God unto the ceremony. And Christ also requireth faith, where he saith, *Whosoever beleeveth and is baptized, shall be saved.*

" And saint Augustine describeth a sacrament thus, *The word of God coming unto the element maketh the sacrament.* And in another place hee saith; *A sacrament is a thing wherein the power of God, under the forme of visible things, doth worke secretly salvation.* And the Maister of the Sentences doth describe a sacrament no otherwise. *A sacrament (saith hee) is an invisible grace, and hath a visible forme: and by this invisible grace, I meane, saith he, remission of sinnes.* Finally S. Thomas denyeth that any man hath authoritie to institute a sacrament. Now if ye agree unto this definition of a sacrament, it is an easie thing to judge of the number of those sacraments which have the manifest word of God, and be institute by Christ to signifie unto us the remission of our sinnes.

" *Augustine saith, that there be but two such sacraments, in his epistle to Januarius. His words be these: First, I*

would have thee to understand the sum and effect of this disputation, which is this: that our Lord Jesus Christ (as hee himself saith in the gospell) hath laden us, but with a light and easie yooke or burthen. Wherefore he hath knit together the fellowship of his new people with sacramentes, very few in number, very easie to be kept, and very excellent in signification; which be baptisme, and the supper of the Lord, and such other; if there be any moe commanded in the holy scripture, those except which were burthens for the multitude of the people in the old law, for the hardnes of their hearts. And againe in the 3. booke of the learning of the christian man, he saith; *The scripture hath taught us but few signes, as be the sacrament of baptisme, and the solemne celebration and remembrance of the body and bloud of the Lord.*"

Then the bishop of London, which could scarcely refrain himselfe all this while, and now could forbear no longer, brake out in this maner, "First of all, saith he, where you alledge, that all the sacraments which are in the church instituted by Christ himselfe, have either some manifest ground in the scriptures, or ought to shew forth some signification of remission of sinnes, it is false and not to be allowed."

Then said Alesius, "that he would prove it, not only by manifest authoritie of scriptures, but also by evident testimonies of ancient doctors and schoole-writers."

But the bishop of Hereford^s which was then lately returned out of Germany (where he had been ambassadour for the king to the Protestants) being moved with the bishop of Londons forwardnes, turning himselfe first to Alexander Alesius willed him not to contend with the bishop in such maner, by the testimonies of doctors and schoolemen, forsomuch as they doe not all agree in like matters, neither are they stedfast among themselves in all

^s *The bishop of Hereford.*] Edward Fox, the king's almoner. He was consecrated bishop of Hereford, Sept. 26, 1535. *Le Neve's Fasti*, p. 111. His influence, about this time, (as was that of Cromwell also and Cranmer) was very great with Henry. Gardiner and his party, powerful as they were, were now kept in check by them. Fox's harangue is thus introduced by Aless: "But the bisshop of Herforth (whom the kings grace favoured highly, both for his singular wisdom and learning, which was then newe comme out of Germany, where he had bene imbassytor) being moved with the forwardness of this bishop of London, sayd unto me, *Brother Alexander, contend not mock with him,*" &c. Sig. B 3.

...but doe vary and in many pointes are utterly repugnant. Therefore if this disputation shal be decided by their mindes and votes, there shal be nothing established, neither shall any waile of agreement to follow. Furthermore wee be commanded by the king that these controversies should bee determined onely by the rule and judgment of the scripture. This he spake unto Alesius. Then he turning himselfe unto the doctors, likewise admonished them with a grave and sharpe oration, which wee thought not good to omit in this place.

Thinke ye not (said he) that we can by any sophisticall subtilities steale out of the world again, the light which every man doth see. Christ hath so lightened the world at this time, that the light of the gospel hath put to flight all misty darknes, and it wil shortly have the higher hand of al clouds, though we resist in vain never so much. The lay people doe now know the holy scripture better than many of us. And the Germans have made the text of the bible so plaine and easie by the Hebrew and Greeke tongue, that now many things may bee better understand without any gloses at all, than by all the commentaries of the doctors. And moreover they have so opened these controversies by their writings, that women and children may wonder at the blindness and falshood that hath been hitherto. Wherefore ye must consider earnestly, what ye will determin of these controversies, that ye make not your selves to be mocked and laughed to scorne of all the world, and that ye bring them not to have this opinion of you, to thinke evermore hereafter, that ye have neither one sparke of learning, nor yet of godlines in you. And thus shal ye lose all your estimation and authority with them, which before tooke you^a for learned men, and profitable members unto the commonwealth of christendom. For that which you doe hope upon, that there was never heresie in the church so great, but that processe of time with the power and authoritie of the pope hath quenched it, it is nothing to the purpose. But yee must turne your opinion, and thinke this surely, that there is nothing so feeble and weake, so that it bee true, but it shall find place, and be able to stand against all falshood.

^a *Before tooke you.*] "You have been judged heretofore in all other realms not comparable, but farre excelleng all other realmes for worthines of learning, for fatherly gravitie and exactnesse of judgmente. And shall now a little frustrated wilfulness of a few of your commissaries, overturne all your illusion." *Preface to Ponet's Defence of Priests' marriages*, p. 4. 4to.

"Truth is the daughter of time, and time is the mother of truth. And whatsoever is besieged of trueth, cannot long continue; and upon whose side truth doth stand, that ought not to be thought transitorie, or that it wil ever fall. All things consist not in painted eloquence and strength or authoritie. For the truth is of so great power, strength and efficacie, that it can neither be defended⁷ with words, nor bee overcome with any strength, but after she hath hidden her self long, at length she putteth up her head, and appeareth, as it is written in Esdras. *A king is strong, wine is stronger; yet women be more strong; but truth excelleth all.*"

To this effect in a maner, and much more, did he speake and utter in that convocation, both copiously and discretely: through whose oration, Alesius being encouraged, proceeded further to urge the bishop with this argument.

"Sacraments bee seales ascertaining us of Gods good will:

"Without the worde there is no certaintie of Gods good will:

"Ergo. Without the word there be no sacraments.

"The first part of this reason is S. Paule's owne saying, the fourth to the Romanes, where he saith; *That circumcision is a token and a seale of the righteousness of faith.* Ergo, it requireth faith to certifie mans hart of the will of God. But the word of God is the foundation of faith, as S. Paul witnesseth, Rom. 10. *Faith commeth by hearing, and hearing commeth by the word of God.* For the minde must be taught and instructed to the will of God by the worde, like as the eie is taught and instructed by the outward ceremony. And so Paul by that saying confuteth this opinion, that the sacraments should make men righteous and just before God, for the verie outward worke, without faith of them that receive them.

"And after this maner doth Paule speake unto the Ephesians; *that Christ doth sanctifie his church through the bathe of water in the word of life.* And for as much as he joineth the word unto the ceremony, and declareth the vertue and power of the word of God that it bringeth with it life, hee doth manifestly teach that the word of God is the principall thing, and even as it were the very substance and body of the sacrament; and the outward ceremony to be nothing els then a token of that lively inflammation which we receive through faith in the word and promise. Saint

⁷ *Be defended.] Fr. defendre.*

Paul also in ministring the sacrament of the Lord's supper, doth manifestly adde the words of Christ : *He tooke bread, saith he and when he had given thanks, he brake it and saide, Take yee this and eate yee this, for it is my body.* Item. *Doe ye this in my remembrance.* Beside this he teacheth evidently that onely Christ and none but he had power to institute a sacrament : and that neither the apostles, nor the church hath any authoritie to alter or to adde any thing unto his ordinance, whereas he saith ; *For I have received of the Lord that which I delivered unto you, &c.* To what purpose should hee goe about to moove the people to beleieve him, and to win their hearts with this protestation, if it had beene lawfull for him to have made any sacraments, or to have altered the forme and manner of ministring this sacrament ; as some men both wickedly and shamefully doe affirm, that the apostles did alter the forme of baptisme ?"

When he had spoken thus much, the bishop of London did interrupt him and said : " Let us grant that the sacraments may be gathered out of the word of God, yet are you farre deceived, if ye think that there is none other word of God, but that which every sowter * and cobbler do read in their mother tongue. And if yee think that nothing pertaineth unto the christian faith, but that only that is written in the bible, then erre ye plainly with the Lutherans. For John saith ; *Jesus did many things which be not written.* And Paul commandeth the Thessalonians to observe and keep certaine unwritten traditions and ceremonies. (2 Thess. 2.) Moreover he himself did preach not the scripture only, but even also the traditions of the elders. (Acts 16.) Finally wee have received many things of the doctors and counsels by times, which although they be not written in the Bible, yet forsomuch as the olde doctors of the church do make mention of them, we ought to grant that we received them of the apostles, and that they be of like authority ' with the scripture,

* Every sowter.] " Sowter ; Sutor, Calcearius." Skinner, Junius, &c.

* Of like authority.] See *Christian Institutes*—Index, *Tradition and Scripture, Church authority, &c.* See also Articles VI. XX. and XXXIV. of the Church of England.

This seems to be a proper place for a short specimen or two of the fanatical, not to say blasphemous extravagancies, on which some of the popes and canonists ventured on this momentous subject.

" Master Campion was desired by us, to reade the chapter in the canon law, beginning *In Canonicis*, which Gratian takes out of this place of Augustine ; and first that he would read the rubric, which he seemed loth to do . . .

and finally that they may worthily be called the word of God unwritten."

Now when the right noble lord Cromwell, the archbishop, with the other bishops, which did defend the pure doctrine of the gospel, heard this, they smiled a little one upon another, forsomuch as they saw him flee even in the verie beginning of the disputation, unto his olde rustie sophistrie, and unwritten verities. Then Alesius would have proceeded further with the bishop to have confuted this blasphemous lie, but the L. Cromwell bade him bee content, for the time began to go away, and it was twelve of the docke, and thus he made an ende with his protestation. "Right reverend maister bishop, you deny that our Christian faith and religion doth leane onely upon the worde of God, which is written in the bible: which thing if I can prove and declare, then you will grant me that there be no sacraments, but those that have the manifest word of God to confirm them." Unto this he did consent; and then immediately that assembly was dissolved for that day.

The next daie¹, when the bishops were set againe, the arch-

Yet at length he read it; and it is thus; *Inter Canonicas Scripturas decretales Epistolæ connumerantur*; which after much desiring he englished also, *The Decretal Epistles are numbered together among the Canonical Scriptures.*" *Conference with Campion, the Jesuit, August 1581.* Signat. D 3.

"In the after-noon, we said to M. Campion, let us, we pray you, peruse the canon that followeth that which we last dealt with in the fore-noon concerning the *Pope's Canons and the Canonical Scriptures*; for that the time would not then suffer us to reade it. The wordes of pope Leo IV. there translated word for word are these: 'For this cause, I feare not to pronounce more playnely and with a loude voyce, that he that is convinced not to receive indifferently the statutes of the holy fathers which we have spoken of before, which with us are intituled by the name of canons, whether he be a bishop, a clerk, or a lay-man, that he is proved neither to beleve, nor to holde profitably and effectually, the catholic and apostolic faith, nor the four holy gospels.' This saith pope Leo . . . To the which let us joyne the saying of pope Agatho, Distinct. xix. cap. *Sic omnes*, which is near to it. 'All the actions of the apostolique see are to be taken as established by the divine voyce of Peter himselfe.'" Ibid. signat. D. 4 b.

¹ *The next daie.*] "Now the next day, whan the bisshops were assembled agayne, and I was present with the lord Crumwel, there came unto me a certen archdeacon in the name of the archbishop of Cantorbery, which told me, that the other bisshops were grievously offended with me, that I being a stranger should be admitted unto their disputacyon: which thing whan I had shewed unto the lord Crumwel, he thought it best to give place unto the

bishop of Canterburie sending his archdeacon, commanded Alesius to abstaine from disputation; whereupon he wrote his mind, and delivered it unto Cromwell, who afterward shewed the same unto the bishops. Thus through the industry of Cromwel, the colloquies were brought to this end, that albeit religion could not wholly be reformed, yet at that time there was some reformation had² throughout all England.

bisshops, specially because he would not procure me their hatred.—But he bad me gyve him the paper wherein I had written my disputacyon, that he might shewe it to the bishop of London, and to the other bisshops in the council, the contents whereof were this.” Alexander Alane, *Of the auctoritie of the word of God*. Signat. A 7. The remainder of the treatise is taken up in confuting the arguments of the bishop of London (Stokesley) for traditions and unwritten verities; and in establishing in opposition thereto the grand protestant principle, *that the Holy Scriptures contain all things necessary unto salvation*.

² *Some reformation had.*] The progress made towards the revival of true religion by the deliberations at this period was exceedingly important. Two books, to which it is probable that Fox here alludes, and of which it is to be wished, that he had given a detailed account, are especially worthy of mention. The first is the *Articles of 1536*: which being brought into convocation by Fox bishop of Hereford on July 11, in that year, were the same day subscribed by the lord Cromwell, the king’s vicegerent, the archbishop and prelates, and by the members of the lower house. They were soon after printed (with a prefatory letter addressed by the king to all his loving subjects) under the following title. “Articles devised by the Kynges Highnes Majestie, to stablyshe Christen quietnes and unitie amonge us, and to avoyde contentious opinions: which articles he also approved by the consent and determination of the hole clergie of this realme, anno 1536.” Bishop Burnet in the Addenda to the first volume of his *History of the Reformation* has printed these articles from a Cotton MS. still extant in the British Museum, which is a true original, having the autographs of all the subscribers: and from his *History* they are again published in Wilkins’s *Concilia*, vol. iii. p. 817—23. They may also be read in Fuller (*Church Hist.* cent. 16, p. 213, &c.), as transcribed by him from the acts of convocation. The other book, some mention of which is proper in this place, is the *Institution of a Christian Man*, which being prepared by a Commission of Divines, who held their meetings in the archbishop’s palace at Lambeth, was printed, and came out, about the month of October, in the year 1537. The book is divided into four parts, being an exposition (1) of the Apostles’ creed, (2) of the seven sacraments, (3) of the ten commandments, and (4) of the Lord’s prayer, and *Ave Maria*, with the articles of justification, and purgatory. Prefixed is a preface by the convocation. In the course of this volume, certainly the principal part, perhaps the whole of the articles which came out in the preceding year, is inserted. The book is exceedingly well and carefully composed, in a very pure and dignified style; and is altogether an illustrious monument of

How desirous and studious this good Cromwell was in the cause of Christs religion, examples need not to be brought. His whole life was nothing else. but a continuall care and travaile how to advance and further the right knowledge of the gospel, and reforme the house of God: as by many proclamations by his meanes set forth, may well appeare: wherein first he caused the people to be instructed in the Lords praier, and Creed in English; then procured the scripture also to be read and set forth in the same language, for every English man to understand; after that, to rescue the vulgar people from damnable idolatry, he caused certaine of the most grosest pilgrimages to be destroyed. And farther, for the more commodity of the poore sort, which get their living with their daily labour and worke of their hands, hee provided that divers idle holy daies were diminished. Item hee procured for them libertie to eate egges and whitemeate in Lent. Furthermore by him it was also provided, for the better instruction of the people, that beneficed men should be resident in their cures and parishes, there to teach and to keepe hospitalitie: with many other thinges else most fruitfully redressed for the reformation of religion and behoofe of Christs church: as by the proclamations, injunctions, and necessary articles of christian doctrine above specified, set forth in the kings name, by his meanes, may more abundantly appeare.

Now to adjoine withall his private benefites in helping divers good men and women at sundry times out of troubles and great distresses, it would require a long discourse. Briefely his whole life was full of such examples, beeing a man to that intent ordained of God (as his deedes well proved) to doe many men good, and especially such as were in danger of persecution for religions sake. Amongst other infinite stories, one or two examples shall suffice for a testimony of his worthy doings.

In the yeare of our Lord 1538, Sir William Forman beeing maior of the citie of London, three weekes before Easter, the wife of one Thomas Frebarn dwelling in Pater noster rowe, beeing with childe, longed after a morsell of a pigge, and tolde her minde unto a maide dwelling in Abchurch-lane, desiring her if it were possible, to helpe her unto a peece. The maide, per-

the achievements of Cranmer and his colleagues against the intrigues and opposition of a party formidable at once for their zeal, number, and power.

ceiving her earnest desire, shewed unto her husband, what his wife had said unto her, telling him that it might chance to cost her her life and the childes too which she went withall, if shee had it not. Upon this Thomas Frebarne her husband spake to a butter wife which hee knew, that dwelled at Harnsey, named goodwife Fisher, to helpe him to a pigge for his wife, for shee was with childe, and longed sore to eat of a pigge. Unto whom the said goodwife Fisher promised that she would bring him one the Friday following, and so she did, being ready dressed and scalded before. But when she had delivered him the pigge, shee craftily conveyed one of the feet, and carried it unto doctor Cockes, at that time being deane of Canturburie, dwelling in Ivy lane, who at that time of his dinner, before certaine guests which he had bidden, shewed his pigges foote, declaring who had the body thereof: and after that they had talked their pleasure, and dinner was done, one of his guests being landlord unto Frebarne aforesaid, called M. Garret, and by his office, king of armes, sent his man unto the said Frebarne, demanding if there were no body sicke in his house. Unto whom hee answered, that they were all in good health, he gave God thanks. Then saide he againe, It was told his maister that some body was sicke, or else they would not eat flesh in lent: unto whom Frebarne made answer, that his wife was with child, and longed for a peece of a pigge, and if he could get some for her he would. Then departed his landlords man home againe.

And shortly after his landlord sent for him. But before that he sent for him, he had sent for the bishop of Londons sumner, whose name was Holland, and when this Frebarne was come, he demanded of him, if hee had not a pig in his house, which he denied not. Then commanded M. Garret the said sumner called Holland to take him, and go home to his house, and to take the pig, and carry both him and the pig unto doctor Stokesley his maister, beeing then bishop of London; and so he did. Then the bishop being in his chamber with divers others of the clergy, called this Frebarne before him, and had him in examination for this pigge: laying also unto his charge, that he had eaten in his house that Lent poudred beefe and calves heads. Unto whome Frebarne answered, "My Lord, if the heads were eaten in my house in whose houses were the bodies eaten! Also, if there be either man or woman that can prove, that either I, or any in my house hath done as your lordship saith, let me suffer death therefore."

- You speake (said hee) against pilgrimages, and will not take holy bread, nor holy water, nor yet goe on procession on Palme Sunday: thou art no Christian man." "My lord, said Frebarne, I trust I am a true Christian man, and have done nothing neither against Gods laws nor my princes."

In the time of this his examination, which was during the space of two houres, divers came unto the bishop, some to have their children confirmed, and some for other causes. Unto whome as they came, having the pig before him covered, he would lift up the cloth and shew it them, saying: "How think you of such a fellow as this is? is not this good meate, I pray you, to be eaten in this blessed time of Lent, yea and also powdred beefe and calves heads too beside this?"

After this, the bishop called his sumner unto him, and commanded him to go and carrie this Thomas Frebarne and the pig openly thorow the streetes, into the old Baylie, unto Sir Roger Chomley; for the bishoppe said, he had nothing to do to punish him; for that belonged unto the civil magistrates. And so was Frebarne carried with the pig before him, to Sir Roger Chomleies house in the old Bailly, and he not being at home at that time, Frebarne was brought likewise backe againe unto the bishops palace with the pig, and there lay in the porters lodge till it was nine o'clocke at night. Then the bishoppe sent him unto the Counter in the Poultry by the sumner and other of his servants.

The next day being Saturday, he was brought before the maior of London and his brethren unto the Guildhall, but before him coming, they had the pig delivered unto them by the bishops officer. Then the maior and the bench laide unto his charge (as they were informed from the bishop) that he had eaten powdred beefe and calves heads in his house the same Lent. But no man was able to come in that would justifie it; neither could any thing be found, save onely the pig, which (as is before sayd) was for the preservation of his wives life, and that she went withall. Notwithstanding the maior of London said, that the Monday next following, he should stand on the pillarie in Cheape side, with the one halfe of the pig on the one shoulder¹, and the other halfe on the other.

¹ *On the one shoulder.*] In the year 1556, "Two persons at Boston, in the diocese of Lincoln, ate flesh against the law of the Catholic Church; and

maister Barlow, who understanding the matter by Lobleyes wife, went up to the lord Cromwell, and certified him thereof: who upon their request, sent for the maior of the citie of London: but what was said unto the lord maior, is unknowne, saving that in the after noone of the same day, the wife of the person aforesaide resorted againe unto the lord maior, suing to get her husband delivered out of prison, declaring how that she had two small children, and had nothing to help her and them, but onely her husband, who laboured for their livings. Unto whom the maior answered, "what come yee to me? You are taken up with the king's counsell. I supposed that you had come to desire me that your husband should not stand upon the pillarie in Cheapeside on Monday next, with the one halfe of the pig on his one shoulder, and the other halfe on the other." Also the maior said unto her, that hee could not deliver him without the consent of the rest of his brethren the aldermen. Wherefore he bade her the next day following, which was Sunday, to resort unto Paules to Saint Dunstones chappell, and when he had spoken with his brethren, hee would then tell her more. Other aunswere could shee get none at that time. Wherefore shee went unto maister Wilkinson, then being sheriffe of London, desiring him to bee good unto her, and that she might have her poore husband out of prison. Unto whome maister Wilkinson aunswered; "O woman, Christ hath laide a piece of his crosse upon thy necke, to prove whether thou wilt helpe him to beare it or no;" saying moreover to her, that if the lord maior had sent him to his Counter, as hee sent him to his brothers, hee should not have tarried there an houre; and so commaunded her to come the next day unto him to dinner, and hee would do the best for her he could. So the next day came: and this woman resorted againe to maister Wilkinsons, according as hee bade her, who also had bidden divers guests; unto whome hee spake in her behalfe. But as they were set at dinner, and she also sitting at the table, when she sawe the hote fish to come in, shee fell downe in a swoond, so that for the space of two houres they could keepe no life in her. Wherefore they sent her home to her house in Pater noster row, and then they sent for the midwife, supposing that shee would have been delivered incontinent of her child that she went with: but after that shee came somewhat again to her selfe, where she lay sicke and kept her bed the space of fifteen weekes after, being not able to help her selfe, but as shee was helped of others, during the time of fifteen weekes.

Now to shewe further what became of this pig, whereof we have spoken so much : it was caried into Finsburie field by the bishop of Londons sunner, at his maisters commandement, and there buried. The Monday following, being the fourth day after that this prisoner aforesaid was apprehended, the maior of London, with the residue of his brethren being at Guild hall, sent for the prisoner aforenamed, and demaunded sureties of him for his forthcoming, whatsoever hereafter should or might be laid unto his charge : but for lacke of such sureties as they required, upon his owne bond, which was a recognizance of twentie pound, hee was delivered out of their hands. But shortly after that he was delivered out of this his trouble, maister Garret, of whome we have spoken before, being his landlord, warned him out of his house, so that in foure yeares after, he could not get another ; but was constrained to be within other good folks, to his great hindrance and undoing.

Hard it were and almost out of number, to rehearse the names and stories of all them, which felt the gentle help of this good man in some case or other. One other example, though it be somewhat long, with the circumstances and all, I will declare ; how he helped the secretarie that then was to doctor Cranmer archbishop of Canturburie, which secretarie⁴ is yet alive, and can beare present record of the same.

Mention was made before how king Henrie in the yeare of his reigne 21 caused the six articles⁵ to passe, much against the mind

⁴ *Which secretarie.*] Ralph Morice, who wrote at the desire of archbishop Parker a life of Cranmer, still existing amongst the MSS. bequeathed by Parker to C. C. Coll. Cambridge, No. 140. Strype has made great use of it.

⁵ *The six articles.*] The substance of this sanguinary act, commonly called the *six stringed whip*, and which, for that time confirmed the triumph of Gardiner and his party over the friends of the reformation, was as follows. It decreed, 1. The corporal presence in the eucharist ; against which, whoever spake, preached, or wrote, was to be burned, without the privilege of abjuration, and his estates real and personal to be forfeited to the king. 2. That communion in *both kinds* is not necessary to salvation : and that it is to be believed, without any doubt, that in the *flesh*, under form of bread, is contained the very *blood* : and with the *blood*, under form of wine, is the very *flesh* of Christ. 3. Against the marriage of priests. Their marriages were declared void ; and such as cohabited with their wives afterwards were to suffer death as felons. 4. That vows of celibacy ought to be observed, by the laws of God. 5. That private masses ought to be continued. 6. That auricular confession was expedient and necessary, and ought to be retained.

and contrarie to the consent of the archbishop of Canterburie Thomas Cranmer, who had disputed three dayes against the same in the parliament house, with great reasons and authorities. Which articles after they were graunted and past by the parliament. the king for the singular favour which hee ever bare to Cranmer, and reverence to his learning, being desirous to knowe what he had said and objected in the parliament against these articles, or what could be alledged by learning against the same, required a note of the archbishop of his doings, what hee had said and opposed in the parliament touching that matter. And this word was sent to him from the king by Cromwell, and other lords of the parliament; whome the king then sent to dine with him at Lambeth, somewhat to comfort againe his grieved minde and troubled spirits.

Whereupon when his dinner was finished, the next day after the archbishop collecting both his arguments, authorities of scriptures, and doctors together, caused his secretarie to write a fayre booke thereof for the king. after this order. First the scriptures were alledged, then the doctors, thirdly followed the arguments deducted from those authorities. This booke was written in his secretaries chamber, where, in a by chamber lay the archbishops almosiner. When this booke was fayre written, and whiles the secretarie was gone to deliver the same unto the archbishop his maister, who was (as it then chanced) rid to Croydon; returning back to his chamber, he found the doore shut, and the key carried away to London by the almosiner.

At this season also chanced the father of the said secretary to come to the citie, by whose occasion it so fell out that he must needes go to London. The booke he could not lay into his chamber, neither durst he commit it to any other person to keepe, being straightly charged, in any condition, of the archbishop his maister, to be circumspect thereof: so that he determined to goe to his father, and to keepe the booke about him. And so thrusting the booke under his girdle, he went over unto Westminster bridge with a sculler, where hee entred into a whyrry that went

Those who contemned, or abstained from confession, or the sacrament at the accustomed times, were, for the first offence, to forfeit their goods and chattels, and to be imprisoned: and for the second to be deemed guilty of felony, &c. *Ridley's Life of Bishop Ridley*, p. 127. Compare Fox, p. 1036, &c. Burnet, vol. i. p. 245—88. Strype, &c.

to London, wherein were four of the gard, who ment to land at Paules Wharfe, and to passe by the kings highnesse, who then was in his barge, with a great number of barges and boates about him, then baiting of beares in the water over against the banke⁶.

These foresaid yeomen of the gard, when they came against the king's barge, durst not passe by towardes Paules Wharfe, least they should be espied : and therefore intreated the secretarie to goe with them to the bearebayting, and they would finde the meanes, being of the gard, to make roome, and to see all the pastime. The secretarie perceiving no other remedie, assented therto. When the whirry came nie the multitude of the boates, they with pollaxes got in the whirry so farre, that being compassed with many other whirries, and boates, there was no refuge if the beare should breake loose, and come upon them ; as in verie dede, within one pater noster while, the beare brake loose, and came into the boate where the yeomen of the gard were, and the sayd secretarie. The gard forsooke the whirry, and went into an other barge, one or two of them leaping short, and so fell into the water. The beare and the dogs so shaked the whirrie wherein the secretary was, that the boate being full of water, sunke to the ground, and being also as it chanced an ebbing tide, he there sate in the end of the whirrie up to the middle in water. To whome came the beare and all the dogs. The beare seeking as it were aide and succour of him, came back with his hinder parts upon him, and so rushing upon him, the booke was loosed from his girdle, and fell into the Thames out of his reach.

The flying of the people, after that the beare was loose, from one boate to an other, was so comberous, that diverse persons were throwne into the Thames ; the king commanding certaine men that could swimme, to strip themselves naked, and to help to save them that were in danger. This pastime so displeased the king, that he had away with the beare, and let us all go hence.

The secretarie perceiving his booke to fleete away in the Thames, called to the beareward to take up the booke. When the beareward had the booke in his custody, being an arrant papist, farre from the religion of his mistres, (for he was the

⁶ *Against the banke.*] The *Bankside* on the Surrey side of the river Thames, where the bear-garden was situated.

Elizabeths beareward, now the queenes majestie) ere that secretarie could come to land, he had delivered the booke to east of his owne affinitie in religion standing on the banke, reading in the booke, and perceiving that it was a manifestation of the six articles, made much adoe, and told the beareward, that whosoever claymed the booke, should surely be ed. Anon the secretary came to the beareward for his e. What, quoth the beareward, dare you chalenge this e? Whose servant be you? I am servant to one of the cell, said the secretarie, and my lord of Caunturburie is my ter. Yea marie, quoth the beareward, I thought so much. be like I trust, quoth the beareward, to bee both hanged his booke. Well (sayd hee) it is not so evill as you take it; I warrant you my lord will avouch the booke to the king's stie. But I pray you let me have my booke, and I will give a crowne to drinke. If you would give me five hundred nes, you shall not have it, quoth the beareward. With the secretarie departed from him, and understanding the cious frowardnes of the beareward, he learned that Blage the er in cheape side might doe much with the beareward; to ne the secretary brake this matter, requiring him to send for beareward to supper, and he would pay for the whole charge eof; and besides that rather then hee should forgo his booke this sort, the beareward should have twenty shillings to ke. The supper was prepared. The beareward was sent for, came. After supper the matter was intreated of, and twenty ings offered for the booke. But do what could bee done, er friendship, acquaintance, nor yet reward of money could ine the booke out of his handes, but that the same should elivered unto some of the councell that would not so sleightly e on so weightie a matter, as to have it redeemed for a sup- or a piece of money. The honest man M. Blage with many l reasons would have perswaded him not to be stiffe in his e conceite, declaring that in the end hee should nothing at reveaile of his purpose, but bee laught to scorne, getting nei- peny nor prayse for his travell. Hee hearing that, rushed inly out of the doores from his friend maister Blage, without manner of thankes giving for his supper, more like a beare- l, than like an honest man. When the secretary saw the ter so extreamlie to be used against him, he then thought it dient to fall from any farther practising of intreatie with the

beareward, as with him that seemed rather to be a beare himselfe than the master of the beast, determining the next morning to make the lord Cromwell privy of the chance that hapned.

So on the next day, as the lord Cromwell went to the court the secretarie declared the whole matter unto him, and how he had offered him twenty shillings for the finding thereof. When is the fellowe, quoth the lord Cromwell? I suppose, sayd the secretarie, that he is now in the court attending to deliver the booke unto some of the councell. Well sayd the lord Cromwell, it maketh no matter: go with me thither, and I shall get you your booke againe. When the lord Cromwell came into the hall of the court, there stood the beareward with the booke in his hand, waiting to have delivered the same unto Syr Anthony Browne, or unto the bishoppe of Winchester, as it was reported. To whome the lord Cromwell sayd, Come hither fellowe; what booke hast thou there in thy hand? And with that he snatched the booke out of his hand, and looking in the booke, he sayd, I knowe this hand well enough. This is your hand, said hee to the secretarie. But where haddest thou this booke, quoth the lord Cromwell to the beareward? This gentleman lost it two dayes agoe in the Thames, saide the beareward. Doest thou knowe whose servant he is, saide the lord Cromwell? He saith, quoth the beareward, that he is my lord of Canterburies servant. Why then diddest not thou deliver to him the booke, when he required it, said the lord Cromwell? Who made thee so bold as to detaine and withhold any booke or writing from a counsellers servant, specially being his secretarie? It is more meeter for thee to meddle with thy beares then with such writing; and it were not for thy mistres sake, I would set thee fast by the feete, to teach such malepert knaves to meddle with counsellers matters. Had not money beene well bestowed upon such a good fellowe as this is, that knoweth not a counsellers man from a colders man? And with those words the lord Cromwell went up into the kings chamber of presence, and the archbishops secretarie with him, where he found in the chamber the lord of Canturburie. To whome he sayd, my lord, I have found heer good stuffe for you (shewing to him the paper booke that he had in his hand) readie to bring both you and this good fellowe your man
 * halter, namely if the knave beareward nowe in the hall have well compassed it. At these words the archbishop
 said, he that lost the booke is like to have the worse

againe. for besides that he was well washed in the Thames, he
 must write the booke faire againe: and at those wordes the lord
 Cromwell cast the booke unto the secretary, saying, I pray thee,
 Morice, go in hand therewith by and by with all expedition, for it
 must serve a turne. Surely my lord, it somewhat rejoyceth me,
 quoth the lord Cromwell, that the verlet might have had of your
 man twenty shillings for the booke, and nowe I have discharged
 the matter with never a penie. And shaking him well up for his
 overmuch malepartnes, I knowe the fellow well enough (quoth
 he) there is not a rancker papist within this realme than hee is,
 most unworthy to be a servant unto so noble a princeesse. And
 so after humble thanks given to the lord Cromwell, the sayd
 Morice departed with his booke, which when he againe had faire
 written, it was delivered to the kings majestie by the sayd Lord
 Cromwell, within four dayes after.

It is commonly seene, that men advanced once from base
 degree, to ample dignities, do rise also with fortune into such
 insolencie and exaltation of minde, that not onely they forget
 themselves what they were, and from whence they came, but
 also cast out of remembraunce all their olde friends and former
 acquaintance, which have beene to them before beneficiall. From
 which sort of men, how farre the curteous condition of this
 christen earle did differ, by diverse examples it may appeare. As
 by a certaine poore woman keeping sometime a vitailing house
 about Hounsloe, to whome the said L. Cromwell remained in
 debt for certaine old reckonings, to the summe of forty shillings.
 It hapned that the L. Cromwell, with Cranmer archbishop of
 Canturburie, riding thorow Cheape side towards the Court, in
 turning his eye over the way, and there espying this poore wo-
 man, brought now in neede and miserie, eftsoones caused her to
 be called unto him. Who being come, after certaine questions
 he asked her if shee were not such a woman, and dwelling in
 such a place. At last he demaunded, if he were not behind for
 certaine payment of money betweene him and her. To whome
 shee with reverent obeysance, confessed that he owed her money
 for a certain old reckoning which was yet unpayd, whereof shee
 stood now in great necessitie, but never durst call upon him, nor
 could come at him for to require her right. Then the L. Crom-
 well sending the poore woman home to his house, and one of his
 servants withall, that the porter should let her in, after his
 returne from the court, not onelie discharged the debt which he

owed, but also gave her a yearly pension of foure pounds, and a livery everie yeere while she lived.

The like curtesie the said L. Cromwell shewed also to a certaine Italian, who in the citie of Florence, had shewed him much kindnes in succoring and relieving his necessitie, as in this storie following may appeare. Which storie set forth and compiled in the Italian tongue by Bandello¹, and imprinted at Luke by Busdrago, an. 1554, I thought heere to insert, with the whole order and circumstance thereof, as it is reported.

Not many yeares past, sayth the author, there was in Florence a merchant, whose name was Fraunces, descended from the noble and auncient familie of the Frescobalds. This gentleman was naturally indued with a noble and liberall minde, unto whome also through prosperous successe and fortunate lucke in his affaires and doings, much aboundance of riches increased, so that hee grew in great wealth, having his cofers replenished with many heapes of much treasure. He according to the custome of marchants, used his trade into many countries, but chiefly into England, where long time he lived, sojourning in London, keeping house to his great commendation and prayse.

It happened, that Fraunces Frescobald being in Florence, there appeared before him a poore young man, asking his almes for Gods sake. Frescobald as he earnestly beheld this ragged stripling, who was not so disguised in his tattered attire, but that

¹ *Bandello.*] This story forms the 34th novel of part ii. of Bandello's *Novelle*, printed at Lucca, by Vincenzo Busdrago, in 1554. It is intituled "Francesco Frescobaldo fa cortesia ad un straniero, e n'è ben rimeritato, essendo colui divenuto Contestabile d'Inghilterra." The revival of the office of constable had been proposed, as we have seen (p. 96.), by Wolsey, who was overruled by Sir Thomas More; but Cromwell, though not constable, exercised perhaps even greater power as the king's vicegerent and vicar-general. Bandello says of him. "Hora, perciò che non pareva à quella ceca de la Fortuna haver fatto assai, d'haver levato dal basso de la terra il Cremonello, e levatolo in alto à tanta grandezza, volle anco alzarlo molto più, e fece che il Re lo creò Contestabile del Regno (degnità suprema e à laquale nessun'altra dopo il Re s'agguaglia). Fatto che fù Contestabile, il Re tutto il governo del regno in mano gli diede; di modo, che il Cremonello venne in tanta altezza, che era cosa incredibile. Cresciuto ch'egli fù à tanta grandezza, si scoperse nemico à spada tratta di tutta quanta la nobiltà de l'Isola, e ove notava à qualche gentilhuomo nuocere, non mancava; e se il Re alcuno ne in odio; egli aggiungeva stipa al fuoco." These very severe remarks not translated. Bandello's account of Cromwell's rapid elevation when fall is very graphically told, but is too long to give here.

his countenance gave signification of much towardness and vertue in him, with conformitie of manners agreeing to the same, being moved with pitie, demaunded of what countrey he was, and where he was borne. I am Syr (quoth he) of England, and my name is Thomas Cromwell. My father is a poore man, and by his occupation a cloth shearer^a. I am strayed from my countrey, and am now come into Italy with the campe of Frenchmen that were overthrowne at Gatilyon^b, where I was the page to a footman, carrying after him his pike and burganet. Frescobald partlie considering the present state of this yong man, and partly for the love he bare to the English nation, of whome he had received in times past sundrie pleasures, received him into his house, and with such curtesie entertained his guest, as at his departure when he was in minde to returne to his countrey, he provided such necessaries as he any way needed. Hee gave him both horse and new apparell, and sixteen duckats of gold in his purse, to bring him into his countrey. Cromwell rendring his heartie thanks, tooke leave of his host and returned into England. This Cromwell was a man of noble courage and heroicall spirit, given to enterprise great matters, very liberall, and a grave counsellor, &c. But to our purpose.

At what time Cromwell was so highly favoured of his prince, and advanced to such dignitie as is aforesaid, Frances Frescobald (as it many times hapneth unto merchants) was by many misfortunes and great losses, cast backe and become verie poore. For according to conscience and equitie, he payd whatsoever was due to any other from himselfe, but such debts as were owing unto him, he could by no meanes obtaine: yet calling further to remembrance that in England by certaine merchants there was due to him the summe of fifteen thousand ducates, he so

^a *A cloth shearer.*] Fox, in a marginal note on this passage says, that "this cloth-shearer was his father-in-law:" and above p. 273 he tells us that he was "a smith's-sonne, and that his mother married after to a *shyremou*." Cardinal Pole's words are, "*pater ejus pannis verrendis victum quaeritabat.*"

^b *Gatilyon.*] The battle of the Garigliano. Cromwell's words, as reported by Bandello, are, "Io mi chiamo Tomaso Cremonello, figliuolo d'un povero amatore di panni, che fuggendo da mio padre, son venuto in Italia col campo li Francesi, che è stato rotto al Garigliano, e stavo con un fante a piedi, portandole dietro la picca." This was in 1503, when the marquis of Saluzzo, who commanded the French troops sent to enforce the claims of Louis XII. upon the throne of Naples, was defeated at the passage of the Garigliano, and his army utterly dispersed by the Spaniards, under the command of Gonsalvo de Cordova.

purposed with himselfe, that if he could recover that money, he would well content himself, and no longer deale in the trade of merchants, but quietly passe over the rest of his daies.

All things prepared for his journey, he setting forward towards England, at last arrived at London, having utterly forgotten what curtesie long before he had shewed to Cromwell, which is the property alwaies of a good nature, for a man to forget what benefites hee hath shewed to other, but to keep in minde continually what he hath received of other. Frescobald thus being now arrived at London, and there travelling earnestly about his businesse, it chanced him by the way to meete with this noble man, as he was riding toward the court. Whome, as soone as the said lord Cromwell had espied, and had earnestly beheld, hee bethought with himselfe that hee should be the man of Florence, at whose hands in times past he had received so gentle entertainment, and thereupon sodenly alighting (to the great admiration of those that were with him) in his armes he gently embraced the stranger, and with a broken voyce scarce able to refraine teares, he demaunded if hee were not Frances Frescobald the Florentine. "Yea sir (he answered) and your humble servant." "My servant," quoth Cromwell? "no, as you have not beene my servant in times past, so will I not now account you otherwayes then my great and especiall friend, assuring you that I have just reason to be sorie, that you knowing what I am (or at the least what I should be) will not let me understand of your arriving in this land, which knowne unto me, truely I should have payd part of that debt which I confesse to owe to you: but thanked bee God I have yet time. Well sir, in conclusion, you are hartily welcome. But having now waightie affaires in my princes cause, you must hold mee excused, that I can no longer tarie with you. Wherefore at this time I take my leave, desiring you with the faithfull minde of a friend, that you forget not this day to come to my house to dinner:" and then in remounting on his horse, he passed to the court. Frescobald greatly mervailing with himselfe who this lord should be, at last after some pause, his remembraunce better called home, hee knewe him to be the same, whome long before (as you have heard) he had relieved in Florence, and thereat not a little joyed, especially considering how that by his meanes he should the better recover his duetie.

The houre of dinner drawing neere, he repayed to the house

of this honourable counsellour, where walking awhile in his base court, he attended his comming. The lord shortly returned from the court, and no sooner dismounted, but hee againe embraced this gentleman, with so friendly a countenance, that both the lord admirall, and all the other noble men of the court being then in his companie, did not a little marvell thereat.

Which thing when the lord Cromwell perceived, hee turning towards them, and holding Frescobald fast by the hand; "Do ye not mervaile my lords (quoth he) that I seeme so glad of this man! This is he by whose meanes I have atchieved the degree of this my present calling: and because ye shall not be ignorant of his curtesie when I greatly needed, I shall tell it you:" and so there declared unto them everie thing in order according as before hath beene recited unto you. His tale finished, holding him still by the hand, hee entered his house, and comming into the chamber, where his dinner was prepared, he sate him downe to the table, placing his best welcommed guest next unto him.

The dinner ended, and the lords departed, he would know what occasion had brought Frescobald to London. Frances in few words opened his cause, truely telling, that from great wealth, he was fallen into povertie, and that his only portion to maintaine the rest of his life, was fifteen thousand ducates which were owing him in England, and two thousand in Spaine. Whereunto the lord Cromwell answering againe, said, "Touching the things maister Frescobald that be alreadie past, although it cannot now be undone by mans power, nor by policie called againe, which hath hapned unto you by the unstable condition and mutabilitie of this world altering to and fro: yet is not your sorrow so peculiar to your selfe alone, but that by the bond of mutuall love, I must also bewaile with you this your state and condition: which state and condition of yours, though it may worke in you matter of just heavines, yet notwithstanding, to the intent you may receive in this your heavie distresse some consolation for your olde curtesie shewed to me in times past, the like curtesie now requireth of me againe, that I likewise should repay some portion of that debt wherein I stand bound unto you, according as the part of a thankfull man bindeth me to do, in requiting your benefites on my part heretofore received. And this further I avouch in the word of a true friend, that during this life and state of mine, I will never faile to do for you, wherein my authoritie may prevaile to supply your lacke and necessitie. And so let

these few words suffice to give you knowledge of my friendly meaning. But let me delaie the time no longer."

Then taking him by the hand, hee led him into his chamber, whence, after that everie man by his commandement was departed, he locked fast the doore. Then opening a cofer full heaped with treasure, he first tooke out sixteene ducates, and delivering them to Frescobald, he said: " Loe heere (my friend) is your money which you lent me at my departure from Florence, and heere other tenne which you bestowed in my apparell, with tenne more that you disbursed for the horse I rid away on. But considering you are a merchant, it seemeth to mee not honest to returne your money without some consideration for the long detaining of it. Take you therefore these four bags, and in everie of them is four hundred ducates, these you shall receive and enjoy from the hands of your assured friend."

Frescobald, although from great wealth he was brought to a lowe ebbe, and (almost) an utter decay, yet expressing the vertue of a modest minde, after gentle thanks given to the lord Cromwell for his exceeding kindnesse shewed, curteously would have refused that which was offered, had not the other enforced him against his will to receive it.

This done, he caused Frescobald to give him a note of the names of all his debtors, and the summe that from everie one of them was owing him. This schedule he delivered to one of his servants, unto whom he gave charge diligentlie to search out such men whose names therein were contained, if they were within any part of the realme, and then streightly to charge them to make payment of those summes within fifteen daies, or els to abide the hazard of his displeasure. The servant so wel performed his maisters commaundement, that in verie short time they made payment of the whole summe; and if it had liked Frescobald so to have demaunded, they should have answered to the uttermost such commoditie, as the use of his money in so many yeares would have given him profit: but he, contented with his principall, would demaund no further. By which meanes he gat both hartly love and great estimation; and the more, for that he was so deer to the lord Cromwell, and so highly esteemed of him.

And during all this time, Frescobald continuallie lodged in the house of the lord Cromwell, who ever gave him such entertainment as he had right well deserved, and oftentimes mooved him to abide in England, offering him the loan of sixty thousand

dwantes, for the space of foure yeares, if he would continue and make his banke in London. But Frescobald, who desired to returne into his countrey, and there quietly to continue the rest of his life, with the great favour of the lord Cromwell, after many thanks for his high and noble entertainment, departed towards his desired home, where richly arriving, he gave himselfe quietly to live. But this wealth he small time enjoyed, for in the first year of his returne he died. [The extract from Bandello ends here.]

So plentifull was the life of this man in such fruites full of singular gratitude and curtesie, that to rehearse all, it would require too long a tractation. Yet one example amongst many other I may not overpasse, whereby wee may evidently consider or rather marvell at the lowly minde of such a person, in so high a state and place of honour. For as hee comming with other of the lords of the counsayle and commissioners, to the house of Shene, about the examination of certaine monks which there denied the kings supremacie, after the examination done was there sitting at dinner, it chanced him to spie a farre off a certaine poore man, which there served to sweepe their cels and cloister, and to ring the bells. Whome when the lord Cromwell had well advised, he sent for the poore man to come unto him, and before all the table most lovinglie and friendly calling him by his name, tooke him by the hand, and asked how he did, with many other good words, and turning therewith to the lordes ; " My lordes (quoth hee) see you this poore man ? This mans father hath beene a great friend to mee in my necessitie, and hath given mee manie a meales meste." Then said he unto the poore man, " Come unto me and I will provide for thee, and thou shalt not lack so long as I live." Such as were there present and sawe and heard the same, report it to be true.

In this worthy and noble person, besides divers other eminent vertues, three things especially are to be considered, to wit, flourishing authoritie, excelling wisdom, and fervent zeale to Christ and to his gospell.—First, as touching his fervent zeale in setting forward the sinceritie of Christian faith, sufficient is to be seene by the injunctions, proclamations, and articles above specified ; so that more cannot almost be wished in a noble man, and scarce the like hath beene seene in any.

Secondly, for his wisdom and policie no lesse singular, joyned with his christen zeale ; he brought great things to passe, as well

on this side the sea, as in the other parts beyond. But especially his working was to nourish peace abroad with forreine realmes, as may well by the kings letters and instructions sent by his meanes to his ambassadors resident both with the emperour, the French king, and the king of Scots, and also with the pope, appeare. In all whose courts, such watch and espiall he had, that nothing there was done, nor pretended, whereof he before had not intelligence. Neither was there any sparke of mischief kindling never so little against the king and the realme, which hee by wit and policie did not quench and keepe downe. And where policie would not serve to obtaine peace, yet by money he bought it out : so that during all the time of Cromwels prosperitie, the king never had warre with any forreine nation : notwithstanding, that both the pope, the emperour, the kings of Fraunce and Scotland, were mightily bent and incensed against him.

Thus, as the prudent policie of this man was ever circumspect abroad, to stay the realme from forreine warres ; so his authoritie was no lesse occupied in keeping good order and rule at home : First, in hampering the popish prelates, and disappointing their subtle devises : secondly, in bridling and keeping other unruly subjects under subjection and discipline of the lawes. Whereby, as he was a succour and refuge to all godly persons, so was hee a terror to the evill doers : so that not the presence of him onely, but also the hearing of the comming of Cromwell brake many fraies, and much evill rule : as well appeared by a certaine notorious fray or riot, appointed to be fought by a companie of ruffians in the streete of London called Pater noster rowe, where cartes were set on both sides of purpose, prepared to enclose them, that none might breake in to part them. It hapned, that as this desperate skirmish should begin, the lord Cromwell comming the same time from the court through Paules churchyard, and entering into Cheape, had intelligence of the great fray toward, and because of the carts he could not come at them, but was forced to goe about the little conduit, and so came upon them through Pannier Alley.

Thus as the conflict began to waxe hot, and the people were standing by in great expectation to see them fight, sodainly at the noise of the lord Cromwels comming, the campe brake up, and the ruffians began to goe, neither could the carts keepe in those so courageous campers, but well was he that first could be

gone. And so ceased this tumultuous outrage, without any other parting, only thorough the authoritie of the lord Cromwells name.

One example more of the like affinitie commeth heere in minde, which ought not to be omitted, concerning a certaine serving man of the like ruffianly order, who thinking to dissever himself from the common usage of all other men in strange new-fanglenes of fashions by himselfe (as many there bee whom nothing doth please, which is daiely seene and received) used to go with his haire hanging about his eares downe unto his shoulders, after a strange monstrous manner, counterfeiting belike the wild Irish men, or els *Crinitus Joppas*, which Virgil speaketh of, as one wearie of his owne English fashion: or else as one ashamed to be seene like a man, would rather go like a woman, or like to one of the Gorgon sisters; but most of all like to himselfe, that is, like to a ruffian^u, that could not tell how to go.

As this ruffian ruffling thus with his locks was walking in the streets, as chance was, who should meete him but the lord Cromwell? who beholding the deforme and unseemlie manner of his disguised going, full of much vanitie and hurtfull example, called the man to question with him whose servant hee was: which being declared, then was he demaunded, whether his maister or anie of his fellowes used so to go with such haire about their shoulders as he did, or no? Which when he denied, and was not able to yeeld any reason for refuge of that his monstrous disguising, at length he fell to this excuse, that he had made a vow. To this the lord Cromwell answered againe, that for so much as he had made himselfe a votarie, he would not force him to breake

^u *Like to a ruffian.*] In the year 1608 archbishop Bancroft, then chancellor of the university of Oxford, gave directions, as we are told by Anth. a Wood, to prevent "occasions of offence, that long hair was not to be worn by the students: for whereas in the reign of queen Elizabeth few or none wore their hair longer than their ears (for they that did so were accounted by the graver and elder sort, *swaggerers and ruffians*), now it was common, even among the scholars, who were to be examples of modesty, gravity, and decency." *Annals*, vol. ii. p. 298. edit. 1796. Sir George Radcliffe, friend of the great earl of Strafford, writes thus, in a letter to his mother, dated Univ. Coll. Oxf. Dec. 14, 1610: "The university I find very much reformed, *about drinking, long hair, and other vices*, especially our house; out of which two have lately gone, to avoid expulsion for drunkenness." *Life and Correspondence of Sir George Radcliffe*, p. 64. 4to. 1810. Radcliffe's early education, it is hardly necessary to say, had been puritan.

his vowe, but untill his vowe should be expired, he should ly meane time in prison, and so sent him immediately to the shalsey, where he endured, till at length this *intonsus Cato*, perswaded by his maister to cut his haire, by suit and petiti friends, was brought againe to the lord Cromwell with his polled, according to the accustomed sort of his other fellowes so was dismissed.

Heereunto also pertaineth the example of frier Bartley, wearing still his friers coule after the suppression of reli houses, Cromwell coming thorough Paules church-yard, and ing him in Rheines his shop, "yea" sayd he, "will not that of yours be left off yet? and if I heare by one a clocke that apparell be not changed, thou shalt be hanged immediatly example to all other." And so putting his coule away, he durst weare it after.

If the same lord Cromwell, which could not abide this ser man so disfigured in his haire, were now in these our daies a with the same authoritie which then he had, and sawe these fangled fashions of attire, used heere amongst us both of men and women, I suppose verily, that neither these monstrous ruffes these prodigious hose, and prodigall or rather hyperbolicall b rous breeches (which seeme rather like barels then bree would have any place in England. In which unmeasurable ex of vesture, this I have to marvell; first, how these serving which commonly have nothing els but their wages, and the slender and bare, can maintaine such slops, so huge and so s tuous, which commonly stand them in more, then their yeares wages doe come unto. Secondly, I marvell, that maisters and lords (who shall yeele to God account of servants doings) do not search and trie out their servants w how they come by these expenses, wherewith to uphold braverie, seeing their stipendarie wages, and all revenues they have, will not extend thereunto. Thirdly, this most is to be marveiled, that magistrates which have in their hand ordering and guiding of good lawes, do not provide more sev for the needfull reformation of these enormities.—But heer may well see, and truly this may say, that England once ha Cromwell.

England once had.] But even in king Henry's days, there was not of in this respect, if we may judge from the frequent complai

Long it were to recite what innumerable benefites this worthy counsellour by his prudent policie, his grave authoritie and perfect zeale wrought and brought to passe in the publike realme; and especially in the church of England, what good orders he established, what wickednes and vices he suppressed, what corruptions he reformed, what abuses he brought to light, what craftie jugglings, what idolatrous deceptions, and superstitious illusions hee detected and abolished out of the church. What posteritie will ever thinke the church of the pope, pretending such religion, to have beene so wicked, so long to abuse the peoples eyes, with an olde rotten stocke (called the roode of grace¹) wherein a man should stand inclosed, with an hundredth wyers within the roode, to make the image goggle with the eies, to nod with the head, to hang the lip, to moove and shake his jawes according as the valew was of the gift which was offered? If it were a small piece of silver, he would hang a frowning lip, if it were a piece of golde, then should his jawes go merily. Thus miserably was the people of Christ abused, their soules seduced, their senses beguiled, and their purses spoyled, till this idolatrous forgerie at last, by Cromwells meanes was disclosed, and the image, with all his engines shewed openly at Paules Crosse, and there torne in pieces by the

zealous preachers against the follies and extravagance of their contemporaries. Thus in a sermon preached A. D. 1545, by Cuthbert Scot, afterwards bishop of Chester. "May we not" (it is said) "see a serving man havinge not paste foure nobles, or forty shillings wages to lyve upon, so gorgeously appareled in his gesture, and behavoure of his body; in his pace, and goynge so to use himselfe, as if he were a man of substaunce, yea an esquier or a knyght. And yf a man wolde have experience further of his maners and conditions, he shall fynde hym stout in wordes, lyberall, yea prodigall, in expenses, and all together gyven to preferre him self unto other men." Signat. H 3. Imprinted by Johannes Herford. See also *Supplication to King Henry VIII.* Signat D 1—D 2. A. D. 1544, and Becon's *Jewell of Joy*. Works, vol. ii. fol. 19, 20.

¹ *The roode of grace.*] This was a celebrated image at Boxley in Kent. The fraud was suspected and detected by one Nicholas Partridge: after which the whole apparatus was brought to London to be exposed to the people, Hilsey, bishop of Rochester, preaching at the same time a sermon on the occasion. See Burnet's *History of the Reformation*, vol. i. p. 232. vol. iii. p. 132. See also Hottingeri *Histor. Ecclesiast.*, tom. ix. p. 43—6.

In Lambard's *Perambulation of Kent*, p. 182—5. edit. 1576, is a full and entertaining account, how this image was first made, and of the circumstances of its first setting up in the abbey of Boxley, taken from a description published in honour of the rood by the monks of that place.

people. The like was done by the bloud of Hales, which maner by Cromwell, was brought to Paules Crosse, ar proved to be the bloud of a ducke².

² *Bloud of a ducke.*] “Edmund, the son and heir of Richard earl wall, who was second son to king John, being with his father in there beholding the relicks, and other precious monuments of the emperors, he espied a box of gold; by the inscription whereof he (as the opinion of men then gave) that therein was contained a port blood of our blessed Savior.

“He therefore being desirous to have some part thereof, by fair and money obtained his desire, and brought the box over with him i land, bestowing a third part thereof on the abbey of Hales, which had founded, and wherein his father and mother were both buried, to enrich the said monastery.” *Weever’s Funeral Monuments*, disc. p. 1767.

But this is not the *only* account given, of the manner, in which tl became possessed of this precious treasure. “A Christian, it seems, o a time, lived in a city, in which were many Jews; this man had : which he did worship and honour, after his cunning. It so happe he changed his abode, and unwittingly left the rood behind him. A cceeded him in the possession of his habitation: who soon after m entertainment for his friends of his own religion, they discovered : which had passed unperceived by their host. Upon this discov immediately accused him of apostatizing to christianity, beat the p and dragged him about the house. They then took the image, beat it, it, and crowned it with thorns; and at the last they made the stronges take a spear, and with all his might smite it to the heart. And an and water ran out of the sides. Then were they sore afraid, and said take pots, and fill them with this blood, and bear it to the temple, to people, to anoint them therewith: and if they be made whole by tl then let us cry God mercy, and be christened man and woman.’ The : healed accordingly. Then went the Jews to the bishop of the city, him all that had happened: and anon he kneeled down on his kr thanked God for this fair miracle: and when he had christened the : took phials of glass, cristal, and amber, and filling them with this blo it about to divers churches; *out of this blood, as many men understa the blood of Hales.*” *Festiral*, fol. 103.

I shall now present the reader with an account of this imposture MS. in the archiepiscopal library at Lambeth, of a work, to which I have referred, written in the first year of king Edward VI. by William clerk to the council, in the reign of that monarch.

“One thing I shall tell you especially. In a certaine monasteri Hayles, there was a great offering to the bloud of Christ, brought many yeares agoe out of the holie land of Jerusalem. And this bl such vertue, that as long as the pilgrim were in deadly sinne, his sigh not serve him to regard it: but incontinently as he was in the state o he should cleerly behold it. See heere the craft of these develis

Who would have judged, but that the mayd of Kent² had beene an holy woman and a prophetesse inspired, had not Cromwell and Cranmer tried her at Paules crosse?

What should I speak of Darvell Gartheren³, of the roode of Chester, of Thomas Becket, our Lady of Walsingham, with an infinite multitude more of the like affinitie? All which stockes

quellers! It behoved the person that came thither to see it, first to confesse himself, and then paying a certayne (sum) to the common (stock) of the monasterie, to enter into a chapel, upon the aultar whereof this bloud should be shewed him. This meane while, by a secret way behind the aultar came the monke that had confessed him, and presented upon the aultar a pixe of crySTALL, great and thicke as a bowle on the one side, and thinne as a glasse on the other side: in the which the bloud on the thinner side was open and cleere to the sight, and on the thicke side impossible to be discerned. Now if this holie confessor thought by the confession that he had heard, that the qualitie of the partie confessed would yeeld him more money, then shewed he forth the thicke side of the pixe, through which the bloud was invisible, so that the person seeing himself remayning in deadly sinne, must turn, and return unto his confessor, till by paying for masses, and other such almes, he had purchased the sight of the thinne side of the cristall; and then he was safe in the favour of God, untill he fell in sinne agayne. And what bloud, trow you, was this? These monks (for there were two specially and secretly appointed to this office) every Saturday killed a ducke, and renewed therewith this consecrated bloud, as they themselves confessed, not only in secret, but also openly before an approved audience. And was this miracle think you alone? No! Alas, if I should," &c. Thomas's *Pelegria Inglese*, or *Apology for Henry VIII.*, p. 70—2 (or, p. 61—3. edit. 1774, printed copy), Lambeth MSS. No. 464. "The king himself (Thomas further informs us) was, till God opened his eyes, blinde in these matters and obstinate as the rest," which account is confirmed by a passage in Latimer's seventh sermon preached before king Edward VI.—"the bloud of Hales, woe worth it; *what a doe was it to bring it out of the kinge's head!* This great abomination of the bloud of Hales could not be taken for a great while out of his minde." Latimer's *Sermons*, fol. 84 b. edit. 1584.

But when it is said that this liquid was the blood of a duck, I must not neglect to mention, that Thomas Hearne has printed the report of the commissioners who were sent to examine into this pretended miracle at the time of the dissolution of the monasteries. From this report it appears that the contents of the pix were neither more nor less than *clarified honey*, "which being in a glasse, appeared to be of a glistering redde, resemblynge partly the color of blod." Petri Benedicti *Vita Henrici II.*, vol. ii. p. 752.

² *The mayd of Kent.*] See Burnet's *History of the Reformation*, vol. i. p. 143—7; Strype's *Ecclesiast. Memorials*, vol. i. p. 176—83, and Lambard's *Pereambulation of Kent*, p. 149—53.

³ *Darvell Gartheren.*] Fox, p. 1005, and Burnet, vol. i. p. 232—4. Strype's *Ecclesiast. Memor.*, vol. i. p. 251, &c.

and blockes of cursed idolatrie, Cromwell, stirred up by the providence of God, remooved out of the peoples way, that they might walke more safely in the sincere service of almightie God.

While the lord Cromwell was thus blessedly occupied in profiting the common wealth, and purging the church of Christ, it hapned to him, as commonly it doth to all good men, that where any excellency of vertue appeareth, there envie creepeth in, and where true pietie seeketh most after Christ, there some persecution followeth withall.

Thus (I say) as he was labouring in the commonwealth, and doing good to the poore afflicted saints, helping them out of trouble, the malice of his enemies so wrought, continually hunting for matter against him, that they never ceased, till in the end, they by false traines and craftie surmises, brought him out of the kings favour.

The chiefe and principall enemy against him, was Steven Gardiner bishop of Winchester, who ever disdainig and envying the state and felicitie of the lord Cromwell, and now taking his occasion by the mariage of ladie Anne⁵ of Cleve, being a stranger and forreiner, put in the kings eares what a perfect thing it were to the quiet of the realme. and establishment of the kings succession, to have an English queene and prince that were meere English; so that in conclusion, the king's affection, the more it was diminished from the late married Anne of Cleve, the lesse favour he bare unto Cromwell. Besides this Gardiner, there lacked not other backe friends also⁶. and ill willers in the court

⁵ *By the mariage of ladie Anne.*] See Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting*, vol. i. p. 114, edit. 4.

⁶ *Other backe friends.*] The conduct of Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, presents an illustrious exception to that of the rest of the courtiers, in this critical moment of Cromwell's impending destruction. In behalf of a faithful devoted servant, and his own friend, he thus, I will not say fearlessly, but, what is far better, conscientiously, and in a noble spirit of voluntary self-sacrifice, interposes himself, against the displeasure and fury of the king, in a letter of admirable skill and feeling. It is to be regretted that what we have is only a fragment.

"I heard yesterday in your grace's council that he is a traitor. Yet, who cannot be sorrowful and amazed that he should be a traitor against your majesty? He that was so advanced by your majesty; he whose surety was only by your majesty; he who loved your majesty, as I have ever thought, no less than God; he who studied always to set forward whatsoever was your majesty's will and pleasure; he that cared for no man's displeasure to

about the king, which little made for Cromwell, both for his religion which they maligned, and for other private grudges also incident by the way.

Over and besides all which, it is moreover supposed, that some part of displeasure might rise against him, by reason of a certaine talke which hapned a little time before at Lambeth, at what time the king after the making of the six articles, sent the sayd lord Cromwell his vicegerent, with the two dukes of Northfolk and Suffolke, with all the lords of the parliament to Lambeth, to dine with the archbishop (who mightily had disputed and alledged in the parliament against the said articles) to cheare and comfort his daunted spirits againe.

There the said lord Cromwell with the other noble lords sitting

serve your majesty; he that was such a servant in my judgment, in wisdom, diligence, faithfulness, and experience, as no prince in this realm ever had; he that was so vigilant to preserve your majesty from all treasons, that few could be so secretly conceived, but he detected the same in the beginning. If the noble princes of memory, King John, Henry II., and Richard II., had had such a counsellor about them, I suppose that they should never have been so traitorously abandoned and overthrown as those good princes were

"I loved him as my friend, for so I took him to be; but I chiefly loved him for the love which I thought I saw him bear ever towards your grace, singularly above all other. But now, if he be a traitor, I am sorry that ever I loved him or trusted him; and I am very glad that his treason is discovered in time. But yet again I am very sorrowful; for whom shall your grace trust hereafter, if you might not trust him?—Alas! I bewail and lament your grace's chance herein: I wot not whom your grace may trust. But I pray God continually, night and day, to send such a counsellor in his place whom your grace may trust; and who for all his qualities can and will serve your grace like to him, and that will have so much solicitude and care to preserve your grace from all dangers as I ever thought he had. . . . (14 June, 1540)."

"All this," says Lord Herbert, "I have faithfully copied out of the original."—*Life and Reign of K. Henry VIII.*, p. 521, or Jenkyns's admirable edition of the *Works of Cranmer*, vol. i. p. 298, 9. Oxf. 1833.

I give the above extract the more readily, because it is no unusual thing to see reflections upon Cranmer, as if he were in the habit of yielding, contrary to his own judgment, by cowardly and dishonourable compliance to the arbitrary will of Henry. Whereas I believe it to be true, that we have upon record more examples of conscientious and dangerous opposition to that will, on his part alone, or on his, at least, and that of his friend Latimer jointly (if Latimer indeed in any sense can be reckoned among the courtiers), than from all the rest of the courtiers of every description, during the whole of the king's reign, taken together.

in the counsaile chamber, was sodainly apprehended, and committed to the Tower of London. Whereat, as many other good men which knewe nothing but truth by him, did lament, and prayed hartily for him, so moe there were on the contrary side that rejoiced, especially of the religious sort, and of the clergy, such as had beene in some dignitie before in the church, and now by his meanes were put from it. For indeed, such was his nature, that in all his doings he could not abide any kinde of poperie, nor of false religion, creeping under hypocrisie, and lesse could he abide the ambitious pride of popish prelacie, which professing all humilitie, was so elated in pride, that kings could not rule in their owne realmes for them. These snuffing prelates as he could never abide, so they againe hated him as much, which was the cause of shortning his dayes, and to bring him to his ende: so that the nineteenth day of the month aforesayde, hee was attainted by parliament.

In the which attainer^a, divers and sundrie crimes, surmises, objections and accusations, were brought against him, but chiefly and above all other, hee was charged and accused of heresie, for that hee was a supporter of them whome they recounted for heretickes, as Barnes, Clarke, and manie other, whome hee by his authoritie and letters written to shiriffes and justices in divers shires rescued and discharged out of prison. Also that he did divulgate and disperse abroad amongst the kings subjects, great numbers of bookes, containing (as they sayd) manifest matter of much heresie, diffidence, and misbeliefe. Item, that hee caused to be translated into our english tongue, bookes comprising matter expressly against the sacrament of the aaltar; and that after the translation thereof, he commended and maintained the same for good and christian doctrine. Over and besides all this, they brought in certaine witnesses (what they were, the attainer expresseth not) which most especially pressed (or rather oppressed) him with hainous words spoken against the king in the church of S. Peter the poore in the moneth of March, in the thirtieth yeare of the kings raigne. Which words if they be true, as the attainer doth purport, three things I have heere to mervaille much at. First, if his adversaries had so sure hold and matter against him, then what should moove them to make

^a *In the which attainer.*] The attainer may be found in Burnet's *Hist. of the Reformation*, vol. i. book iii. numb. 16. Records.

such hastie speede in all post haste to have him dispatched and rid out of the way, and in no case could abide him to come to his purgation^{*}? which if he might have done, it is not otherwise to be thought, but hee would easily have cleered himselfe thereof.

Secondly, this I marvell, that if the wordes had beene so hainous against the king, as his enemies did pretend, why then did those witnesses which heard those words in S. Peters church, in the thirtieth yeare of the kings raigne, conceale the sayd wordes of such treason so long, the space almost of two yeares, and now uttered the same in the thirty-second yeare of the kings raigne, in the moneth of July?

Thirdly, here is again to be marvelled, if the king had knowne or beleevd these words to be true, and that Cromwell had beene indeede such a traytor to his person, why then did the king so shortly after lament his death, wishing to have his Cromwell alive againe? What prince will wish the life of him whome he suspecteth undoubtedly to be a traytor to his life and person! whereby it may appeare what judgment the king had of Cromwell in himselfe, howsoever the parliament by sinister information was otherwise incensed to judge upon him.

Not that I heere speake or meane against the high court of parliament of this our realm necessarily assembled for the common wealth, to whome I alwayes attribute their due reverence and authoritie. But as it hapneth sometimes in generall counceles, which though they be never so generall, yet notwithstanding sometimes they may and do erre in weightie matters of religion: so likewise they that say, that princes and parliaments may be misinformed sometimes, by some sinister heads, in matters civil and politike, do not therein derogate or enpaire the high estate of parliaments, but rather give wholesome admonition to princes and parliament men, to be more circumspect and vigilant what counsell they shall admit, and what witnesses they do credit. For private affection, which commonly beareth a great stroke in all societies and doings of men, creepeth sometimes into such

* *To come to his purgation.*] "In parliament he is accused of treason and heresy, and unheard is attainted. Some do observe that he procured that law of attainting by parliament, without hearing the party, and that himself was the first that by that law died unheard; for in July following he was thereupon beheaded."—Sir H. Spelman *De non temerandis Ecclesiis*, p. 32. edit. 1704. But see Fuller's *Church Hist.* cent. 16, p. 234, and Collier's *Ecccl. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 180.

generall counsels, and into princes courts also, either too much amplifying thinges, that bee but small, making mountaines of molehills, or else too much extenuating things that bee of themselves great and waightie, according as it is truely sayd of the poet Juvenal ;

“Dat veniam corvis, vexat censura columbas,”

Or as our English proverbe sheweth ; “as a man is friended, so is his matter ended :” and “where the hedge is lowe, a man may lightly make large leapes :” or rather to speake after the French phrase : *Qui son chien veult tuer, la rage luy met sus*. That is ; “He that is disposed to have his dog killed, first maketh men beleieve that he is mad.”—And thus much having declared touching the matter of his accusation, the rest I referre to the high parliament of that mightie king, who shall one day bring all things to perfect light.

In the mean season, howsoever the cause of the lord Cromwell standeth true or false, this is certaine, that Steven Gardiner lacked not an head, nor yet privie assisters, which cunningly could fetch this matter about, and watch their time, when as the king being disposed to marrie another wife, which was the lady Katherine Howard, immediately after the beheading of the lord Cromwell, did repudiate lady Anne of Cleve, which otherwise is to be thought during the life of Cromwell could not so well be brought to passe.

But these things being now done and past, let us passe them over and returne again to the lord Cromwell, being now attainted and committed to the Tower. Who so long as hee went with full sayle of fortune, how moderately, and how temperately hee did ever beare himselfe in his estate, before hath beene declared : so now the sayd lord Cromwell, alwayes one man, by the contrarie winde of adversitie being overblowen, received the same with no lesse constancie, and patience of a christian hart. Neither yet was he so unprovided of counsaile and forecast, but that hee did foresee this tempest long before it fell, and also prepared for he same : for two yeares before, smelling the conspiracie of his adversairies, and fearing what might happen, he called unto him his servants, and there shewing unto them in what a slipperie state he stode, and also perceiving some stormie weather already o gather, required them to looke diligently to their order and

doings, least through their default any occasion might rise against him. And furthermore, before the time of his apprehension, such order he tooke for his servants, that many of them, especially the younger brethren, which had little els to take unto, had honestly left for them in their friends hands to relieve them, whatsoever should him befall.

Briefly, such a loving and kinde master he was to his servants, that he provided aforehand almost for them all : in so much, that he gave to twelve children which were his musitians, twentie pound a peece, and so committed them to their friends : of whome some yet remaine alive, who both enjoyed the same, and also gave record of this to be true.

Furthermore, being in the Tower a prisoner, how quietly he bare it, how valiantly he behaved himselfe, how gravely and discretly he aunswered and entertained the commissioners sent unto him, it is worthie of noting. Whatsoever articles and interrogatories they propounded, they could put nothing unto him, either concerning matters ecclesiasticall or temporall, wherein he was not more ripened, and more furnished in everie condition than they themselves.

Amongst the rest of those commissioners which came unto him ; one there was, whome the lord Cromwell desired to cary from him a letter to the king, which when he refused, saying that he would cary no letter to the king from a traytor ; then the lord Cromwell desired him at least to do from him a message to the king. So that the other was contented, and graunted, so that it were not against his allegiance. Then the lord Cromwell taking witnesse of the other lords, what hee had promised ; " You shall commend mee (sayd he) to the king, and tell him, by that he hath so well tryed, and throughly proved you as I have done, he shall finde you as false a man as ever came about him."

Besides this, he wrote also a letter from the Tower ¹ to the king, whereof when none durst take the cariage upon him, Sir Ralfe Sadler (whome he also had preferred to the king before, being ever trustie and faithful unto him) went to the king to under-

¹ *Letter from the Tower.*] Bishop Burnet, in his *History of the Reformation*, has published two letters from Cromwell to the king, both written from the Tower ; the one, which seems to have been first written, in vol. iii. b. iii. No. 68. Appendix, the other, dated, " the last of June," in vol. i. book iii. No. 17.

stand his pleasure, whether he would permit him to bring the letter or not. Which when the king had graunted, the sayd M. Sadler, as he was required, presented the letter unto the king, which he commanded thrise to bee read unto him, in so much as the king seemed to be moved therewith.

Notwithstanding, by reason of the acte of parliament afore passed, the worthie and noble lord Cromwell oppressed by his enemies, and condemned in the Tower, and not comming to his answere, the 28. day of July, an. 1540, was brought to the scaffold² on Tower hill, where he sayd these words following.

"I am come hither to die, and not to purge my selfe, as some thinke peradventure that I will. For if I should so do, I were a very wretch and a miser. I am by the law condemned to die, and thank my Lord God that hath appointed me this death for mine offence. For sithence the time that I have had yeares of discretion, I have lived a sinner, and offended my Lord God, for the which I aske him heartily forgiveness. And it is not unknowne to many of you, that I have beene a great traveller in this world; and being but of a base degree, was called to high estate, and

² *Brought to the scaffold.*] "Wherein is to be noted how mightily the Lord worketh with his grace and fortitude in the hearts of his servants, especially in such which causelesse suffer with guiltlesse conscience for his religions sake, above other, which suffer otherwise for their desertes. For whereas they that suffer as malefactors, commonlie are wont to goe heaveie and pensive to their death, so the other with heavenlie allacritie and chearfulnesse doe abide whatsoever it pleaseth the Lord to lay upon them. Example whereof we have right well to note, not onelie in these three godlie martyrs above mentioned, but also in the lord Cromwell, who suffered but two dayes before, the same no lesse may appeare; who although he was brought to his death, attainted and condemned by the parliament, yet what a guiltlesse conscience he bare to his death, his christian patience well declareth.

"Who first calling for his breakfast, and therewith eating the same, and after that passing out of his prison, downe the hill within the Tower, and meeting there by the way the lord Hungerford, going likewise to his execution (who for matter not here to be spoken of, was there also imprisoned), and perceiving him to be all heavy and doleful, with chearful countenance and comfortable words, asking him why he was so heavy, hee willed him to pluck up his heart, and to bee of good comfort: for, sayd he, there is no cause for you to feare. For if you repent and be heartlie sorie for that you have done, there is for you mercie enough of the Lord, who for Christe's sake will forgive you: and therefore be not dismaid; and though the breakfast which we are going to be sharpe, yet trusting in the mercie of the Lord, we shall have a joyfull dinner. And so went they together to the place of execution, and toke their death patientlie."—*Fox's Acts*, p. 1095.

sithence the time I came thereunto, I have offended my prince, for the which I aske him hartily forgivnes, and beseech you all pray to God with mee, that he will forgive me. And now I pray you that be heere, to beare me record, I die in the catholicke faith, not doubting in any article of my faith, no nor doubting in any sacrament of the church. Manie have slaundered me, and reported that I have beene a bearer of such as have maintained evill opinions, which is untrue. But I confesse, that like as God by his Holy Spirit doth instruct us in the truth, so the devill is ready to seduce us, and I have beene seduced, but beare me witnesse that I die in the catholicke faith³ of the holy church. And I hartily desire you to pray for the kings grace, that hee may long live with you in health and prosperitie: and that after him his sonne prince Edward, that goodly impe, may long raigne over you. And once againe I desire you to praie for me, that so long as life remaineth in this flesh, I waver nothing in my faith." And so

³ *I die in the catholicke faith.*] "The general terms wherein this speech is couched" (says Fuller) "have given occasion for wise men to give contrary judgments thereof." Cent. 16. p. 233. Accordingly Burnet remarks, "By what he spake at his death, he left it much doubted of what religion he died. But" (continues the bishop) "it is certain he was a Lutheran. The term catholick faith used by him in his last speech, seemed to make it doubtful; but that was then used in England, in its true sense, in opposition to the novelties of the see of Rome: so that his profession of the catholic faith was strangely perverted, when some from thence concluded, that he died in the communion of the church of Rome."—*Hist. of the Reformation*, vol. i. p. 274, edit. 4. On the other hand, Collier having these observations of bishop Burnet in his eye, says, "I readily grant, Cromwell was no *papist* at his death: but then, it is pretty plain, he was no *protestant* neither. . . . It is evident, that he died in the communion of the then church of England; that is, in the religion professed by king Henry the VIII."—*Ecclesiast. Hist.*, vol. ii. p. 181.

It appears that the rumour of Cromwell's having made a recantation at the scaffold, had spread rapidly over the Continent. Cardinal Pole, in a letter to Ludovico Beccatelli, dated Viterbo, Sept. 11, refers to this report; but it is material to observe, that he was of opinion, that the joy with which it had been received by the Catholics was premature. "Vereor" (says he) "ne frustra cum reverendissima dominatione vestra per literas de Cromvelli respicientia sim gratulatus; nec enim quæ typis sunt excusa, quæ ad me missa sunt, in quibus novissima ejus verba recitantur, *talem animum mihi exprimunt*, qualem eorum narratio, qui de ejus exitu, et de extremis verbis mecum sunt loquuti. Sed horum judicium penes Christum sit, cui nota sunt abscondita cordis, et secundum illa judicabit."—Poli *Epistol.*, vol. iii. p. 62. Brixie, 1748, 4to; comp. Burnet's *Hist. of the Reformation*, vol. iii. p. 147.

making his praier, kneeling on his knees⁴, he spake these words, the effect whereof heere followeth.

“O Lord Jesu, which art the onely health of all men living, and the everlasting life of them which die in thee: I wretched sinner do submit my self wholly unto thy most blessed wil, and being sure that the thing cannot perish which is committed unto thy mercy, willingly now I leave this fraile and wicked flesh, in sure hope, that thou wilt in better wise restore it to me againe at the last day in the resurrection of the just. I beseech thee most mercifull Lord Jesus Christ, that thou wilt by thy grace make strong my soule against all temptations, and defend me with the buckler of thy mercy against all the assaults of the devill. I see and acknowledge that there is in my self no hope of salvation, but all my confidence, hope and trust, is in thy most mercifull goodness. I have no merits nor good works which I may alledge before thee. Of sinnes and evill workes (alas) I see a great heape: but yet thorough thy mercy, I trust to be in the number of them to whome thou wilt not impute their sinnes; but wilt take and accept me for righteous and just, and to bee the inheritor of everlasting life. Thou mercifull Lord wast borne for my sake, thou didst suffer both hunger and thirst for my sake: thou didst teach, pray, and fast for my sake: all thy holy actions and workes thou wroughtest for my sake: thou suffredst most grievous paines and torments for my sake: finally, thou gavest thy most precious body and thy bloud to be shed on the crosse for my sake. Now most mercifull Savior, let all these things profit me, that thou freely hast done for me; which hast given thy selfe also for me. Let thy bloud cleanse and wash away the spots and foulness

⁴ *On his knees.*] The Harleian MS. 3362, has a copy of the “Last Words of Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex,” which reads thus, omitting the prayer in Fox’s account:—“—— and then kneeled he adowne and saide his prayeres, in the which prayeres were contayned thys wordes: ‘O Lord, grant me that when that these eyes looe their use that the eyes of my soule may see the,’ and said, ‘O Lord and Father, when thys mouth shall lose his use that my hart may say, *O pater in manus tuas commendo spiritum meum* ;’ and after thys prayer he stodde uppe agayne and said, ‘Pray for the prince, and for alle the lordes of the councelle, and for the clergy, and for the commynaltie, and nowe I pray you alle ageyne, that ye wille pray for me.’ And then he turnyd hym abowte and sayde, ‘Farewelle, Wyat!’ and, ‘Gentylle Wyat! pray for me!’ Thys was done the xxviii. day of the month of July, in the yere of our Lord God MDxl. in the xxxvj yere of our soveraigne Lord Kynge Henry.”

of my sinnes. Let thy righteousness hide and cover my unrighteousnes. Let the merites of thy passion and bloodshedding be satisfaction for my sinnes. Give me Lord thy grace, that the faith of my salvation in thy blood waver not in me, but may ever be firme and constant; that the hope of thy mercy and life everlasting never decay in me; that love waxe not cold in me: finally, that the weaknes of my flesh be not overcome with the feare of death. Grant mee mercifull Saviour, that when death hath shut up the eies of my body, yet the eyes of my soule may still behold and look upon thee; and when death hath taken away the use of my tongue, yet my heart may crie and say unto thee, Lord into thy hands I commend my soule, Lord Jesu receive my spirit. Amen."

And thus his prayer made, after he had godly and lovingly exhorted them that were about him on the scaffold, he quietly committed his soule into the hands of God, and so patiently suffered the stroke of the axe, by a ragged and butcherly miser, which verie ungodly performed the office ⁵.

⁵ *Performed the office.*] As we have done elsewhere, we will now collect a few gems from other quarters.

"Great scholar he was none, the Latin Testament gotten by heart being his master-piece: nor studied lawyer, never admitted to the inns of court; nor experienced soldier, though necessity cast him upon it: nor courtier, till bred up in cardinal Wolsey's court: yet that of the lawyer in him so helped the scholar, *that* of the soldier the lawyer, *that* of the courtier the soldier, and *that* of the traveller all the rest; being no stranger to Germany, well acquainted with France, most familiar with Italy;—that the result of all together made him for endowments eminent, not to say admirable. His apprehension was quick and clear; his judgment methodical and solid; his memory strong and rational; his tongue fluent and pertinent; his presence stately and obliging; his heart large and noble; his temper patient and cautious; his way industrious and indefatigable; his correspondence well laid and constant; his converse insinuating and close. None more dexterous to find out by his setting-dogs and decoy-ducks, none more reserved to keep a secret. He was *equal*, saith my author, to the French politicians, *when under his master*; he *over-reached* them, *when alone*: doing more in one month with his subtle head than the other in twelve months with his stately train."—Lloyd's *State Worthies*, p. 58.

"He used to answer those that applauded his service in the Reformation, that if he should arrogate to himself any part in that revolution of Providence, he should be like the flie on the cart-wheel, that said, *What a dust do I raise!*" *Ibid.* p. 65.

"The times are troublesome, but Cromwell calm and quiet, and watchful over occurrences. He takes down the occasions and ornaments of idolatry,

Of the Bible in English printed in the large volume, and of Edmund Boner preferred to the bishoprike of London, by the meanes of the Lord Cromwell.

About the time and yeare when Edmund Boner bishop of Hereford, and ambassadour resident in France, began first to be nominate and preferred by the meanes of the lord Cromwell to the bishoprike of London; which was, anno 1540, it happened that the said Thomas lord Cromwell and erle of Essex procured of the king of England his gracious letters to the French king, to permit and licence a subject of his to imprint the bible in english within the universitie of Paris, because paper was there more meete and apt to bee had for the doing thereof, than in the realme of England, and also that there were more store of good workmen for the readie dispatch of the same. And in like manner at the same time the said king wrote unto his ambassadour, who then was Edmund Boner bishop of Hereford, lying in Paris, that he should ayde and assist the doers theereof in all their reasonable suites. The which bishop outwardly shewed great friendship to the merchants that were the imprinters of the same, and moreover did divers and sundrie times call and command the sayd persons to bee in manner daily at his table, both dinner and supper, and so much rejoyced in the workmanship of the sayd bible, that he himselfe would visit the imprinters house where the same bibles were printed, and also would take part of such dinners as the Englishmen there had, and that to his cost, which, as it seemed, he little wayed. And further, the saide Boner was so fervent,

i.e. images, shrines, pilgrimages, &c., and then the thing itself: *Take off the paint of Rome, and you undo her.*" P. 65, 6.

"Some reserved men's parts he compared to meat in a great Colchester oyster, which would hardly requite the pains of opening: but infinitely was he taken with those who were, as he called them, like the statues of Apollo, had a lance in one hand, and a harp in another; that is, resolution to awe on the one side, and sweetness to oblige on the other; being much pleased likewise with the *reflecting* man, who needs not the dull way of Persia to keep a boy behind him, to bid him remember what he is, and what he ought to do; and with the *devout* courtier. For, as the enamel which adorneth the dove's neck, never shines so clear and glorious as when the sun looks upon it; so, great men are never so full of majesty themselves, as when they own the majesty of God; never more gods among men, than when humble men before God: who, as St. Lewis of France once said, boweth the hearts of men to a subjection to *them*, who kneel in adoration to Him." P. 67.

that he caused the said Englishmen to put in print a new Testament in english and latine, and himselfe tooke a great many of them, and payd for them, and gave them to his friends. And it chaunced the meane time, while the sayd bible was in printing, that king Henry the 8. preferred the said Boner from the said bishopricke of Hereford, to be bishoppe of London, at which time, the said Boner according to the statute law of England, tooke his othe to the king, knowledging his supremacie, and called one of the aforesaid Englishmen that printed the bible, whome he then loved, although afterward upon the change of the world he did hate him as much, whose name was Richard Grafton; to whome the sayd Boner said when he took his othe, "maister Grafton, so it is, that the kings most excellent majestie hath by his gracious gift presented mee to the bishopricke of London, for the which I am sorry, for if it would have pleased his grace, I could have been well content to have kept mine olde bishopricke of Hereford." Then said Grafton, "I am right glad to heare of it, and so I am sure will be a great number of the citie of London: for they yet knowe you not, yet they have heard so much goodnes of you from hence, as no doubt they will hartily rejoyce of your placing." Then said Boner, "I pray God I may do that may content them; and to tell you M. Grafton, before God (for that was commonly his othe) the greatest fault that I ever found in Stokesley, was for vexing and troubling of poore men, as Loblely the bookebinder and other, for having the scripture in English, and God willing he did not so much hinder it, but I will as much further it: and I will have of your bibles set up in the church of Paules⁶, at the

⁶ *In the church of Paules.*] "Which also at his coming home, he performed, according to the king's proclamation set forth for the same.

"The bibles thus standing in Paules by the commandement of the king, and the appointment of Bonner the bishop, manie well disposed people used much to resort to the hearing thereof, especiallie when they could get any that had an audible voice to read unto them, misdoubting therein no danger toward them; and no more there was; so long as the daies of Cromwell lasted." Fox's *Acts*, p. 1101. Another zealous reformer has given a very unfavourable interpretation of Bonner's designs in the whole of this transaction. "He first set up bybles in Paules, not purposyng any christen erudicyon to the people, but as snares to catch them by. For immediately after, he set up a commaundement that God should give place unto the pope, and Christ unto anti-Christ. 'There shall be no readyng' (sayth he) 'for the tyme of God's service.' As though their vayne, idle and blasphemous superstitions were only Gods service, and the byble readyng no part thereof, but a very pro-

last in sundry places six of them; and I will pay you honestly for them and give you hartie thanks." Which words hee then spake in the hearing of divers credible persons, as Edmund Stile grocer, and other. "But now M. Grafton at this time I have specially called you to be a witnesse with me that upon this translation of bishops sees, I must according to the statute take an othe' unto the kings majestie knowledging his supreamacy, which before God I take with my heart, and so thinke him to be, and beseech almightie God to save him, and long to prosper his grace. Holde the booke sirah, and reade you the othe" (said he) to one of his chapleins, and he laide his hand on the booke and tooke his othe. And after this he shewed great friendship to the said Grafton, and to his partener Edward Whitchurch, but especially to Miles Coverdale, who was the corrector of the great bible.

Now after that the foresaid letters were delivered, the French king gave very good wordes, and was well content to permit the doing thereof. And so the printer went forward and printed forth the booke even to the last part; and then was the quarrel

phane thing. Upon thys polycie did he set them up there, to knowe whych were the busy byble men of London, that he might speak with them at lay-sure. For he had his spyes evermore, and hys Judases there at hand. Some hath already proved it, and also payde the harde pryce thereof. So that they which at his first commyng held up their handes unto God for their good byshop, doth nowe holde downe their heades, and can saye, that sathan hath shewed himself for all hys angelyk face." *Yet a course at the Romyske foce, A disclosing or openynge of the Manne of Synne &c. by Johan Harryson (i. e. John Bale), fol. 93. A. D. 1543, printed at Zurick.*

[Take an othe.] The othe taken by Bonner is printed in Wilkins's *Concil.*, vol. iii. p. 781, and in other places.

"Post electionis confirmationem, pessimo (quod tamen passim obtinuit ab anno 1535 ad ann. 1553) exemplo, commissionem quam vocant, seu licentiam episcopatum Londinensem administrandi a rege suscepit, 1539 Novemb. 12. in qua agnoscitur omnem jurisdictionem ecclesiasticam a Rege tanquam ab unico fonte oriri, et ipsum regis tantummodo vicarium esse: atque his præcipue verbis diplomatis vis compingitur. 'Tibi vices nostras committimus, teque licentiandum esse decernimus, ad ordinandum infra diocesin tuam Londinensem &c., vice, nomine, et auctoritate nostris &c. per presentes ad nostri bene placiti voluntatem duntaxat duraturas.'" Wharton *De Episcopis et Decanis Londinensibus*, p. 194. Compare also Wilkins's *Concil.*, vol. iii. p. 797—9, and p. 810; and Harmer's *Specimen of Errors*, &c. p. 51—3, who shows, in opposition to Burnet, that such a licence was accepted, even by Cranmer in October, 1535. See also Wharton in Appendix to Strype's *Life of Cranmer*, p. 259.

Thomas Mathews bible, printed at Hammbrough, about the yere¹ of our Lord 1532, the corrector of which print was then John Rogers, of whom ye shall heare more. Christ willing, hereafter. The printers were Richard Grafton, and Whitchurch. In the translation of this bible, the greatest doer was indeed William Tindall, who with the helpe of Miles Coverdale had translated all the bookes thereof, except only the apocrypha, and certaine notes in the margent which were added after. But because the said William Tindall in the mean time was apprehended before this bible was fully perfected, it was thought good to them which had the doing thereof, to change the name of William Tindall, because that name then was odious, and to further it by a strange name of Thomas Mathew, John Rogers the same time being corrector to the print, who had then translated the residue of the apocrypha, and added also certaine notes thereto in the margent, and thereof came it to be called Thomas Mathewes bible. Which bible of Thomas Mathew, after it was imprinted and presented to the lord Cromwell, and the lord Crammer archbishop of Cantuarbury, who liked very well of it, the said Cromwell presented it to the king, and obtained that the same might freely passe to be read of his subjects with his graces licence: so that there was printed upon the same booke, one line in red letters with these wordes: *Set forth with the Kings most gracious licence.*

The setting forth of this booke did not a little offend the clergie, namely the bishops aforesaid, both for the prologues, and specially because in the same booke was one speciall table collected of the common places in the bible, and the scriptures for the approbation of the same, and chiefly about the supper of the Lord and marriage of priests, and the masse which there was said not to be found in the scripture.

¹ *About the yere.*] The year was 1537.

This was the second time in which the whole bible was printed in English; the first copy (commonly called Coverdale's) being printed in 1535, of which some mention was made above in the *Life of Tindal*. The title-page of this second edition was as follows. "The Byble, which is all the Holy Scripture, in which are containyd the Olde and Newe Testament, truly and purely translated into Englysh. By Thomas Mathewe.

"Eaue I. Hearken to ye Heavens, and thou earth geaue eare: for the Lorde speaketh. 1537.

"Set forth with the King's most gracious lycence."

See Lewis's *History*, p. 105—112.

Furthermore, after the restraint of this foresaid bible of Mathew, another bible began to be printed at Paris, an. 1540². Which was called the bible of the large volume. The printers whereof were the foresaid Richard Grafton, and Whitchurch which bare the charges. A great helper thereto was the lord Cromwell. The chiefest overseer was Miles Coverdale, who taking the translation of Tindal, conferred the same with the Hebrue, and amended many things.

In this bible although the former notes of Thomas Mathew were omitted, yet sundry marks and hands were annexed in the sides, which ment that in those places should be made certain notes; wherewith also the clergy was offended, though the notes were not made.

After this the bishops bringing their purpose to pass, brought the lord Cromwell out of favour, and shortly to his death: and not long after, great complaint was made to the king, of the translation of the bible, and of the preface of the same, and then was the sale of the bible commanded to be staid³, the bishops pro-

² *At Paris, an. 1540.]* Rather, in the year 1538. For the mandate of the inquisition, directing the seizure of this Paris, edition was dated, as we mentioned before, Dec. 17, 1538, and the London edition, which was built upon it, came out in 1539.

³ *Commanded to be staid.]* By the act of parliament, A.D. 1542, it was commanded, "that all manner of booke of the olde and newe Testament in English of Tindal's translation, should be utterly abolished, extinguished, and forbidden." It was also enacted, that "after the first day of October next ensuing, no person should take upon him to read openly to others in any church or public assembly, the bible or any part of scripture in English, unless by special appointment of the king, or by any ordinary. Provided, that the chauncellor of England, capitaines of the warres, the king's justices, the recorders of any city, borough, or town, the speaker of the parliament, &c. which heretofore have been accustomed to declare or teache any good, virtuous, or godly exhortations in anie assemblies, may use anie part of the bible or holie Scripture, as they have been wont: and that every nobleman and gentleman being a householder, may read, or cause to be read by anie of his familie servants in his house, orchardes, or garden, and to his owne familie any text of the bible or new testament: and also every merchant-man being a householder, and other persons, other than women, prentices, &c. might read to themselves privately the bible, &c. But no woman, except noblewomen and gentlewomen, who might read to themselves alone, and not to others any textes of the bible &c., nor artificers, prentices, journeymen, serving men, of the degrees of yeomen or under, husbandmen, nor labourers, were to read the bible or new testament in Englishe, to himself or to any

ming to mend and correct it, but never performing the same⁴: Then Grafton was called, and first charged with the printing of Mathews bible, but hee being fearefull of trouble, made excuses for himselfe, in all things. Then was hee examined of the great bible, and what notes he was purposed to make. To which he answered, that hee knew none. For his purpose was to have retained learned men to have made the notes; but when hee perceived the kings majesty, and his cleargy not willing to have any, hee proceeded no further. But for all these excuses, Grafton was sent to the Fleet, and there remained six weekes, and before he came out, was bound in three hundred pounds that he should neither sell, nor imprint, or cause to be imprinted any mo bibles, untill the king and the clergie should agree upon a translation. And thus was the bible from that time staid, during the raigne of king Henry the eight.

But yet one thing more is to be noted, that after the imprinters had lost their bibles, they continued suitors to Boner, as is afore-said, to bee a meane for to obtaine of the French king their books againe: but so long they continued suitors, and Boner ever fed them with faire wordes, promising them much, but did nothing for them, till at the last Boner was discharged of his ambassade, and returned home, where hee was right joyfully welcomed home by the lord Cromwell, who loved him dearely, and had a marvellous good opinion of him. And so long as Cromwell remained in authoritie, so long was Boner at his becke, and friend to his friendes, and enemy to his enemies: as namely, at that time to Gardener bishop of Winchester, who never favoured Cromwell; and therefore Boner could not favour him, but that he and Winchester were the greatest enemies that might bee. But so soone as Cromwell fell, immediately Boner and Winchester pretended to bee the greatest men that lived, and no good worde could Boner speake of Cromwell, but the lewest, vilest, and bitterest that hee could speake, calling him the rankest hereticke that ever lived: and then such as the said Boner knew to bee in good favour with Cromwell, he could never abide their sight. Insomuch as the next day after that Cromwell was apprehended, the above

other, privately or openly, upon paine of one month's imprisonment." See *Lewis's History*, p. 149.

⁴ *Never performing the same.*] See *Lewis's History of Translations*, p. 144—8.

JOHN ROGERS.

named Grafton, who had beene very familiar with Boner, met with the said Boner sodenly, and said unto him, that hee was sorie to heare of the newes that then was abroad. "What are they?" (said he.) "Of the apprehension of the L. Cromwell," said Grafton. "Are ye sorie for that?" (said he.) "It had been good that he had beene dispatched long agoe." With that Grafton looked upon him and knew not what to say, but came no more to Boner. Howbeit afterward the said Grafton being charged for the imprinting of a ballet made in the favour of Cromwell, was called before the councell, where Boner was present, and there Boner charged him with the wordes that hee spake to him of Cromwell, and told out a great long tale. But the lord Awdeley who then was lord chancellor, right discreetly and honorably, cutt off the matter, and entered into other talke.

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JOHN ROGERS.

To burne mee, or to destroy mee, cannot so greatly profit them. For when I am dead, the sunne, and the moone, the starres and the element, water and fire, yea and also stones, shall defende this cause agaynst them, rather than the veritie should perishe.

DOCTOR ROBERT BARNES.

Go to, therefore, my dear hearts in the Lord; waver not in Christ's religion, truly taught you and set forth in king Edward's days. Never shall the enemies be able to burn it, to prison it, and keep it in bonds. If they may prison, they may bind and burn, as they do and will do, so long as shall please the Lord;—but our cause, religion, and doctrine, which we confess, they shall never be able to vanquish and put away.

JOHN BRADFORD.

JOHN ROGERS.

JOHN ROGERS brought up in the university of Cambridge, where he profitably travailed in good learning, at the length was chosen and called by the marchants adventurers to be their chaplen at Antwerpe in Brabant, whom hee served to their good contentation manie years. It chanced him there to fall in company with that worthy servant and martyr of God William Tindall, and with Miles Coverdale, which both, for the hatred they bare to popish superstition and idolatry, and love to true religion, had broken their native country. In conferring with them the scriptures hee came to great knowledge in the gospell of God, in so much that he cast off the heavie yoke of poperie, and joyned himselfe with them two in that painefull and most profitable labor of translating the bible into the English tongue, which is intituled¹, the translation of Thomas Mathew.

Hee knowing by the scriptures, that unlawfull vowes² may lawfully be broken, and that matrimonie is both honest and honourable amongst all men, joyned himselfe in lawfull matrimonie, and so went to Wittemberge in Saxonie, where he with such sobernesse of living did not onelie greatlie increase in all good and godly learning, but also so much profited in the knowledge of the Dutch tongue, that the charge of a congregation was orderly committed to his cure.

¹ Which is intituled.] See *Life of Cromwell*, p. 297, note.

² Unlawfull vowes.] This kind of expression, in the present case, is unnecessary, or more properly, it is incorrect. It does not appear that Rogers had been a monk, and therefore he was no votary. This point of distinction between the regular and the secular clergy will be set right in the course of his account of Rogers by a valuable note from H. Wharton.

In which ministrie, he diligently and faithfully served many yeares, untill such time as it pleased God by the faithfull travell of his chosen and deare servant king Edward the sixt, utterly to banish all popery forth of England, and to receive in true religion, setting Gods gospell at libertie. He then being orderly called, having both a conscience and a ready good will to helpe forward the worke of the Lord in his native countrey, left such honest and certaine conditions as he had in Saxonie, and came into England to preach the gospell, without certaintie of any condition. In which office, after he had a space diligently and faithfully travelled, Nicholas Ridley then bishop of London, gave him a prebend in the cathedrall church of Paulcs, and the deane and the chapter chose him to be the Reader of the Divinitie lesson there, wherein he diligently travelled, untill such time as queene Marie obtaining the crowne, banished the gospell and true religion, and brought in the antichrist of Rome, with his idolatrie and superstition.

After the queen was come to the Tower³ of London, he being orderly called thereunto, made a godly and vehement sermon at Paulcs Crosse, confirming such true doctrine as hee and other had there taught in king Edwardes dayes, exhorting the people constantly to remaine in the same, and to beware of all pestilent poperie, idolatrie, and superstition. The councill being then overmatched with popish and bloudie bishops called him to account for his sermon: to whom he made a stout, wittie, and godly answer, and yet in such sort handled himselfe, that at that time hee was cleerely dismissed.

But after that proclamation⁴ was set forth by the queene to

³ *Come to the Tower.*] "The third of August (1553) was the splendid day on which the queen came riding to London, and so to the Tower: making her entrance at Aldgate." Strype's *Eccles. Memorials*, vol. iii. p. 17. Fox's *Acts*, p. 1280. The sermon which gave offence seems to have been preached on Sunday the 6th of that month. In that sermon, according to Fox, "he intreated very learnedlie upon the gospell of the same day." *Acts*, p. 1280.

⁴ *After that proclamation.*] This proclamation may be seen in Fox's *Acts*, p. 1280. It bears date Aug. 18. The confinement of Rogers to his house began two days before, as appears by the minutes of the privy council. "August 16th. John Rogers, alias Matthewe, a sediciouse preacher, ordered by the lords of the counsaill to kepe himself as prisoner in his howee at Powles, without conference of any personne, other than suche as are daylie with him in householde, untill suche time as he hath contrarie commaund-
Haynes's State Papers of Lord Burghley, p. 170.

prohibite true preaching, he was called againe before the counsell, (for the bishops thirsted after his bloud.) The counsell quarrelled with him concerning his doctrine, and in conclusion commanded him as prisoner to keepe his owne house; and so he did: although by flying he might easily have escaped their cruell hands; and many thinges there were, which might have mooved him thereunto. Hee did see the recovery of religion in England for that present, desperate; he knew hee could not want a living in Germanie; and he could not forget his wife and ten children, and to seeke meanes to succour them. But all these things set apart, after he was called to answere in Christs cause, he would not depart, but stoutly stood in defence of the same, and for the triall of that truth, was content to hazard his life.

Thus hee remained in his owne house as prisoner a long time, till at the length through the uncharitable procurement of Boner bishoppe of London, who could not abide such honest neighbours to dwell by him, hee was removed from his owne house, to the prison called Newgate, where he was lodged among theeves and murderers, for a great space: during which time, what businesse he had with the adversaries of Christ, all is not knowne, neither yet any certaintie of his examinations, further then hee himselfe did leave in writing; which God would not to be lost, but to remaine for a perpetuall testimony in the cause of Gods truth, as here followeth recorded and testified by his owne writing.

The Examination and Answere of John Rogers made to the Lord Chancellor^a, and to the rest of the Counsell, the 22. of Januarie, Anno 1555.

First the lord chancellour said unto me thus, "Sir, ye have heard of the state of the realme in which it standeth now."

Rogers. "No my lord, I have beene kept in close prison, and except there have beene some generall thing saide at the table when I was at dinner or supper, I have heard nothing: and there have I heard nothing whereupon any speciall thing might be grounded."

Then said the lord chancellor; "Generall things, generall things," mockingly. "Ye have heard of my lord cardinals

^a *Lord Chancellor.*] Gardiner, bishop of Winchester.

coming* and that the parliament hath received his blessing, not one resisting unto it, but one man which did speake against it. Such an unitie, and such a myracle hath not bin seen." "And all they, of which there are eight score in one house," said one that was by, (whose name I knowe not) "have with one assent and consent received pardon of their offences, for the schisme that we have had in England, in refusing the holy father of Rome to be head of the catholike church. How say ye, are yee content to unite and knit your selfe to the faith of the catholike church with us, in the state in which it is now in England? Will ye doe that?"

Rog. "The catholicke church I never didde nor will dissent from."

L. Chan. "Nay, but I speak of the state of the catholike church, in that wise in which we stand now in England, having received the pope to be supream head."

Rog. "I knowe none other head but Christ of his catholicke church; neither will I acknowledge the bishop of Rome to have any more authoritie than any other bishop hath, by the word of God, and by the doctrine of the olde and pure catholicke church four hundred yeares after Christ."

L. Chan. "Why didst thou then acknowledge king Henrie the eight, to be supream head of the church, if Christ be the onelie head?"

Rog. "I never granted him to any supremacie in spirituall things, as are the forgiveness of sinnes, giving of the holie Ghost, authoritie to be a judge above the word of God."

* *My lord cardinals coming.*] Cardinal Pole landed at Dover, Nov. 21, 1554, and reached Lambeth on the 24th. Fox's *Acts*, p. 1341. Strype's *Eccles. Mem.*, vol. iii. p. 203. For a copious account of his reconciling the parliament and realm to the pope, of the oration of cardinal Pole, the sermon of bishop Gardiner, and other proceedings connected with that transaction, see Fox's *Acts*, p. 1341—5. We shall only claim a space to record the name of the one individual who had honesty and courage to protest against this precipitate and degrading submission. "Nov. 28 (1554), the parliament, by an instrument, declared their sorrow for their apostacy, and prayed the king and queen to intercede with the cardinal to obtain his absolution; and they all kneeled down and received it. Yet one, *Sir Ralph Bagnal*, refused to consent to this submission and said, 'He was sworn to the contrary to king Henry VIII. which was a worthy prince, and laboured twenty-five years before he could abolish him: And to say I will agree to it, I will not.' And many more were of the same mind, but none had the confidence to speake but he." Strype's *Eccles. Memor.*, vol. iii. p. 204.

"Yea," saide hee, "and Tonsall bishop of Duresme, and Heath bishop of Worcester, if thou hadst said so in his daies (and they nodded the head at me, with a laughter) thou hadst not beene alive now."

Which thing I denied, and would have told how he was said and meant' to be supream head. But they looked and laughed one upon another, and made such a businesse, that I was constrained to let it passe. There lieth also no great waight thereupon: for all the world knoweth what the meaning was. The lord chancellor also said to the lord William Howard, that there was no inconvenience therein, to have Christ to bee supream head and the bishop of Rome also: and when I was readie to have answered that there could not be two heads of one church, and to have more plainly declared the vanitie of that his reason, the lord chancellor said; "what sayest thou? make us a direct answer, whether thou wilt be one of this catholike church, or not, with us in that state in which we are now?"

Rog. "My lord, without faile, I cannot beleeve that ye your selves doe thinke in your harts that he is supream head in forgiving of sinne, &c. (as is before said) seeing you, and all the bishops of the realme have now twenty yeares long^a preached,

^a *Said and meant.*] "Where we attribute to the king's majesty the chief government, by which titles we understand the minds of some alanderous folks to be offended, we give not to our princes the ministering either of God's word, or of the sacraments, the which thing the injunctions also lately set forth by Elizabeth our queen do most plainly testify; but that only prerogative, which we see to have been given always to godly princes in holy scriptures by God himself; that is, that they should rule all estates and degrees committed to their charge by God, whether they be ecclesiastical or temporal, and restrain with the civil sword the stubborn and evil doers." Art. XXXVII. of the Church of England. The injunctions of queen Elizabeth, A.D. 1559, may be found in bishop Sparrow's *Collection of Articles*, &c., in Wilkins's *Concilia*, vol. iv. &c. On the subject of the regal supremacy, see Bilson's *True Difference*, part iii. p. 293, &c.

^a *Twenty yeares long.*] The self-contradiction of Gardiner, Bonner, &c., as well as the tergiversation and apostasy of the whole parliament, and of very many of the clergy, was often insisted upon, at this time, and afterwards: as it is with great effect by dean Nowell, in his *Reproof of Dorman's Disproof*, in the following extract.

"Ask of them, saith M. Dorman, with what face they could call king Henry VIII. so many years supreme head of the church of England? &c. as though the man had so proved the contrary, that none durst shew his face to gainsay him, whereas all he hath said is not worth a rush. Aske of them, saith he,

and some of you also written to the contrarie, and the parliament hath so long agoe condescended unto it." And there hee interrupted me thus.

with what face. Nay, aske of your forsworne fathers, the olde papistes, (for some of them are yet living who gave him the title first,) with what face they did geve it him, did sweare it to him," (see Bonner's case, in the *Life of Cromwell*, p. 295. 6, above), "and so longe time continued so calling him. If they did not so thinke as they said, and had sworne but dissembled deeply, ask of them *with what face* they plaid so false dissembling hypocrites with so noble a prince, their soveraigne lorde. Ask of them what manner of subjects they were all the while, feigning in face, in countenance, in word and writynge also, yea and taking a solemne oathe to be with their prince therein; and being in hearte and deede, on the pope, his sworne enemies side:—whiche passeth havyng of *two faces under one hooode*.

"But if they thoughte in *deede*, as they pretended in *wordes*,—then aske of theym, *with what face* they dyd change; theyn copie, and forswear the same and themselves withal, so easelie afterwarde: yea and compelled all other to be forsworne with them for companie?

"If it will please you to resort to the recordes of the xxiid. and xxivth. yeres of king Henrie VIII., there shall you finde *who* they were, that *first* offered this title to the saide kinge: there shall you finde that all abbottes, and other religious, all the bishoppes, deanes, archdeacons, and cleargie of both the houses of the convocation, then livinge, gave him that title: amongst whom, if you find one protestante, I can for him find one score of papistes, to speake with the least, and peradventure one hundreth too. And those protestantes, who gave him that title, dealed simplie and plainlie with their prince, as becomed true subjectes, as the sequele declared. But there shall you finde an huge nombre of papistes, who by their *writing*, not *saying* onely; by their *othe* not *worde* onely, resided all that false usurped supremacie of the pope, which you and they, as many of them as be yet livinge, without all face, or with a shamelesse face, do nowe maintaine. There shall you find *who* gave to king Henrie the supremacie over the cleargie, as well as the laitie, within his owne dominions. There shall you finde *who* they were that chaunged their copie, and turned with the winde, as the wethercocke. There shall you finde *who* they were, that so falsely sware, re-sware, tri-sware, forsware themselves; and not content therewith, did so cruelly by all most terrible torments, and dreadefull deathes, compell others to perjury with them.

"Seeinge therefore thus standeth the case, *with what face* soever M. Dorman moveth such demaundes, and vexeth us with such leude questions, surely he doth it without all forehead or shamefacedness." Fol. 116. A.D. 1565. 4to.

"Blessed be God agayne and agayne," says bishop Ridley in a letter to Bradford, both being in prison, "whiche gave you so goode a mynde and remembrance of your othe once made against the bishop of Rome, least you should be partaker of the common perjury, which all men almost are now *into*, in bringing in againe that wycked usurped power of hys. Whiche made according to the prophete, in judgement, in ryghteousness, and in

L. Chan. "Tush, that parliament was with most great cruelty constrained to abolish and put away the primacie from the bishop of Rome."

Rog. "With crueltie? why then I perceive that you take a wrong way with crueltie to perswade mens consciences. For it should appeare by your dooings now, that the crueltie then used hath not perswaded your consciences. How would you then have our consciences perswaded with crueltie?"

L. Chan. "I talke to thee of no crueltie, but that they were so often and so cruelly called upon in that parliament, to let the acte goe forward, yea and even with force driven thereunto; whereas in this parliament it was so uniformly received, as is aforesaid."

Here my lord Paget⁹ told me more plainly, what my lord chancellor meant. Unto whom I answered; "My lord what will yee conclude thereby; that the first parliament was of lesse authoritie, because but few condescended unto it! and this last parliament of great authoritie, because more condescended unto it! It goeth not, my lord, by the more or lesser part, but by the wiser, truer, and godlier part:" and I would have said more, but the lord chancellor interrupted mee with his question, willing me once againe to answere him. "For," said hee, "wee have moe to speake with than thou, which must come in after thee." And so there were indeed ten persons moe out of Newgate, besides two that were not called. Of which ten, one was a citizen of London, which granted unto them; and nine of the contrary, which all came to prison againe, and refused the cardinals blessing, and the authoritie of his holy fathers church, saving that one of these nine was not asked the question otherwise than thus, whether he would be an honest man as his father was before him: and answering "yea," he was so discharged by the friendship of my lord William Howard (as I have understood).—He bade me tell him what I would doe: whether I would enter

truth; and therefore cannot without perjury be revoked; let Satan roare, and rage, and practise all the cruelty he can." *Letters of the Martyrs*, p. 65, 6. 4to. A.D. 1564. This letter was written immediately after Ridley had perused the narrative of Bradford's examinations before Gardiner and other commissioners, and in the course of which Bradford had several times reminded the bishop of his book *De vera obedientia*, and his oath against the pope's supremacy.

⁹ Paget.] William, first lord Paget.

true teaching churches of all times, and all ages. But how should the bishoppe of Romes church be one of them, which teacheth so many doctrines that are plainly and directly against the word of God? Can that bishop be the true head of the catholicke church that doth so? that is not possible."

L. Chan. "Shew me one of them, one, let me heare one."

Rog. "I remembered my self, that amongst so many, I were best to shew one, and said 'I will shew you one.'"

L. Chan. "Let me heare that, let me heare that."

Rog. "The bishop of Rome and his church say, read, and sing, all that they doe in their congregations, in Latine¹, which is directly and plainly against the first to the Corinthians, the 14. chapter."

L. Chan. "I denie that, I denie, that that is against the word of God. Let me see you proove that, how proove you that?"

Rog. Thus I began to say the text from the beginning of the chapter, *Qui loquitur lingua, &c.* to speake with tongue, said I, is to speake with a strange tongue; as Latine or Greeke, &c. and so to speake, is not to speake unto men, but to God. But ye speake in Latin, which is a strange tongue, wherefore yee speake not unto men, but unto God (meaning God only at the most). This he granted, that they spake not unto men but unto God.

Rog. "Well, then it is in vaine unto men."

L. Chan. "No, not in vaine. For one man speaketh in one tongue, and another in another tongue, and all well."

Rog. "Naie, I will proove then, that he speaketh neither to God nor to man, but unto the winde."

I was willing to have declared how and after what sort these two texts doe agree (for they must agree, they bee both the sayings of the Holy Ghost, spoken by the apostle Paule) as to wit, to speake not to men, but unto God, and to speake unto the winde: and so to have gone forward with the proove of my matter begun, but here rose a noise and a confusion. Then saide the lord chancellor,

"To speak unto God, and not unto God, were impossible."

Rog. "I will proove them possible."

¹ *In Latine.*] See Art. XXIV. of the Church of England, "Of speaking in the congregation in such a tongue as the people understandeth."

"No," said my lord William Howard² to my lord chancellor; "now will I beare you witnes, that he is out of the way. For he granted first, that they which spake in a strange speech, spake unto God: and now he saith the contrarie, that they speak neither to God, nor to man."

Rog. "I have not granted or said" (turning mee to my lord Howard) "as ye report. I have alledged the one text, and now I am come to the other. They must agree, and I can make them to agree. But as for you, you understand not the matter."

L. Howard. "I understand so much that that is not possible." "This is a point of sophistrie," quoth secretarie Bourne.

Then the lord chancellor began to tell the lord Howard, that when he was in high Dutchland they at Hale, which had before praied and used their service all in Dutch, began then to turne part into Latin, and part into Dutch.

Worcester. "Yea and at Wittenburge too."

Rog. "Yea," (but I could not be heard for the noise) "in an universitie³, where men for the most part understand the Latine; and yet not all in Latine." And I would have tolde the order and have gone forward both to have answered my lord, and to have proved the thing that I had taken in hand: but perceiving their talking and noise to be too noisome, I was faine to thinke this in my hart (suffering them in the meane while to talke one of them one thing and another another), Alas, neither will these men heare me if I speake, neither yet will they suffer mee to write. There is no remedie but let them alone, and committe the matter to God. Yet I began to goe forward, and said that I would make the texts to agree, and to proove my purpose wel enough.

L. Chan. "No, no, thou canst proove nothing by the scripture. The scripture is dead⁴: it must have a lively expositor."

² *William Howard.*] The first lord Howard of Effingham, and lord high admiral, a son of Thomas, second duke of Norfolk.

³ *An universitie.*] So, by the acts of uniformity, in the Church of England, it is permitted to the universities of Oxford and Cambridge (2 and 3 Edw. VI. cap. 1. § 6.) to use common prayer in their college chapels in the Hebrew, Greek, or Latin languages: but in the act 13 and 14 Car. II. cap. 4. § 18. this is restricted to the Latin only.

⁴ *The scripture is dead.*] "M. Dornan hath most untruly charged us as allies to Suenkfeldius, who do moste abhorre, and are moste farre from him, and his vyle heresies. Let me see therefore, whether, as I have shewed a

Rog. "No, the scripture is alive.—But let me go forward with my purpose."

very likeness and conformitie to be between Suenkfeldius and the papistes, in the laste point, so I cannot proove the like conformitie between them and him likewise in all other poyntes by M. Dorman here specified.

"*Suenkfeldius* (saith M. Dorman) *holdeth this most abhominable heresie, that we ought to banish utterly from amongst us all scriptures.*

"Doo not the papistes themselves, forbidding the Scriptures to be readde of the laitie, keepyng the Scriptures in an unknowen tongue, burning the Scriptures written in knowen language, goe as neare to this most abhominable heresie of Suenkfeldius, as wee are most farre from the same; who do judge and teache, that all men of all sortes ought with diligence to reade or heare the Scriptures?"

"Again" (according to Dorman), "*thou must not be perfecte in the Scriptures, saith the heretike Suenkfeldius. The Scripture is not God's word, but dead letters; and no more accompte to be made of them, than of any other creatures, amongst the whiche they are to be rekened.*

"Thou must not be perfecte in the Scriptures, say these false papistes to all lay men. It is ignorance that is the mother of devotion. It sufficeth a lay man to have *fidem implicitam*, an implicate faith, yea so implicate that the most parte of such men under poperie can no more explicate what they beleve than can a popenjay. Yea, and popenjay-like, both rehearsing that their implicate faith, and praying in a strange language, they can no more tell what they say than doth the popenjay, whiche biddeth her dame, 'Good night, mistress,' at midde day.

"And the papistes speake of the Holy Scriptures, not only as unreverently and abominably as ever did Swenkfield, but do farre passe him in all outrage, calling the Scriptures most contumeliously and blasphemously, *a nose of wax*: and affirming it to be but an uncertaine thyng, and like a rule of leade applicable to every wicked sentence, and to all purposes, except it have the popes direction as a most certein infallible rule, will reherse the very wordes of that blasphemous beast. I mean Pighius, in his *Hierarchie*, or defense of the pope's supremacie, written in our time. . . . Pighius's wordes are these: '*Sunt scripturæ, ut non minus vere quam festive dixit quidam, velut nasus cereus, qui se horsum, illorsum, et in quam volueris partem, trahi, retrahi pingique facile permittit; et tanquam plumbea quædam Lesbæ ædificationis regula quam non sit difficile accommodare ad quidvis volueris. Et rursum, supra indicavimus scripturas facile trahi quocunque; et velut plumbeam quandam regulam haud difficulter applicari impiæ cuiusvis sententiæ,*' &c.—These are his very wordes; which in English are thus much: 'The Scriptures, as one no less truly than pleasantly sayd, are like a nose of wax, whiche will suffer itselfe easely to be drawn, countredrawn, and framed, which way ye list; and as a certeine rule of leade of the Lesbian buildyng, the whiche it is not hard to applie whereto ye will.'—And agayne the same Pighius, in another place, saith, 'We have shewed before, that the Scriptures may easely be drawn every way, and like a certein leaden rule, may without difficultie be applied to every wicked sentence.'

"Thus

Wor. "All heretikes have alledged the scriptures for them, and therefore we must have a lively expositor for them."

Rog. "Yea, all heretikes have alledged the scriptures for them: but they were confuted by the scriptures, and by none other expositor."

Wor. "But they would not confesse that they were overcome by the scriptures, I am sure of that."

Rog. "I believe that: and yet were they overcome by them, and in all counceils they were disputed with and overthrowne by the scriptures." And here I would have declared how they ought to proceed in these dayes, and so would have come againe to my purpose, but it was impossible: for one asked one thing, another said another, so that I was faine to hold my peace, and let them talke. And even when I would have taken holde on my prooffe, the lord chauncellor bade, to prison with me againe, and "away, away," saide he, "we have more to talke withall: if I would not be reformed" (so he tearmed it) "away, away." Then up I stood, for I had kneeled all the while.

Then sir Richard Southwyll, who stood by in a window, said to me: "thou wilt not burne in this geare, when it commeth to the purpose, I know well that."

Rog. "Sir, I cannot tell, but I trust to my Lord God yes;" lifting up mine eyes unto heaven.

Then my lord of Ely^a told me much of the queens majesties pleasure and meaning, and set it out with large wordes, saying that shee tooke them that would not receive the bishop of Romes supremacie, to be unworthy to have her mercie.

I sayde, I would not refuse her mercie, and yet I never offended her in all my life: and that I besought her grace and all their honours to bee good to mee, reserving my conscience.

Diverse speak at once. "No!" quoth they then, a great sort of them, and especially secretarie Bourne, "a married priest, and have not offended the law?"

I said, I had not broken the queens law, nor yet any point of

"Thus farre Pighius, speakyng it twyse or thrice, as they say, as is meete for so woorthy a matter. . . ."

"Wherefore the papistes are more horribly blasphemous, than ever was Suenkfeldius."—Nowell's *Reproof of Dorman's Disproof*, fol. 56, 7. A.D. 1565. 4to.

Compare Jewell's *Apology of the Church of England*, in *Christian Institutes*, vol. iv. p. 331—3

^a Ely.] Thomas Thirlby, who had been bishop of Westminster, and afterwards of Norwich.

the law of the realme therein. For I married where it was lawfull.

Divers at once. "Where was that?" sayde they, thinking that to be unlawfull in all places.

Rog. "In Dutchland. And if yee hadde not heere in England made an open lawe⁶ that priests might have hadde wives, I would never have come home againe. For I brought a wife and eight children with me : which thing ye might be sure that I would not have done, if the lawes of the realm had not permitted it before."

Then there was a great noise, some saying that I was come too soone with such a sort ; I should find a souer comming of it : and some one thing, and some another. And one saide (I could not well perceive who) that there was never a catholicke man or cuntry, that ever granted that a priest might have a wife.

Rog. "I saide the catholicke church never denied mariage to priests⁷, nor yet to any other men ;" and therewith was I

⁶ *An open lawe.*] The cruel hardships, and the barbarous wrong involved at this time in the case of the married clergy, is concisely, but strikingly exhibited in a couple of sentences, which I shall borrow from the Preface prefixed to Cranmer's *Defensio vera et catholica doctrinae de sacramento corporis et sanguinis Christi Servatoris nostri*, printed at Emden in 1557, and attributed to Sir John Cheke, then an exile for his religion.

"Postquam enim rerum potiunte Edvardo sexto, sæpe ac multum in communi ecclesiae Anglicanae concilio disputatum, tractatumque fuisset de tollendo sacerdotum coelibatu, obtinuit ea sententia, quæ, ut omnium ordinum suffragiis approbata erat, præceptum illud Romani Antichristi de non ducendis uxoribus, tanquam a spiritu erroris profectum, sacerdotibus abrogavit : quippe quod non modo verbo Dei, et Apostolorum doctrinae repugnaret, sed etiam tam veteris legis, quam primitivæ ecclesiæ exemplis, adversaretur. Cæterum, cum multi, hac ipse totius regni constitutione freti, uxores duxissent, et legitime procreatis inde liberis benedictionem propagationis consequuti essent, coacti fuere, eodem Edvardo sexto e vivis sublato, cum uxoribus suis divorcium facere, et liberos etiam suos abdicare.—Hic certe, aut nusquam alibi, miserrimam rerum faciem videre licebat, dum alii ex sacrificorum ordine hypocritæ, repudiatis uxoribus et ejectis e sua familia liberis, ad execratum Papismi vomitum redirent ; alii vero, retentis uxoribus et facultatibus suis, auti, et munere ecclesiastico exautorizati, exulare cogentur."

Of the probable numbers, actually deprived for being married, some important observations will be found in Anth. Harmer's [H. Wharton's] *Specimen of Errors, &c. in the History of the Reformation*, p. 137—9, 139, 40.

⁷ *Marriage to priests.*] The whole question of the marriage of priests, according to *Scripture, History, and Law*, will be found very ably examined, first, in a learned work, written by an anonymous lay-man, in the reign of

going out of the chamber, the sergeant which brought me thither, having me by the arme.

Then the bishop of Worcester turned his face towards me, and said that I wist not where that church was or is.

I sayd yes, that I could tell where it was; but therewith went the sergeant with me out of the doore.

This was the very true effect of all that was spoken unto me, and of all that I answered thereunto.

And here would I gladly make a more perfect answer to all the former objections, as also a due prooffe of that which I had taken in hand: but at this present I was informed that I shuld to morrow come to further answer. Wherefore I am compelled to leave out that which I would most gladly have done, desiring here the heartie and unfained helpe of the prayers of all Christes true members, the true impes of the true unfained catholicks church, that the Lord God of all consolation will now be my comfort, ayde, strength, buckler and shield: as also of all my brethren that are in the same case and distresse, that I and they all may despise all manner of threats and crueltie, and even the bitter burning fire and the dreadfull dart of death, and sticks like true soldiers to our deare and loving captaine Christ, our only redeemer and saviour, and also the only true head of the church, that dooth all in us all, which is the verie propertie of an head (and is a thing that all the bishops of Rome cannot doe); and that we doe not traitorously run out of his tents, or rather out of the plaine field from him, in the most jeopardie of the battell, but that we may persevere in the fight (if he will not otherwise deliver us) till we be most cruelly slaine of his enemies. For this I most heartily, and at this present, with weeping teares most instantly and earnestly desire and beseech you all to pray. And also if I die, to be good to my poore and most honest wife, being a poor straunger; and all my little soules, hers and my

queen Mary, and published in that of Elizabeth, under the superintendence of, and partly written by Parker, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, entitled, *A Defence of Priests marriages stablished by the imperial laws of the realm of England, against a Civilian, naming himself Thomas Martin, Doctor of the Civil Laws*; again, in Chemnitii *Examen Concilii Tridentini*, part iii. loc. 1 and 2. *De cœlibatu et virginitate*, and *De cœlibatu sacerdotum*, p. 626—731. edit. 1707: and in Henry Wharton's *Treatise of the celibacy of the clergy, wherein its rise and progress are historically considered*. 4to. 1688. See also Art. XXXII. of the Church of England, and the expositors, Hey, Burnet, &c.

children. Whome, with all the whole faithfull and true catholicke congregation of Christ, the Lord of life and death save, keepe, and defend, in all the troubles and assaults of this vaine world. and bring at the last to everlasting salvation, the true and sure inheritance of all crossed Christians, Amen, Amen.

The 27. day of January at night.

The second confession of John Rogers, made, and that should have beene made (if I might have beene heard), the 28. and 29. day of January 1555.

First being asked againe by the lord chancellor, whether I would come into one church with the bishops and whole realme, as now was concluded by parliament, (in the which all the realme was converted to the catholick church of Rome) and so receive his mercy before profered me, arising again with the whole realme, out of the schisme and errour in which we had long been, with recantation of my errors : I answered, that before I could not tell what his mercy meant, but now I understoode that it was a mercy of the antichristian church of Rome, which I utterly refused, and hat the rising which hee spake of, was a very fall into errour and false doctrine. Also that I had and would be able by Gods grace, to prove that all the doctrine which I had ever taught, was true and catholicke, and that by the scriptures, and the authority of the fathers that lived four hundred yeares after Christs death. He answered, that should not, might not, nor ought not to be granted me : for I was but a private man, and might not be heard against the determination of the whole realme. Should,

[*Might not be heard.*] This principle doubtless, in a proper sense, and under due limitations is unquestionable : and so therefore, in king James's time, in reference to the disputes which the puritans endeavoured to prolong after the Hampton Court conference, and therefore were eager to challenge the court divines to fresh disputation, the earl of Worcester said, with reason, in a letter to lord Cranborne, " matters being settled, debate every day cannot be permitted to satisfy private consciences by particular disputation." Lodge's *Illustrations of British History*, vol. iii. p. 266—7.) And Hooker as well asked, " Is it meet that, when publicly things are received, and have taken place, obedience thereunto should cease to be exacted, in case this or that private person, led with some probable conceit, should make open protestation, ' I Peter or John disallow them, and pronounce them naught.' " *Refuge*, chap. vi. § 6. No ! The truth must be told. Even in the case of evil and unjust laws the path of duty is clear. After all expedients have been

quoth hee, when a parliament hath concluded a thing, one, or any private person have authority to discusse, whether they had done right or wrong? No, that may not be.

I aunswered shortly, that all the lawes of men might not, neither could rule the word of God; but that they all must be discussed and judged thereby, and obey thereto; and my conscience, nor no christian mans could be satisfied with such lawes as disagreed from that worde: and so was willing to have said much more, but the lord chancellor began a long tale to very small purpose, concerning mine answer, to have defaced mee, that there was nothing in me wherefore I should be heard, but arrogancie, pride, and vaine glorie. I also granted mine ignorance to be greater than I could expresse, or then hee tooke it: but yet that I feared not by Gods assistance and strength, to be able by writing to perform my word; neither was I (I thanked God) so utterly ignorant as he would make me; but all was of God to whom be thanks rendred therefore! Proud man was I never, nor yet vaine glorious. All the world knew well, where and on which side pride, arrogancie, and vain-glorie was. It was a poore pride that was or is in us, God it knoweth.

Then said he, that I at the first dash condemned the queene and the whole realme, to be of the church of antichrist; and burdened mee highly therewithall. I answered that the queenes majestie (God save her grace) would have done well enough, if it had not beene for his counsell. He said, the queene went before him, and it was her owne motion. I said, without faile I neither could, nor I would ever beleieve it.

tried which the constitution of the country and its laws will allow; such as are, in our own, the exercise of the right of petition, which is as inherent in the subject as that of legislation is in the king and his great council; such again, as is the freedom of speech, and the liberty of the press so far as is consistent with law,—then, thus much having been tried—for the rest,—if these shall prove ineffectual,—*the laws must be obeyed*. Or, if we do not obey, then we must have made up our mind to abide the consequences; temporal punishment, namely, here; and a strict enquiry into our motives and conduct hereafter.

Rogers and his fellows were well aware of the alternative. They were no novices. They had counted the cost; and, this being so, they went to the stake in sure and certain hope of better things beyond the grave; and not without the cheering consolation, springing from the very depth of their own sufferings and wrong, that so would be wrought out, through God's mercy, a redemption and deliverance for those (the afflicted church of God), whom they left behind.

Then said doctor Aldrise^o the bishop of Carlile, that they the bishops would beare him witnessse. Yea, quoth I, that I beleeeve well; and with that the people laughed: for that day there were many; but on the morrow they bade keep the doores shut, and would let none in, but the bishops adherentes and servants in manner; yea and the first day the thousandth man came not in. Then maister controller and secretary Bourne would have stood also to beare witnessse, and did.

I said it was no great matter: and to say the truth, I thought that they were good helpers thereto themselves: but I ceased to say any more therein, knowing that they were too strong and mighty of power, and that they should bee beleevd before mee, even and before our Saviour Christ, and all his prophets and apostles too, in these daies.

Then after many wordes hee asked mee what I thought concerning the blessed sacrament, and stood up and put off his cap¹,

^o Aldrise.] Robert Aldrich, provost of Eton.

¹ Put off his cap.] This action of Gardiner and his fellow bishops, was in token of their reverence and devotion to the supposed bodily presence of Christ in the consecrated elements of the eucharist. We learn a little below, from the course of these examinations of Rogers, that this was a ceremonial only omitted by Gardiner; who, doubtless, from his controversy with archbishop Cranmer, regarded himself as an eminent champion of the doctrine of transubstantiation. The reader may not be displeased to see a further exemplification of this species of devotion, in the persons of two very distinguished characters of those times, the pope of Rome, Paul III., and the pope-like king of England, Henry VIII. The first extract is taken from a description of a recession of the pope, cardinals, and other ecclesiastics to St. Peter's on Christmas day in the year 1547, of which the narrator was an eye-witness.

"Then came the double crosse, the sworde and the imperiall hatte, and after that the cardinals by two and two, and betweene every two a great route of gentlemen. Then came the ambassadors, and next them *the bishop hymselfe*, leasyng all the waie, and carried in his chayre by eight men clothed in long robes of skarlet. And on either side of him wente his guardes makinge rome, and crying *abasso, abasso*: for they that will not willingly kneele, shall be made kneele by force. And I thynke verily the foremost of this ordre was instant from the hindermost more than a quarter of a myle.

"Thus when he came into the midst of the church, against the sacrament [the altar, *he turned himselfe towards it, and bowyng his head a little, seemed to make a certaine familiare reverence.*

"Then was he carried into the chapell, brought behind the altar, for the altar standeth in the midst open every waie, and there in a throne of wonderful majestie was set up as a god." *History of Italy* by William Thomas, vol. 38. A.D. 1549.

all the ~~other~~ bishops (of which there were a great sort new
~~men~~ ~~in~~ ~~which~~ I knew few) whether I beleevied in the sacrament
 of the very body and bloud of our Saviour Christ that was
 borne of the virgin Mary, and hanged on the crosse, really and
 substantially.

I answered, I had often tolde him that it was a matter in which
 I was no medler, and therefore suspected of my brethren to bee
 of a contrary opinion. Notwithstanding, even as the most part
 of your doctrine in other pointes is false, and the defence thereof
 only by force and cruelty: so in this matter I thinke it to be as

In the examination of John Lambert in the year 1538, in which disputation
 Henry himself bore an active part, Lambert being abashed at the mo-
 narch's angry words, makes a short pause, upon which we are told "the king
 being hasty, with anger and vehemencie said, why standest thou still?
 Answer, As touching the sacrament of the autler, whether dost thou say,
 that it is the bodie of Christ, or wilt thou denie it? And with that the king
 lifted up his cap.

"Lambert. I answered with St. Augustine, that it is the bodie of Christ,
 after a certaine manner." Fox's *Acts*, p. 1025. The next extract applies to
 the examination of Dr. Robert Barnes in the following year (1539), soon after
 which he was burnt for heresy: the account is from the pen of bishop Gar-
 diner. "And one notable thing was done, in the hearing of that matter by
 the kynges majestie, when Barnes offered to yield to his highness in his opi-
 nion. The kynges grace sytting secretly in his closet, and having with him
 the late erle of Southampton (whose soul God pardon!), the mayster of the
 houre that now is, Me, Barnes, mayster Doctour Cockes, and Doctour Robin-
 son: the kynges highness, at that offere of Barnes, sayd, 'I am (quoth his
 majestie) a mortall man;' and therewith rysynge and turning to the sacra-
 ment, and putting off his bonet sayde; 'Yonder is the maister of us all, author of
 truth, yield in truth to hym, and I shall' (sayeth the kynges majestie) 'defende
 that trueth. And otherwyse Barnes,' (quoth the kyngs majestie) 'yield not to
 me' . . . But to the purpose I tell this storye for." *Declaration of Articles
 against George Joye*, fol. 7. 4to.

This homage, as might be expected, did not pass without animadversions
 from the protestants.

"The lady Jane (Gray), she whom the lord Guilford married, being on a
 time when she was very young at New-hall in Essex at the lady Maries"
 (afterwards queen Mary), "was by one lady Anne Wharton desired to walke;
 and they passing by the chappell, the lady Wharton made low curtsie to the
 pyquish sacrament hanging on the alter. Which when the lady Jane saw, she
 marvelled, why she did so; and asked her whether the lady Mary were there
 or not. Unto whom the lady Wharton answered no, but she said 'that she
 would her curtsay to him that made us all.' 'Why,' quoth the lady Jane,
 'how can he be there that made us all, and the baker made him?' This
 answer coming to the lady Marie's eare, she did never love her after." Fox's
Acts, p. 1927.

false as the rest. For I cannot understand (really and substantially) to signifie otherwise than corporally : but corporally Christ is onely in heaven, and so cannot Christ bee corporally also in your sacrament. And here I somewhat set out his charitie after this sort : My lord, quoth I, ye have dealt with mee most cruelly. For ye have set me in prison without law, and kept mee there now almost a yeare and a halfe. For I was almost halfe a yeare in my house, where I was obedient to you, God knoweth, and spake with no man. And now have I beene a full yeare in Newgate at great costs and charges, having a wife and ten children to feede ; and I had never a penie of my livings : which was against the lawe.

He aunswered, that doctor Ridley which had given them mee, was an usurper, and therefore I was the unjust possessor of them.

Was the king then an usurper, quoth I, which gave doctor Ridley the bishopricke ?

" Yea," quoth he, and began to set out the wrongs that the king had done to the bishop of London, and to himselfe also. " But yet I do misuse my tearmes," quoth hee, " to call the king usurper." But the word was gone out of the abundance of the heart before ; and I thinke that he was not verie sorie for it in heart. I might have said more concerning that matter, but I did not.

I asked him wherefore he set me in prison. He said, because I preached against the queene.

I answered that it was not true : and I would be bound to prove it, and to stand to the trial of the law, that no man should be able to prove it, and thereupon would set my life. I preached (quoth I) a sermon at the crosse, after the queene came to the Tower : but therein was nothing said against the queene, I take witnesse of all the audience : which was not small. I alleadged also that he had after examination let me goe at liberty, after the reaching of that sermon.

Yea, but thou didst reade thy lectures after, quoth he, against the commandemente of the councell.

That did I not, quoth I : let that be proved, and let me die for it. Thus have ye now against the lawe of God and man handled me, and never sent for me, never conferred with me, ever spoke of any learning, till now that yee have gotten a whip

to whip me with², and a sword to cut off my necke, if I not condescend to your minde. This charitie doth all the we understand.

I might and would have added, if I could have beene suffered speake, that it had beene time enough to take away mens livin and thereto to have prisoned them, after that they had offend lawes. For they bee good citizens that breake not lawes, & worthy of praise and not of punishment. But their purpose is keepe men in prison so long, untill they may catch them in th lawes, and so kill them. I could and would have added 1 example of Daniell, which by a craftily devised lawe was cast in the lions den. Item, I might have declared, that I most hum desired to be set at libertie, sending my wife to him with a supplication, being great with child, and with her eight how women, or thereabout, to Richmond, at Christmas was a twe month, whiles I was yet in my house.

Item, I wrote two supplications to him out of Newgate, & sent my wife many times to him. M. Gosnolde also that wor man, who is now departed in the Lord, laboured for me; & so did divers other worthy men also take paines in the matt. These things declare my l. chancellors antichristian charitie, wh is, that he hath and doth seeke my bloud, and the destruction my poore wife and my ten children.

This is a short summe of the wordes which were spoken in 28 day of January at afternoone, after that M. Hooper had b the first, and M. Cardmaker the second in examination bef me. The Lord grant us grace to stand together, fighting lawf in his cause, till we bee smitten downe together, if the Lords

² *A whip to whip me with.*] Rogers here alludes to the revival of the ancient statutes of Richard II. and Henry IVth and Vth against all heresy, of whose cruel operations we have already seen so much, and to the further provisions for the like purpose, which had been enacted in the course of that and some preceding months by the parliament; which having through its work of cruelty and degradation, had been then very recently solved. See Burnet's *History of the Reformation*, vol. ii. p. 275. Fox's *p.* 1446. 1461. 1560. We shall find, in the further progress of our history several other references to the same acts of parliament.

These statutes had severally been repealed under king Henry VIII. Hen. VIII. cap. 14) or king Edward VI., were now re-enacted by queen Mary; and at length were finally repealed, with all other former statutes relating to heresy, 1 Eliz. cap. 1. See Blackstone, vol. iv. b. iv. c. 4.

be so to permit it ! For there shall not a haire of our heads perish against his will, but with his will. Whereunto the same Lord grant us to bee obedient unto the end, and in the end ! Amen : Sweete, mighty, and mercifull Lord Jesus the son of David and of God : Amen, Amen, let every true christian say and pray !

Then the clocke being, as I gessed, about foure, the l. chancellor said, that he and the church must yet use charitie with mee, (what maner of charitie it is, all true christians doe well understand, as to wit, the same that the foxe doth with the chickens, and the wolfe with the lambes) and gave me respite till to morrow, to see whether I would remember my self well to morrow, and whether I would returne to the catholicke church (for so he calleth his antichristian false church) againe, and repent, and they would receive me to mercy.

I said that I was never out of the true catholicke church, nor would be : but into his church, would I, by Gods grace, never come.

Well, quoth he, then is our church false and antichristian ?

Yea, quoth I.

And what is the doctrine of the sacrament ?

False, quoth I, and cast my hands abroad.

Then said one, that I was a plaier. To whom I answered not : for I passed not upon his mocke.

Come againe, quoth the lord chancellor, to morrowe betweene nine and ten.

I am ready to come againe, when soever ye call, quoth I.

And thus was I brought up by the sheriffes to the counter in Southwarke, maister Hooper going before mee, and a great multitude of people beeing present, so that we had much to doe to goe in the streets.

Thus much was done the 28 day of January.

The second day, which was the 29 of January, we were sent for in the morning about nine of the clocke, and by the sheriffes fetched from the counter in Southwarke, to the church againe, as to wit, to S. Mary Overies, where we were the day before in the afternoone, as is said. And when maister Hooper was condemned, as I understood afterward, then sent they for me. When my lord chancellor said unto me :

“ Rogers,” quoth hee, “ here thou wast yesterday, and we gave

thee libertie to remember thy selfe this night. whether thou wouldest come to the holy catholicke church of Christ againe or not. Tell us nowe what thou hast determined. whether thou wilt be repentant and sory, and wilt return againe and take mercy."

"My lord," quoth I, "I have remembered my selfe right well, what you yesterday laid for you, and desire you to give me leave to declare my mind what I have to say thereunto. and that don I shall answere you to your demanded question.

"When I yesterday desired that I might bee suffered by the scripture and authoritie of the first, best, and purest church to defend my doctrine by writing (meaning not onely of the primacie, but also of all the doctrine that ever I had preached) ye answered mee that it might not, nor ought not to bee granted me. for I was a private person; and that the parliament was above the authoritie of all private persons, and therefore the sentence thereof might not bee found faulty and valurelesse by me being but a private person. And yet my lord, quoth I, I am able to shew examples, that one man hath come into a generall councell. and after the whole had determined and agreed upon an act or article, that some one man comming in afterward, hath by the worde of God declared so pithilie that the councell had erred in decreeing the said article, that hee caused the whole councell to change and alter their act or article before determined. And of these examples, said I, I am able to shew two. I can also shew the authoritie of S. Augustine, that when he disputed with an hereticke, he would neither himself, nor yet have the hereticke, to leane unto the determination of two former councels, of the which the one made for him, and the other for the hereticke that disputed against him: but said that hee would have the scriptures to be their judge, which were common and indifferent for them both. and not proper to either of them.

"Item, I could shew," said I, "the authoritie of a learned lawyer Panormitanus^a, which saith; *that unto a simple lay man, that bringeth the word of God with him, there ought more credite to be given, than to a whole councell gathered together.* By these things will I proove that I ought not to bee denied to say my minde, and

^a *Panormitanus.*] Niccolò Tedeschi, archbishop of Palermo, one of the canonists of the fifteenth century. His collected works were in 1617, in nine volumes, folio.

to be heard against a whole parliament, bringing the worde of God for mee, and the authoritie of the olde church four hundred yeares after Christ, albeit that every man in the parliament had willingly and without respect of feare and favour agreed thereunto (which thing I doubt not a little of,) specially seeing the like had bene permitted in that olde church, even in generall counceles, yea and that in one of the chieftest counceles that ever was, unto which neither any actes of this parliament, nor yet any of the late generall counceles of the bishops of Rome ought to be compared. For, said I, if Henrie the eight were alive, and should call a parliament, and begin to determine a thing (and heere I would have alledged the example of the act of making the queene a bastard, and of making himselfe the superiour head : but I could not, being interrupted of one ‘ whom God forgive) then will yee (pointing to my lord chancellor) and ye and ye, and so ye all (pointing to the rest of the bishops) say, Amen : yea, and it like your grace, it is meete that it be so enacted, &c.”

Heere my lord chancellor would suffer me to speake no more : but bade mee sit downe, mockingly, saying that I was sent for to be instructed of them, and I would take upon me to be their instructor.

“ My lord,” quoth I, “ I stand and sit not : shall I not be suffered to speake for my life ?”

“ Shall we suffer thee to tell a tale, and to prate,” quoth he ? and with that he stode up, and began to face me, after his old strogant proud fashion ; for hee perceived that I was in a way to have touched them somewhat, which he thought to hinder, by dashing me out of my tale ; and so hee did. For I could never be suffered to come to my tale againe, no not to one worde of it : but hee had much like communication with mee as he had the day before, and as his maner is, taunt upon taunt, and checke upon checke. For in that case, being Gods cause, I tolde him he should not make me afraid to speake.

L. chaun. “ See what a spirit this fellow hath,” said hee, finding fault at mine accustomed earnestnesse and heartie maner of speaking.

Rog. “ I have a true spirite,” quoth I, “ agreeing to and obeying the word of God ;” and would further have said, that I was never the worse, but the better, to be earnest in a just and true

‘ Interrupted of one.] This was Sir Anthony Brown. Fox.

when I was said to have denied
his wonted reverent mention,
thereby, than for the true rever-
ence for his owne and his popish gene-
rall (Gods sake) I told him after what
the maner of his speaking was not a
little before recited in the communicati-
on of Januarie) wherewith hee was not con-
tented the audience whether I had not simply den-
ied. He would have said, and did what hee lust
of his owne servants at that day;
At the last I said, I will never de-
ny that your doctrine of the sacrament is false
after what order I said it.

He then read my condemnation before me, I
affirmed therein but two articles, first that I affirmed
the church to bee the church of antichrist
denying the reality of their sacrament. He cursed
and condemned, and put into the hands of the
shrives hands, which were
ready to receive him.

*His condemnation here I thought to put
in the intent that the same being here once ex-*

gainst thee John Rogers priest, alias called Mathewe, before us personally here present, being accused and detected, and notoriously slandered of heresie; having heard, seene, and understood, and with all diligent deliberation waied, discussed, and considered the merites of the cause, all things beeing observed, which by us in this behalfe, in order of law ought to bee observed, sitting in our judgement seate, the name of Christ being first called upon, and having God onely before our eyes:—because by the acts enacted, propounded, and exhibited in this matter, and by thine own confession judicially made before us, wee doe inde that thou hast taught, holden, and affirmed, and obstinately defended divers errours, heresies, and damnable opinions contrary to the doctrine and determination of the holy church, as namely these; *That the catholicke church of Rome, is the church of antichrist: Item, that in the sacrament of the aulter, there is not substantially nor really the natural body and bloud of Christ.* The which aforesaid heresies, and damnable opinions being contrary to the law of God, and determination of the universall and apostolicall church, thou hast arrogantly, stubbornly, and wittingly maintained, helde, and affirmed, and also defended before us, as well in this judgement, as also otherwise; and with the like obstinacie, stubbornnesse, malice and blindness of heart, both wittingly and willingly hast affirmed, that thou wilt beleieve, maintaine and holde, affirme and declare the same: Wee therefore Stephen Winton bishop, ordinary and diocesan aforesaid, by the consent and assent as wel of our reverend brethren the lord bishops here present and assistant, as also by the counsell and judgement of divers worshipfull lawyers and professors of divinitie, with whom wee have communicated in this behalfe, doe declare and pronounce thee the said John Rogers, otherwise called Mathewe, through thy demerites, transgressions, obstinacies, and wilfulnesses (which thou manifold waies hast incurred by thine owne wicked and stubburne obstinacie) to have beene and to bee guilty in the detestable, horrible, and wicked offence of hereticall pravitie and execrable doctrine; and that thou hast before us sundry times spoken, maintained, and wittingly and stubbornly defended the said cursed and execrable doctrine in thy sundry confessions, assertions, and recognitions here judicially before us oftentimes repeated; and yet still doest maintaine, affirme and beleieve the same; and that thou hast beene and art lawfully and ordinarily convicted in this behalfe. Wee

therefore, I say, albeit following the example of Christ, *Which would not the death of a sinner, but rather that he should convert and live*, we have gone about oftentimes to correct thee, and by all lawfull meanes that wee could, and all wholesome admonitions that we did know, to reduce thee againe unto the true faith and unitie of the universall catholick church, notwithstanding have found thee obstinate and stifnecked, willingly continuing in thy damnable opinions and heresies, and refusing to returne againe unto the true faith and unitie of the holy mother church, and as the childe of wickednesse and darkenesse so to have hardened thy heart, that thou wilt not understand the voice of thy shepheard, which with a fatherly affection doth seeke after thee, nor wilt not be allured with his fatherly and godly admonitions:—we therefore Stephen the bishop aforesaid, not willing that thou which art wicked, shouldest now become more wicked, and infect the Lords flocke with thine heresie (which wee are greatly afraide of) with sorrowe of minde and bitterness of heart doe judge thee, and definitively condemne thee the said John Rogers, otherwise called Mathewe, thy demerites and defaults being aggravate through thy damnable obstinacie, as guiltie of most detestable heresies, and as an obstinate impenitent sinner, refusing penitently to returne to the lappe and unitie of the holy mother church; and that thou hast beene and art by lawe excommunicate, and doe pronounce and declare thee to bee an excommunicate person. Also wee pronounce and declare thee being an hereticke, to bee cast out from the church, and left unto the judgement of the secular power; and now presently so doe leave thee as an obstinate hereticke, and a person wrapped in the sentence of the great curse, to bee degraded worthily for thy demerites (requiring them notwithstanding^s in the bowels of our Lord Jesus Christ, that this execution and punishment worthily to be done upon thee, may so bee moderated, that the rigor thereof bee not too extreame, nor yet the gentlenesse too much

^s *Requiring them notwithstanding.*] “ S. Augustine, when the proconsul of Africa went further than that holy man liked in that kind of severity, professeth he had rather be himself slain by them, than by detecting the Donatists, be any cause they should undergo the punishment of death. From whence Baronius conceives it proceeds, that such as deliver an heretic to the secular power for execution, to this day effectually intercede he may not be punished with death. And yet as it were to mock God, and delude the world, if the lay authority having him in his power, shall defer the doing it more than

mitigated, but that it may bee to the salvation of thy soule, to the extirpation, terror, and conversion of the heretickes, to the unitie of the catholicke faith) by this your sentence definitive which we here lay upon, and against these, and doe with sorrowe of heart promulgate in this forme aforesaid."

After this sentence being read, hee sent us (M. Hooper, I meane, and me) to the Clinke, there to remaine till night: and when it was darke, they caried us, M. Hooper going before with the one shiriffe, and I comming after with the other, with billes and weapons enow, out of the Clinke, and led us thorough the bishops house, and so thorough Saint Mary Overies churchyard, and so into Southwarke, and over the bridge on procession to Newgate through the citie. But I must shew you this also, that when he had read the condemnation, he declared that I was in the great curse, and what a vengeable dangerous matter it were to eate and drinke with us that were accursed, or to give us any thing; for all that so did, should be partakers of the same great curse.

"Well my lord," quoth I, "heere I stand before God and you, and all this honourable audience, and take him to witnes, that I never wittingly or willingly taught any false doctrine: and therefore have I a good conscience before God and al good men. I am sure that you and I shal come before a judge that is righteous, before whom I shall be as good a man as you: and I nothing doubt but that I shall bee found there a true member of the true catholicke church of Christ and everlastingly saved. And as for your false church ye need not to excommunicate me

ordinary, it is the constant tenet of the canonists, relying on a bull of Alexander IV. (A.D. 1260) that he is to be compelled unto it by spiritual censures; yet may he not take any cognisance of the cause at all." *Twisden's Vindication*, p. 140.

"In the mean time they had prevailed upon the weakness of bigoted princes, to make the civil power subservient to their purposes, by making heresy not only a temporal, but even a capital offence: the Romish ecclesiastics determining without appeal, whatever they pleased, to be heresy, and shifting off to the secular arm the odium and drudgery of executions; with which they themselves were too tender and delicate to intermeddle. Nay they pretended to intercede and pray, on behalf of the convicted heretic, *ut citra mortis periculum sententia circa eum moderetur* (*Decretal.* l. 5. t. 40. c. 27); well knowing at the same time, that they were delivering the unhappy victim to certain death." *Blackstone's Commentaries on the Laws of England*, vol. iv. b. 4. c. 4.

JOHN ROGERS.

not beene in it these twenty yeares, the Lord
But now ye have done what yee can my
it me one thing."

he.

ing a stranger, may come and speake
For she hath ten children that are
I would counsell her what were

thy wife."

and hath beene these eighteen

to be thy wife?" quoth he.

whether yee will or not: she shall

quoth he.

"You have I tried out all your charitie," said I. "You
highly displeased with the matrimony of priestes,
open whoredome": as in Wales," quoth I,

[open whoredome.] "The people," says bishop Burnet, vol. ii. p. 85.

had been more prejudiced against the marriage of the clergy, if they had
not felt greater inconveniences by the debaucheries of priests, who being
restrained from marriage, had defiled the beds and deflowered the daughters
of their neighbours."

Henry Wharton, under his assumed name of Anth. Harmer, has very ably
stated this whole matter, in an animadversion upon the bishop, severe indeed,
but of great learning and value.

"As for adulteries and rapes, which the historian insists on, it is charitably
to be hoped, that they were not so frequent in the clergy before the reforma-
tion. But the greatest scandal arose by keeping women in their houses
under the name and notion of concubines, and being licensed by their seve-
ral bishops to do it; which abuse obtained generally, and was practised
openly throughout the whole western church before the reformation. Yet in
any case, to cover the faults of the clergy, and to excuse them when the
case admitteth any excuse, not only the respect due to the sacred order, but
common justice also requires. Had all these women, thus generally enter-
tained by the clergy, been no other than their concubines, it would indeed
have been inexcusable. But in truth they were for the most part their wives;
whom they married secretly, and kept under the name of concubines: since
the laws and canons then received, forbade them to marry openly, or to enter-
tain women under the name of wives. Thus the bishops very well knew; and
from time to time gave them licences to do it, and tolerated them in it; not
allowing them thereby to violate the *divine* laws of chastity, but only in secret
to neglect the *ecclesiastical* laws of celibacy. Now that this was the case of
the western clergy, we are assured by Alvarus Pelagius (*Planet. Eccles.* lib. 2.)

"where every priest hath his whore openly dwelling with him and lying by him: even as your holy father suffereth all the priests in Dutchland and in France to doe the like." Thereto he answered not, but looked as it were asquint at it: and thus I departed, and saw him last.

Other good matter there is beside penned by maister Rogers in the prison, which hee thought, and would have answered if hee might have beene permitted, as here under followeth to be seene by his own setting downe.

"Hitherto dearely beloved, ye have heard what was said: now heare what I purposed the night before to have said if I could have beene permitted. Two things I purposed to have touched. The one how it was lawfull for a private man to reason and write against a wicked act of parliament, or ungodly councill, which the lord chancellor the day before denied me. The other was to proove that prosperity was not alwaies a token of Gods

Commander, (*Consultat.* 23.) and others. And lest we should imagine the clergy of England in this practice to have acted, either with less wit or conscience than the clergy of other nations, we find several constitutions of our later provincial councils directed against the clandestine marriages of the clergy. These constitutions were made *for shew*: but were seldom or never executed. But the most express testimony herein, is given by archbishop Parker; who, publishing a large and accurate '*Defence of Priests' Marriages*,' written by an anonymous layman in the reign of queen Mary, hath towards the end of the book, in some copies of it, inserted ten sheets of his own composition, wherein he gives a full and learned history of the marriage and celibacy of the clergy of England, from the first reception of Christianity to the reformation. In this *History* (p. 329) he affirms the practice of the clergy in relation to concubines before mentioned, to have continued all along in England, concluding thus; 'And so they lived secretly with their friends, not openly vouched for wives, but in *affectu sororio, amore sororio, et fide conjugali*, as they use the termes. In which kynde of lyfe there be no small arguments, that some bishops, and the best of the clergy lyving within the memorie of man, dyd continue.' And in another place (p. 334); 'For, as many of the cleargie lyved in adulteries, and some in vices —; so had dyverse, whose consciences were better, and in knowledge more wise, yet secretly with wives, and provided for their children under the names of nephewes, and of other men's children. In which manner lyved Bonifacius, archbishop of Canterbury, and other bishopes of old dayes; but some also of late days dyd lyve, though all the world did not barke at the matter.'" *Specimen of Errors*, 1693. p. 78—80. See also Tyndal against More, *Works*, p. 261, 2; an important passage, very similar in its facts, &c. to the statements of archbishop Parker.

love. And this I purposed to speake of, because the lord chancellor boasted of himselfe that hee was delivered forth of prison, as it were by myracle, and preserved of God to restore true religion, and to punish me and such other, whom he tearmed heretickes. Concerning these two points, in this maner I purposed to have proceeded.

It is not unknowne to you that k. Henry the eight in his time made his daughter the queen that now is a bastard, he abolished the authority of the bishop of Rome, he pulled downe abbeies; and all this hee did by the consent of parliament.

King Edward the sixt in his time made lawfull the marriage of priestes, turned the service into English, abolished the idolatrous masse, with all like superstitious trumperie, set up the holy communion; and all by consent of parliament.

The queene that now is, hath repealed the acte that made her bastard, hath brought in the bishop of Rome, and set him in his olde authoritie, beginneth to set up abbeies againe, hath made the mariage of priests unlawfull, hath turned the English service into Latine againe, hath set up the masse againe with like baggage, and pulled downe the holy communion; and all this is done by consent of parliament.

If the acts of parliament made in k. Henries time and in k. Edwards, had their foundation upon Gods word, wherupon all positive lawe ought to be grounded, then these which are established in the queenes time, beeing cleane contrarie to the others, as they are not warranted by Gods worde, so are they wicked, and therefore to bee both spoken and written against of all men, as well of private as of publike persons.

If your actes, my lord chancellor, which you have lately coyned (I call them yours, because ye onely beare the swinge, devise, and decree what yee list, all other men are forced to follow) bee good, and according to Gods words, then the former acts were naught; which thing yee seeme to say, in utterly taking of them away, and setting up of the contrarie: if the former were naught, why then did ye consent unto them, and confirme them to be good by your voluntary and advised writing, as it appeareth, and will to the worlds ende, in your booke *de vera Obedientia*, where you proove the queene a bastard, and the bishop of Rome to be an usurper, and to have no authority in the realme of England?

Ye must needes confesse, that the most part of your actes of parliament in these latter daies, have beene according to the fan-

tasies of a few. King Henry in his time established by parliament in a maner what he listed, and many things that might well have beene amended.

In king Edwards daies, the dukes of Somerset and Northumberland bare a great stroke in things, and did not all things sincerely. Even so, since the queene that now is, came to the government of the realme, all things are ordered by your devise, and head, and the whole parliament house is led as you list ; by reason whereof they are compelled to condescend to things both contrarie to Gods manifest worde, and also contrarie to their owne consciences ; so great is your crueltie.

For to bring your wicked purposes to passe, and to establishe your antichristian kingdome (which I trust the Lord, with the breath of his mouth will speedily blowe over) yee have called three parliaments in one yeere and an halfe, that what you could not compass by subtile perswasion, yee might bring to passe by tyrannicall threatning ; for if ye had not used cruell force in your doings, yee had never brought to passe such things as this day yee have, to the utter defacing and abolishing of Gods true religion, and to the casting away and destruction of your naturall countrey, so much as in you lieth.

And it is most true that as acts of parliament have in these latter daies beene ruled by the fantasies of a few, and the whole parliament house, contrarie to their minds, was compelled to consent to such things as a few have conceived : so it must needs bee graunted that the papists at all times were most ready to apply themselves to the present world, and like men pleasers to follow the fantasies of such as were in authoritie, and turne with the estate, which way soever it turned. Yea, if the estate should change tenne times in one yeare, they would ever bee readie at hand to change with it, and so follow the cry, and rather utterly to forsake God, and be of no religion, then that they would forgoe lust or living, for God or for religion.

King Henry by parliament, according to Gods worde, put downe the Pope : the clergie consented, and all men openly by othe refused his usurped supremacy, knowing by Gods word CHRIST to bee head of the church, and every king in his realme to have under and next unto Christ, the chiefe soveraigntie.

King Edward also by parliament, according to God's word, set the marriage of priests at liberty, abolished the popish and idolatrous masse, changed the Latine service, and set up the holy

communion : the whole clergie consented' hereunto : many of them set it forth by their preaching : and all they by practising confirmed the same.

' *The whole clergie consented.*] Compare *Christian Institutes*, vol. iv. p. 340, 1, and 351, 2, with n.

With respect to the particular question of the marriage of the clergy, we possess an account of the proceedings of convocation, of very high authority, being from archbishop Parker himself, and of the more value, because the official records of the convocation are not extant.

" These matters aforesayde," says he, " with many others being well and advisedly pondered by that noble prince king Edward, his nobles, and cleargie, somewhat to stave the foule abuse whiche so long tyme without remedie had been used in that state of the realme which should by duties expresse, for example, most puritie of life; he thoughte it good to remove the force of such forayne lawes which compelled to this daungerous state of lyfe; his cleargie meeting in synode together, and after debatesments concludynge.

" If ye lyst to understand what was done and subscribed unto, ye shall heare what the lower house dyd affirme in this case of continencie . . . to whose consciences was this proposition propounded, eyther to be freely affirmed, or to be freely denied by them : videt ;

" That all such canons, lawes, statutes, decrees, usages, and customes heretofore made, had, or used, that forbyd any person to contracte matrimonie, or condempne matrimony by any person alredie contracted for any vowe of priesthood, chastitie, or widowhood, that from henceforth be utterly voyde and of none effect.

" The *affirmantes* of this proposition, were almost treble so many as were the *negantes*. Amongst which *affirmantes* divers were then unmarried, and never dyd afterward take the libertie of maryage : as doctor Tailor the bishop, doctor Benson, doctor Redman, doctor Hugh Weston, maister Wotton, &c. Of them that denied it, notwithstanding their superscriptions to the contrary, as few as they were, yet some of them toke upon them the libertie of mariage not long after; as doctor Oken, maister Rayner, maister Wilson.

" Nowe yf any man may fortune to doubt of the judgement of that notable learned man, and commonly reputed of grave judgement, I mean doctor Redmayn, doctor of divinitie, he shall heare his very judgement, which he uttered in the self same convocation, written in a paper severally by his owne hande, yet extant to be shewed, and subscribed with his owne name. And thus he saith :

" ' I thynke that although the worde of God do exhort and counsell priestes to lyve in chastitie, out of the cumber of the flesh and of the world, that thereby they may more wholly attende to theyr calling: yet the bande of conteynynge from mariage, doth only lye upon priestes of this realme, by reason of canons and constitutions of the church, and not by any precept of Gods worde: as in that they should be bound by reason of any vowe,

Notwithstanding, now when the state is altered, and the lawes changed, the papisticall clergie with other like worldlinges, as men neither fearing God, neither flying worldly shame, neither yet regarding their consciences, othes, or honesty, like wavering weather-cockes, turne round about, and putting on harlots fore-heads, sing a new song, and cry with an impudent mouth; "Come againe, come againe to the catholicke church," meaning the antichristian church of Rome, which is the synagogue of Sathan, and the very sinke of all superstition, heresie, and idolatry.

Of what force I pray you may a man thinke these parliaments to be, which scantly can stand a yeare in strength? Or, what credite is to bee given to these law makers, which are not ashamed to establish contrary lawes, and to condemne that for evill, which before (the thing in it selfe and the circumstances remaining all one) they affirmed, and decreed to be good. Truly, ye are so ready, contrarie to all right, to change and turne for the pleasure of man, that at length I feare, God will use you like changelings, and both turne you forth of his kingdom, and out of your owne countrey.

Ye charge the gospell preachers with the undoing of this realme: nay it is the turning papists, which have not only set a sale their countrey like traitours, but also troubled the simple people, so that they cannot tell what they may beleewe. For that which they affirmed, and preached to bee true doctrine in king Edwards daies, now they cry against it, as it were most

which, in as farre as any conscience is, priestes in this church of Englande do not make. I thynke, that it standeth well with Gods worde, that a man which hath bene and is but once maryed, beyng otherwise accordingly qualified, may be made a prieste.

"And I thynke, that forasmuch as canons and rules, made in this behalfe, be neither universall, nor everlasting, but upon considerations may be altered and chaunged; therefore the kynges majestie and the hygher powers of the church, may upon such reasons as shall move them take away the clogge of perpetual continencie from priestes, and graunt that it may be lawful to such as can not or will not contayne, to marye one wyfe And yf she die, then the sayde priest to mary no more, remanyng styll in his ministration.

" 'JOHN REDMAYN.'

"Thus this learned man, in such credit universally in decyding questions of conscience, doth in a great sort of respectes condemne the universal tract of the bolde assertions inspered through Dr. Martins whole booke." *Defence of Priests' Marriages*, p. 351—3.

abhorrible heresie. This fault I trust ye shall never find at our hands.

Therefore, to conclude that which I purposed, forsoomuch as the actes of parliament of these latter times are one contrarie to another, and those which yee now have established in your times, are contrarie to Gods most manifest worde, as is the usurped supreamacie of the bishop of Rome, the idolatrous masse, the Latine service, the prohibiting of lawfull marriage * (which Sainte Paul calleth the doctrine of divels) with many such other : I say it is not onely lawfull for any private man, which bringeth Gods word for him, and the authoritie of the primitive and best church, to speake and write against such unlawfull lawes, but it is his duety, and hee is bound in very conscience to doe it :

* *Lawfull marriage.*] From the hand of Henry Wharton we have here again, a very concise, but very valuable distinction, pointed out of the difference of proceedings, in queen Mary's reign, in regard to the deprivation for marriage, of the two great classes of clergy, the regulars and the seculars; and which has been very imperfectly understood by the ordinary historians.

"Nor was this all," says the bishop, p. 277, "but after they were deprived, they were also forced to leave their wives; which piece of severity was grounded on the vow, that as was pretended they had made; though the falsehood of this charge was formerly demonstrated."

"It is true," continues Wharton, "that the *secular* clergymen had made no vow. But it cannot be denied, that as many of the clergy, as had formerly been *regulars*, had made solemn and express vows. Now the number of these was very considerable among the beneficed clergy of that time; by reason that all priests, who had been ejected out of religious houses, were enabled to hold benefices; and that the king also, and other patrons, did more readily give benefices to them, that so by that means, they might discharge themselves from the obligation of paying their annual pensions any longer to them. These therefore were all forced to leave their wives, unless they evaded it by any base compliance, by connivance, or by the favour of any great person. But that any of the *seculars* were forced to leave their wives, I do no where find; indeed, it was necessary to all who would continue in their benefices, to renounce their wives, but we now speak of those clergymen, who had been already deprived of their benefices. Against many of them processes were formed for their marriage, which may be found in the registers often made: but therein I cannot find any beside *regulars*, to have been deprived by the sentence of the court, or their marriages to have been annulled: and accordingly, in the articles of enquiry, to be administered to every married clergyman, formed in March 1554, (when the persecution of the married clergy began in the diocese of Canterbury,) the first is whether he had been a *religious*, and of what order, and in what monastery or house?" *Specimen of Errors*, p. 139, 40.

which thing I have prooved by divers examples before; and now will adde to but one other, which is written in the fift of the Acts, where it appeareth that the high priests, the elders, scribes, and pharises decreed in their councell, and gave the same commendement to the apostles, that they should not preach in the name of Christ, as ye have also forbidden us: notwithstanding when they were charged therewithall, they answered, *we ought more to obey God then man*: even so we may and do answere you. God is more to be obeyed then man: and your wicked lawes cannot so tongue tie us, but we will speake the trueth.

The apostles were beaten for their boldnesse, and they rejoiced that they suffered for Christes cause. Ye have also provided rods for us, and bloudy whips: yet when ye have done that which Gods hand and counsell hath determined that yee shall doe, be it life or death, I trust that God will so assist us by his holy spirit and grace, that we shall patiently suffer it, and praise God for it: and whatsoever become of me and others, which now suffer for speaking, and professing of the truth, yet bee yee sure that Gods worde will prevaile and have the overhand, when your bloudy lawes and wicked decrees, for want of sure foundation, shall fall in the dust: and that which I have spoken of your acts of parliament, the same may be said of the generall counceles of these latter daies, which have been within these five hundreth yeares, where as the antichrist of Rome, by reason of his usurped authoritie ruled the roast, and decreed such things as made for his gaine, not regarding Gods glory: and therefore are they to be spoken, written, and cried against of all such as feare God, and love his truth.

And thus much I purposed to have said, concerning the first point.

Now touching the second point. That whereas my lord chancellor had the day before said his pleasure of them that ruled the realme, while he was in prison, and also rejoiced as though God had made this alteration, even for his sake and his catholicke church, as he called it; and to declare as it were by myracle, that we were before in a schisme and heresie, and the realme was now brought unto an unitie, and to a truth, and I cannot tell whereto: thereto was I fully purposed to have said; secondly, my lord, where as ye yesterday so highly dispraised the government of them that ruled in innocent king Edwards daies,

London. I come also, as it is well knowne, to a
house before all the counsell; and many of my breth
the like, as that was for the not rebuking of their faults
we knowe before God, nor be blame worthy before men.
Here let the gentlemen and the courtiers themselves, and
others at London, looking what we did.

That my lord you could not abide them, for that which th
was you, not for that they were of a contrary religion un
to London, so that you seemed so intent against them, it is r
my justice, publique cause, but it is your own private hat
redde, you to report so evil of their governance. And y
now say what you list of them, when they bee partly clea
red, and partly by you put out of office.

That what shall be said of you when your fall shall follo
and then I hope. And I must say my conscience to you: I
now you have and will with your governance bring Engla
to such a state, where we may come. I pray God you do no

I pray God, English men borne, and God knoweth, do not
will to my country. And my lord, I have often pa
the things which I have much feared afore hand should
be done here or else followed. I pray God I may faile
in this behalfe, but truly that will not bee with
the true worke of God out of the realme, and wit

and prudent. Yea, they are soonest deceived, and do most easily judge amisse of Gods wonderfull workes, that are most worldly wise. God hath made all the wisdom of this worlde foolishnesse, (first Corinthians the first, and the second chapter) that is, He hath put his beloved and deare heart, into the hands of the enemies thereof. (Jerem. c. 12.)

This thing doth God, which thing all wise men accompt to be the most foolish and unwise part that can be. Will the wise of the world, throw ye, put their most deare friends and tenderly beloved children, into their enemies hands, to kill, slay, burn? That is unto them a madnesse above all madnesse. And, yet doth God use this order: and this is an high and singular wisdom in his sight, which the world taketh to be most extreame madnesse.

Can the world shew a cause why he suffered the great multitude of innocent children to be murdered of Herode of Ascalon, or why hee put that most holy man John Baptist, into the hands of Herode his sonne to be beheaded, and that in prison secretly without open judgement most tyrannously? Why hee suffered his beloved apostle James, to be beheaded of another Herode (Actes 12)? Why hee suffered his beloved seede of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, to be foure hundred yeares in thraldome and bondage, and under Pharaos? And all the stocke of Juda and Benjamin his beloved children and church, to come under the power, sword, and tyranny of Nabuchodonosor? No verely; but his true catholicke church knoweth divers causes hereof, which are now too long to rehearse, and which I would right gladly shew, if I had time.

But this I am right sure of, that it was not because that the foresaid godly men were in heresies, and subject to false Gods' services, and idolatry, and that their adversaries were men of God, and beloved of God.—The contrarie was true. John Baptist was beloved of God, and Herode hated, and so forth of the rest: and John Baptist, the innocent children, James, the children of Israel, in Egypt, and in Babylon, were the catholicke members and people of God: and their adversaries, into whose hands they were put and delivered, and that of God, and by his good will and pleasure, were idolaters and the people of the livell: but they would be called the chiefe members of God, and rejoiced that they had the true God, and that it was now declared by miracle, that the Israelites had but a false God, and a false

religion. seeing they were delivered into the Babylonians hand And all the other (the Herodes and Pharaos I meane) plain determined, that if the men which they killed and handled e had beene Gods people, God woulde never have suffered them come into their hands, but rather have done the contrarie, have let John Baptist kill Herode, and the Israelites Pharaoh and Nabuchodonosor. Even the like is now to be seene in and in our most cruell adversaries.

They are not therefore the catholicke church, because mercifull God hath at this present given our lives into their hands: neither are wee therefore heretickes, because we suffer punishment at their hands, as the lord chauncellor by his joicing, seemeth to gather: the contrarie is hereby to be gathered that wee be the members of the true catholicke church, because we suffer for the same doctrine which John Baptist, James, Israelites, yea Christ, and the apostles, did teach. And in case, as the above mentioned holy men, though they in their daies, were counted to be heretickes, seditious, and disturbers of the whole world, (for unto John Baptist it was said, *John Wherefore baptisest thou, if thou be not Helias, nor that prophet.* as who say, "thou hast no such authoritie to begin a new ceremonie in the church: for wee be in ordinarie possession of the church: and of us thou hast received no such power. Thou abide by our circumcision:" and the like could I declare of James, and of all the apostles and prophets, and of our Saviour Christ himselfe, that were all condemned as heretickes and blasphemers of God, and disturbers of the whole world. Paule Silas (Act. 16.) heard like wordes of the Philippians: "Let not these men trouble our citie, seeing they are Jewes, and preach innovations, which are not lawfull for us to receive, seeing we are Romanes." And in Athens, the wise men of this world, such as gave their endeavour to wisdom, said by S. Paul. "Will this prater (as my lord chancellor said to me, "Shall I suffer this fellowe to prate?" when I would faine have said nothing, that I have here written) trifle, newes carier, or braver that telleth whatsoever men will have him, for gaine and advantage, that will for a piece of bread say what yee will have him. And another said in the same place: *hee seemeth to be a preacher of new devils.* And, Actes 21, the Jewes say by Paule, *lay hands on him, helpe O yee Israelites, say they, this is the man teacheth all men every where against the people* (meaning the Je

the lawe and this place, meaning Jerusalem; and yet was a word of these true. And Actes 22, the same Jewes 'Paule; out of the earth with that man, or away with him: is not lawfull for him to live, or hee is not worthy to live. Now many mo of these examples are to be found in the bible? I say, these men were in their daies taken for heretics of them that were then in authoritie. and of the great ide of the world, yet it is nowe well knowne, yea and very after their deathes this was knowne; yea. and even in res also unto the true catholick church, that they were y the chiefe and speciall members of the true catholicke but also the founders and builders thereof. (notwith- g the sinister judgement, that the wise and mighty men, e great multitude of the world had of them) and in their nces they were alwaies assuredly certified of the same. he same shall the world find true in us, shortly after our ; as also there be at this houre (the Lord be thanked re) not a few, that already know it; as we our selves e by Gods grace assuredly certified in our consciences, that no heretickes, but members of the true catholicke church, at our adversaries the bishops and popish clergie, which e that title, are the members of Sathans church, and their istian head of Rome with them.

here they will cry out: loe these men will bee still like baptist, the apostles and prophets. &c.

swere, wee make not our selves like unto them, in the uirtues and gifts of God. given unto them: as of miracles and of many other things. The similitude and likeness of us, consisteth not in all things, but only in this, that in, e be like them in doctrine. and in the suffering of perou- d infamie for the same.

have preached their very doctrine and none other thing, ee are able sufficiently to declare by their writings: and ing for my part. I have profered to prove the same (as in en said). And for this cause wee suffer the like reproaches, and rebuke of the world. and the like persecution, losing lives and goods, forsaking (as our master Christ coun- th) father, mother, sister, brethren, wives, children, and there is, being assured of a joyfull resurrection, and to be l in glorie with them, according to the unfailible promise unto us in Christ, our onely and sufficient mediator, &c.

sume and kill his vile, and tyrannous body. Pharao and uchodonoser, for all their pride and most mighty power, must be length let Gods dearelings go freely away out of their land, out of their hands and tyranny. For when it could not be ined at their hands, that Gods congregation might have true y ministered unto them, but the counterfaite mercie of these daies, that is to say, extreame cruelty, and even the very and most horrible and cruell death, God arose and awoke out of leepe, and destroyed those enemies of his flocke, with a mighty and stretched out arme. Pharao did with most great and erable labors and burdens, oppresse and bring under the poore elites, and yet did the courtiers undoubtedly noise abroad, the king was mercifull unto them, to suffer them to live in and, and to set them a worke, that they might get them their ges. If hee should thrust them out of his land, whither should goe, like a sort of vagabonds and runnagates? This title ame of mercie, would that tyrant have, and so did his flat- y false courtiers spread his vaine praise abroad. Have not he like examples nowe adaies? O that I had nowe time to certain things pertaining to our Winchesters mercy! How full hee hath beene to mee and to my good brethren I will peake of; neither yet unto the duke of Suffolkes most inno- laughter*, and to her as innocent husband. For although fathers were faulty, yet had their youth and lacke of experi- deserved a pardon by all true mercifull mens judgements. It I had time to paint out this matter aright: but there bee alive that can doe it much better, when I am dead. Pharao is plagues: and his most flourishing land was by counterfaite y, which was in deede right crueltie and abominable tyranny, y destroyed. And thinke yee that butcherly bishoppe of hester and his brethren shall escape? Or that England for their offences, and specially for the maintenance of their ry, and wilfull following of them, not abide a great brunt¹? undoubtedly.

nocent daughter.] Lady Jane Gray.

great brunt.] A grave author, early in the reign of queen Elizabeth, y under the immediate superintendence of archbishop Parker (if the n of this particular portion of the work were not the archbishop himself), he following detail of some of the physical and moral calamities with the nation was visited in the unhappy reign of queen Mary. hat immoderate raynes and tempestes raged in one yere; what intole-

If God looke not mercifully upon England, the seedes of destruction are sowne in it alreadie, by these hypocriticall ty antichristian prelates, and double traitours to their naturall trey. And yet they speake of mercy, of blessing, of the cat church, of unity, of power and strengthening of the realme. double dissimulation will shew it selfe one day when the p commeth, which will undoubtedly light upon these cr shorne captaines, and that shortly, whatsoever the godly, an poore realme suffer in the meane while, by Gods good suffe and will.

Spite of Nabuchodonosers beard, and maugre his hear

rable heate and droughtes in another yere; what penurie and scar corne and vittaile; what hunger and famine thereof followed; what nesse, what agues, what strange mortalities reigned and raged, wherw eldest and gravest personages of all degrees and conditions, were in numbers wasted and consumed; what misfortunes commonly fell to with chylde in their delyvery; what fyers chaunced, far above the wont o yeres of other princes raignes, in many places wastying whole vyllages, and churches.—Agayne, what crueltie was seene executed by fyeryn men and women, young men and maydes, without choice whether the were with chylde, or free from chyldren; what proscriptions and banish of learned men out of the realme; and suche as taryed within the realm they were driven to corners, spoyled, and impoverysed, and such as be gotten, shamed openly by vyle penancies and shameful recantations furthermore, what rapes and vyllanyes committed, above the commo tised disorder, by straungers and foreayners; what impunities wonne ar chased to the unchaste generation, to recurre agayne to theyr olde t lewde lyvyng, after they had confounded the priests' chaste matrimo stablyshed and aucthorised by the hygh lawes of the realm. Then at t what dishonor and losse the realme suffered, by losyng that notable b Calyce, aforetymes so valiauntly wonne and gotten by king Edward II (to these unfortunate dayes of resумыng the great adversarie of all Cl realmes, the pope, agayne), politiquely and chargeably maynteined; fended in good and sure possession, to the comforte of the whole realn to the terrour of all oure forayne enemies. I say, to consider all thes ularities as they mighte deserve to be set out at lengthe, what Er hearte coulede forbear teares, and not inwardly sygh and lament the n whiche heavy infelicities the Englyshe chyldren yet unborne shall w and wayle, to consider the same.

"If these be not severe tokens and proofes of God's heavey disp towarde Englande, for so vylely despising his worde, his light, his r his sacramentes, his institutions,—what can be shewe of his wra indignation?" *Defence of Priests' Marriages; Preface to the Reader.* pare also Sir Thomas Smith, in Strype's *Life* of him, p. 17—9. Apj edit. 1698, and p. 108—10. ditto.

captive, thrall and miserable Jewes must come home againe, and have their citie and temple builded up againe by Zorobabell, Esdras, and Nehemias. And the whole kingdome of Babylon must goe to ruine, and be taken of strangers, the Persians and the Medes: so shall the dispersed English flocke of Christ be brought againe into their former estate, or to a better I trust in the Lord God, than it was in innocent king Edwards daies, and our bloudy Babylonical bishops, and the whole crowne-shorne company be brought to utter shame, rebuke, ruine, decay, and destruction. For God cannot, and undoubtedly wil not suffer for ever their abhominable lying false doctrine, their hypocrisie, bloudthirst, whoredome, idlenesse, their pestilent life pampered in all kinde of pleasure, their thrasonicall boasting pride, their malicious, envious, and poisoned stomackes, which they beare towards his poore and miserable Christians. Peter truly warneth, that if judgement beginneth at the house of God, what shall be the ende of them that beleeve not the gospell? If the righteous shall scant be saved, where shall the ungodly and sinfull appeare? Some shal have their punishment here in this world, and in the world to come; and they that doe escape in this world, shall not escape everlasting damnation."

After that John Rogers, as ye have heard, had beene long and straightly imprisoned, lodged in Newgate amongst theeves, often examined, and very uncharitably intreated, and at length unjustly and most cruelly by wicked Winchester condemned; the fourth of February, in the yeare of our Lord 1555, being Munday in the morning, hee was warned sodainly by the keepers wife of Newgate, to prepare himselfe to the fire: who then being sound a sleepe, scarce with much shogging could be awaked. At length being raised and waked, and bid to make haste, "then," said hee, "if it bee so, I neede not to tie my points:" and so was had downe, first to Boner to be degraded. That done, hee craved of Boner but one petition. And Boner asking what that should be; "nothing said hee, but that he might talke a few words with his wife," before his burning. But that could not bee obtained of him. Then said hee, "you declare your charity what it is:" and so hee was brought into Smithfield by maister Chester, and maister Woodrofe, then sheriffes of London, there to be burnt; where he shewed most constant patience, not using many words, for hee could not bee permitted, but only exhorting the people constantly

to remaine in that faith and true doctrine which hee before had taught and they had learned, and for the confirmation whereof hee was not onely content patiently to suffer and beare all such bitternesse and cruelty as had been shewed him, but also most gladly to resign up his life, and to give his flesh to the consuming fire, for the testimony of the same.

Briefely and in fewe wordes to comprehend the whole order of his life, doings, and martyrdom, first this godly M. Rogers was committed to prison, as is abovesaid, and there continued a yeare and a halfe. In prison he was merry, and earnest in all he went about. He wrote much : his examinations hee penned with his owne hand, which els had never come to light. Wherein is to bee noted by the way a memorable working of Gods providence. Yee heard a little above how maister Rogers craved of Boner, going to his burning, that he might speak a few wordes before with his wife, which coulde not bee graunted. What these words were which hee had to say to his wife, it is for no man certainly to define : likely it may be supposed that his purpose was, amongst other things, to signifie unto her of the booke written of his examinations and answeres, which he had privily hid in a secret corner of the prison where hee lay. But where mans power lacketh, see how Gods providence worketh ! For notwithstanding that during the time of his imprisonment, strait search there was to take away his letters and writings, yet after his death, his wife and one of her sonnes called Daniell, comming into the place where he lay, to seeke for his bookes and writings, and now ready to goe away, it chanced her sonne aforenamed, casting his eye aside to spy a black thing (for it had a black cover, belike because it should not bee knowne) lying in a blinde corner under a paire of stairs : who willing his mother to see what it was, found it to bee the booke written with his owne hand, containing these his examinations and answeres, with other matter above specified.

Furthermore, amongst other his words and sayings, which may seeme prophetically to be spoken of him, this also may be added, and is notoriously to be marked, that he spake being then in prison, to the printer of this present booke, who then also was laid up for like cause of religion : " Thou," said he, " shalt live to see the alteration of this religion, and the gospell to be freely preached againe : and therefore have me commended to my brethren, as well in exile as others, and bid them be circumspect in displacing the popists, and putting good ministers into churches,

or else their end will be worse than ours." And for lacke of good ministers to furnish churches, his devise was² (M. Hooper also agreeing to the same) that for every ten churches, some one good and learned superintendant should be appointed, which should have under him faithfull readers, such as might well be got, so that popish priests should cleane be put out, and the bishop once a yeere to oversee the profiting of the parishes, and if the minister did not his duety, as well in profiting himselfe in his booke, and his parishioners in good instructions, so that they may be trained by little and little to give a reckoning how they doe profite, then he to be expelled, and another put in his place: and the bishop to do the like with the superintendent. This was his counsell and request. Shewing moreover, and protesting in his commendations to his brethren by the printer aforesaid, that if they would not so doe, their end hee said would be worse than theirs.

Over and besides divers other things touching M. Rogers, this is not to be forgotten, how in the daies of k. Edward the sixth. there was a controversie among the bishops and clergie, for wearing of priests caps, and other attire belonging to that order³. M. Rogers being one of that number which never went otherwise then in a round cap. during all the time of king Edward. affirmed that he would not agree⁴ to that decreement of uniformitie, but

² *His devise was.*] Compare Becon's *Works*, vol. ii. fol. 7. b. *Jewel of Joy*.

³ *That order.*] "John Rogers, lecturer of St. Pauls, and vicar of St. Sepulchre's, with John Hooper, afterwards bishop of Gloucester, were ring-leaders of that" (the Puritan non-conformist, "party." Fuller's *Church Hist.*, book vii. cent. 16.

⁴ *He would not agree.*] Day, bishop of Chichester, was commanded, at the latter end of the year 1550, as appears by the minutes of the privy council, to take down all altars in the churches of his diocese, and in lieu of them to set up tables in some convenient place of the chancels; with permission "for naming the table an altar, because ancient writers sometimes call it so." The bishop replied, "He could not conform his conscience to do what was commanded, and therefore prayed to be excused." At a future appearance he was again pressed, on his allegiance, to comply: but "he answered plainly he could not do it, saving his conscience; and that he determined rather to lose all that ever he had."—The result was, that after further trial and proceedings without effect, he was deprived, Oct. 19, 1551, of his bishopric.—Isth. Harmer's *Specimen of Errors*, p. 113—16.

On the occasion now before us. Rogers "would not agree" to wear the square cap, tippet, and other apparel recently prescribed to the clergy by authority of convocation and parliament. It was against his conscience.

upon this condition, that if they would needs have such an uniformitie of wearing the cap, tippet, &c. then it should also be decreed withall, that the papists for a difference betwixt them and other, should bee constrained to weare upon their sleeves a chalice with an host upon it. Whereunto if they would consent, hee would agree to the other; otherwise he would not he said consent to the setting forth of the same, nor ever weare the cap, as indeed he never did.

To proceede now further in describing the doinges of this man: during the time while he remained prisoner in Newgate, hee was to the prisoners beneficiall and liberall; for whom hee

which he could not (or would not) reform. Seemingly without much effort to effect this, he appears therefore to have lived and died in wilful and cherished contumacy and disobedience to the lawful ordinances of the church and state, of which he was a subject and a minister.

Again, in the Life which next follows in our series, namely that of Hooper, we shall find that he too, being designed for a bishop, declined wearing the square cap and other prescribed episcopal vestments, it being "*offensive to his conscience*;" and refused to take the oath to be administered at his consecration, it being "*burdensome to his conscience*." On reflexion, however, and conference, and argument, Hooper happily *reformed his conscience*; and (shall I not say happily?) *by these means, he lived a bishop, and died a martyr*.

Hooper and Rogers, it is probable, would have been as loud in condemning Day for his disobedience about the *altars*, as they were strenuous in maintaining their own against the *habits*. And where, I would ask, does Day's case differ from their own? The same is true likewise of many other pleas of *conscience* and *private judgment*, in religious as well as civil affairs, which we hear urged, and which disturb society in every age; and not a little also in our own.

But the main object for which I have ventured to invite the reader's attention to these particulars, is not what has hitherto appeared, but something further: namely, that we should meditate seriously on what our human nature is, and on the contingencies and circumstances of our condition and duties here below: and therefore that I should entreat my readers to consider with themselves, How can the church ever attain to peace on such terms and pleas as those of Day, and Rogers and Hooper; and how can these and the many like dangerous and unchristian divisions and schisms be prevented or remedied, in any other way, than by as many of the community as possible, being well disciplined from their youth, to understand, and value, and act upon the healing principles of truth, and justice, and wisdom, embodied in the xxth, xxiird, xxxivth, xxxvth, and xxxviith articles of the Church of England.

The reader may find his interest in consulting also *The Christian Institute*, Index, under *Church Authority*, and *Private Judgment*, and the extracts

had thus devised, that he with his fellowes should have but one meale a day, they paying notwithstanding, for the charges of the whole; the other meale should be given to them that lacked on the other side of the prison. But Alexander their keeper, a strait man, and a right Alexander, a coppersmith indeed, of whose doings more shall be said, God willing hereafter, would in no case suffer that. The Sunday before he suffered, he drank to M. Hooper, being then underneath him; and bade them commend him unto him, and tell him, there was never little fellow better would sticke to a man than he would sticke to him, presupposing that they should both be burned together; although it hapned otherwise, for maister Rogers was burnt alone.—And thus much briefly concerning the life and such actes of M. Rogers, as I thought worthy noting.

Now when the time came, that he being delivered to the shiriffes, should bee brought out of Newgate to Smithfield, the place of his execution; first came to him M. Woodrofe one of the foresaid shiriffes, and calling M. Rogers unto him, asked him if he would revoke his abhominable doctrine, and his evill opinion of the sacrament of the aultar, M. Rogers aunswered and said; “that which I have preached, I will seale with my bloud.” Then quoth maister Woodrofe, “thou art an hereticke.” “That shall be knowne,” quoth Rogers. “at the day of judgement.” “Well,” (quoth maister Woodrofe) “I will never pray for thee.” “But I will pray for you,” quoth maister Rogers; and so he was brought the same day, which was Munday the fourth of Februarie, by the shiriffes toward Smithfield, saying the psalme *Miserere*^a by the way, all the people wonder-

^a *I will never pray for thee.*] At the burning of John Frith, in the year 1533, “This one thing is yet to be remembered” (says Fox) “that he being bounde to the stake with another good martyr, which was a very simple young man named Andrew Hewet, there was present one doctour Cooke, that was parson of the church called All-hallows in Honey-lane, situate in the myddest of Chepeyde. And the sayd Cooke made an open exclamation, and admonished the people, *that they should in no wise pray for them, noe more than they would doe for a dogge.* At which words Frith smiling, desired the Lord to forgive him. But the ungodly and uncharitable wordes of the sayd doctour did not a little offend the people.” *Fox’s Life of Frith*, prefixed to his Works.

^a *The psalme Miserere.*] This, which is the 51st psalm, and one of those commonly called the *seces penitential* psalms, appears to have been frequently

fully rejoycing at his constancie, with great praises and thanks to God for the same: and there in the presence of maister Rochester, controller of the queenes housholde, Sir Richard Southwell, both the shiriffes, and a wonderfull number of people, ~~hee~~ was burned into ashes¹, washing his hands in the flame as ~~hee~~ was in burning. A little before his burning at the stake, his pardon was brought if he would have recanted, but he utterly refused it. He was the first proto-martyr of all the blessed company that suffered in queene Maries time, that gave the first adventure upon the fire. His wife and children, beeing eleven

made use of upon the like melancholy occasions. See Fox's *Acts*, p. 1388, in his account of Dr. Taylor, p. 1398, in that of William Hunter, and More's *Life of Sir Thomas More*, p. 274.

In like manner, we find the 106th Psalm sometimes resorted to, (Fox's *Acts*, p. 1558) and, that Philpot, archdeacon of Winchester, at his death, "with an obedient heart full meekly sayd the 106th, 107th, and 108th Psalmes." For's *Acts*, p. 1661.

¹ *Hee was burned into ashes.*] We may easily believe, that events of this tragical nature would awaken a variety of passions in the minds of the spectators: nor is it surprising, that superstition had its place amongst them. Miles Hoggard, a most intemperate and malignant enemy of the reformation, ~~has~~ recorded an anecdote of this kind respecting the martyrdom of Rogers, which is worthy of insertion. "When Rogers their *pseudo-martyr* (*proto-martyr* I would saye) was burnt in Smithfield, were there not divers marchant men and others, which seeing certayn pigeons flying over the fire, that haunted to a house hard adjoining, and which, being amased withe the smoke, forsoke their nestes, and flewe over the fire, were not ashamed boldely to affirme, that the same was the Holy Ghoste in the likeness of a dove? This thinge is sufficiently knownen by experience to them which were there present. Then by the lyke argument they might have said, the crowes which the same time hovered over the fire, were develles. But what blasphemy is this, suche opinionative fooles to beleewe or credite such fansies?" *Displaying of the Protestants*, fol. 56. A. D. 1558.

To this Hoggard, by trade a hosier, whose activity and influence against the protestants was very great during the reign of queen Mary, Robert Crowley, addressing himself, at an earlier period, says,

"Remembre your selfe, frynde Hogherde, howe manie you have sette for warde towarde Smithfield in the tyme of persecution. Men thinke that from the tyme of John Frith to the death of the constant witsesse of Gods trueth Anne Askewe, there was no bloud shed in Smythfylde, but your parte wyl be in it at the laste daye. Repent therefore, and acknowledge your faute: Go is mercifull to the penitent. He is able to take frome you your stonie herte and to give you one of flesh." *Confutation of the Answer to the Ballad calling the Abuse of the blessed Sacrament of the Aultare*, signat. a. 4. b. A. D. 1548.

nber, ten able to go, and one sucking on her brest, met
y the way as he went towards Smithfield. This sorrowfull
of his owne flesh and bloud could nothing moove him, but
he constantly and cheerefully tooke his death with wonder-
atience, in the defence of the quarell of Christes gospell.



BISHOP HOOPER.

A Patriot's blood
Well spent in such a strife, may earn indeed,
And for a time ensure, to his lov'd land
The sweets of liberty and equal laws.
But Martyrs struggle for a brighter prize,
And win it with more pain. Their blood is shed
In confirmation of the noblest claim—
Our claim to feed upon immortal truth,
To walk with God, to be divinely free,
To soar, and to anticipate the skies.

COWPER.

BISHOP HOOPER.

JOHN HOOPER student and graduate in the university of Oxford, after the study of other sciences, wherein he had abundantly profited and proceeded, through Gods secret vocation¹ was stirred with fervent desire to the love and knowledge of the scriptures. In the reading and searching wherof, as there lacked in him no diligence, joined with earnest praier, so neither wanted unto him the grace of the holy Ghost to satisfie his desire, and to open unto him the light of true divinitie.

¹ *God's secret vocation.*] We have some particulars of Hooper's early history from his own pen, in a letter to Henry Bullinger, from which it appears, that he was much influenced in his conversion by the writings of *that* divine, and of Hulderic Zuinglius. "Non multos ante annos" (says he), 'cum in aula Regis nostri, aulicus aulice plus satis vixerim, ornatissime Domine et Frater in Christo dilectissime, tum fausto et felici omine mihi obtulerunt sese quædam opera Doctoris Huldrici Zuinglii, eximii viri piæ memoriæ, et commentaria in Paulinas Epistolas, quibus tu felicissime universo tibi innotuisti, in perpetuum tui nominis monumentum duratura. Ista regia Dei dona universo mundo per vos exhibita, negligere nolui; cum ipsis præsertim de animæ meæ salute felicitateque perpetua serio agi viderem. Omni itaque studio, et velut diligentia quadam superstitione, noctesque dies operam vestris scriptis navare operæ pretium fore duxi. Nec bor iste mihi unquam molestus in ea re fuit. Nam postquam excessi ex ætate, et patris clementiâ liberius vivendi fuit potestas, cultu impio et turpi genere idolatriæ, majorum æmulatus impietatem, Deum prius cepebam blasphemare, quam quid Deus esset, recte cognoveram. Inde tamen ei benignitate liberatus, quod Deo et vobis unice acceptum fero, jam nihil stat, quod ad reliquum vitæ meæ et ultima fata spectat, quam ut Deum laudem colam." Hottingeri *Histor. Ecclesiast. novi Testamenti*, vol vi.

271. Hottinger does not mention, whether the original letter, from which we transcribed the above extract, bore any date of time and place.

Thus maister Hooper growing more and more by Gods grace, in ripenesse of spirituall understanding, and shewing withall some sparkles of his fervent spirite, being then about the beginning of the sixe Articles^a, in the time of k. Henry the eighth, fell efts-oones into displeasure and hatred of certaine rabbines in Oxford, who by and by began to stirre coales against him, whereby, and especially by the procurement of doctour Smith, he was compelled to void the universitie; and so remooving from thence, was retained in the house of Sir Thomas Arundell, and there was his steward; till the time that Sir Thomas Arundell having intelligence of his opinions and religion, which he in no case did favour, and yet exceedingly favouring the person and conditions of the man, found the meanes to send him in a message to the bishop of Winchester, writing his letter privily to the bishop, by conference of learning to doe some good upon him, but in any case requiring him to send home his servant to him againe.

Winchester after long conference with M. Hooper four or five daies together, when hee at length perceived that neither hee could doe that good which he thought to him, nor that hee would take any good, at his hand, according to M. Arundel's request, he sent home his servant againe, right well commending his learning and wit, but yet bearing in his brest a grudging stomacke against maister Hooper still.

It followed not long after this, as malice is alwaies working mischief, that intelligence was given to maister Hooper to provide for himselfe, for danger that was working against him. Whereupon M. Hooper leaving M. Arundels house, and borrowing an horse of a certaine friend (whose life he had saved a little before from the gallowes) tooke his journey to the sea side, to go to France, sending back the horse again by one, which indeed did not deliver him to the owner. M. Hooper beeing at Paris tarried there not long, but in short time returned into Englande againe, and was retained of M. Sentlow, till the time that he was again molsted and laid for: whereby he was compelled, under the pretence of beeing captaine of a ship going to Ireland, to take the seas, and so escaped he (although not without extreame perill of drowning) through France, to the higher parts of Germany. Where hee entering acquaintance with learned

^a *Beginning of the sixe Articles.*] This was in the year 1539. *Comp. Cromwell's Life*, p. 264, note ¹.

was of them friendly and lovingly entertained, both at and especially at Zurick of maister Bullinger, being his friend. Where also he married his wife, which was a *German*, and applied very studiously to the Hebrue tongue. Length when God saw it good to stay the bloudy time of articles, and to give us *King* Edward to raigne over this with some peace and rest unto the gospell, amongst many English exiles, which then repaired homeward, M. Hooper moved in conscience, thought not to absent himself, but such a time and occasion, offered to helpe forward the worke, to the uttermost of his abilitie. And so comming Bullinger, and other of his acquaintance in Zurick, (as required) to give them thanks for their singular kindnesse manitie toward him manifolde waies declared, with like tie he again purposed to take his leave of them at his time, and so did. Unto whom M. Bullinger againe, (who saies a speciall favour to M. Hooper) spake on this wise; Hooper," said hee, "although we are sorry to part with company. for our own cause, yet much greater causes we rejoyce, both for your sake, and especially for the cause of true religion, that you shall now returne out of long banishment into your native countrey againe; where not onely you enjoy your own private libertie, but also the cause and service of Christs church by you may fare the better, as we doubt not it shal.

Another cause moreover why wee rejoyce with you and for this, that you shall remoove not only out of exile into banishment: but you shall leave here a barren, a sowre, and an uncultivated country, rude and savage, and shall goe into a land *rich* with milk and hony, replenished with all pleasure and plenty.—Notwithstanding, with this our rejoicing, one feare we have, least you being absent, and so farre distant from us, or els comming to such abundance of wealth and felicity in your new welfare, and plenty of all thinges, and in your rising honors, where ye shall come peradventure to be a prince, and where ye shall finde so many new friends, you will forsake us your old acquaintance and wellwillers. Neverthelesse,

German.] Burgundian.

and flowing.] Compare William Thomas's *Defence of king Henry VIII.*

1547. A. D. 1774.

howsoever you shall forget and shake us off, yet this perswade your selfe, that we will not forget our old friend and fellow master Hooper. And if you will please not to forget us againe, then I pray you let us heare from you."

Whereunto M. Hooper answering againe, first gave to M. Bullinger and the rest right hartly thanks, for that their singular good will, and undeserved affection, appearing not only now, but at all times towards him: declaring moreover that as the principal cause of his remooving to his countrey was the matter of religion; so touching the unplesantnes and barrennesse of that countrey of theirs, there was no cause therein, why hee could not finde in his hart to continue his life there, as soone as in any place in the world, and rather than in his owne native countrey, if there were nothing els in his conscience that mooved him so to doe. And as touching the forgetting of his olde friends, although, said hee, the remembrance of a mans countrey naturally doth delight him, neither could hee deny, but God had blessed his countrey of England with many great commodities: yet neither the nature of countrey, nor pleasure of commodities, nor newnesse of friends should ever induce him to the oblivion of such friends and benefactors, whom hee was so intirely bound unto: and therefore you shall be sure, said he, from time to time to here from me, and I will write unto you as it goeth with me. But the last newes of all I shall not be able to write: for there, said hee, (taking M. Bullinger by the hand) where I shall take most paines, there shall you heare of mee to be burned to ashes: and that shall be the last newes which I shall not be able to write unto you, but you shall heare it of me¹."

To this also may be added an other like propheticall demonstration, foreshewing before the maner of his martyrdome where-with he should glorifie God, which was this. When M. Hooper being made bishop of Worcester and Gloucester should have his

¹ *Shall heare it of me.*] Bullinger, in a letter written to Hooper in prison, dated Zurich, Octob. 10, 1554, refers to their common forebodings of his future sufferings. "Now," (says he) "is that thing happened unto you, my brother, the which we did oftentimes prophecie unto ourselves at your being with us, should come to passe, especiallie when we did talke of the power of Anti-Christ, and of his felicitie and victories." Fox's *Acts*, p. 1379. The original in Latin, is given in Coverdale's *Letters of the Martyrs*, p. 125. edit. 1837.

armes given him by the herald, as the maner is ' here in England, every bishop to have his armes assigned unto him (whether by the appointment of maister Hooper, or by the herald I have not certainly to say) but the armes which were to him allotted was his; a lambe in a fierie bush, and the sun beames from heaven descending down upon the lambe, rightly denoting, as it seemed, the order of his suffering, which afterward followed.

But now to the purpose of our story againe. Thus when M. Hooper had taken his farewell of maister Bullenger and his friends at Zurick, he made his repaire againe into Englande' in the raigne of k. Edward the sixth, where he comming to London used continually to preach, most times twise, at least once every day and never failed.

In his sermons, according to his accustomed maner, he corrected sinne, and sharply inveighed against the iniquitie of the world, and corrupt abuses of the church. The people in great lockes and companies, dayly came to heare his voice, as the most melodious sound and tune of Orpheus harpe, as the proverb saith: insomuch that oftentimes when he was preaching the church would be so full, that none could enter further then the doores thereof. In his doctrine he was earnest, in tongue eloquent, in the scriptures perfect, in paines indefatigable.

Moreover, besides other his giftes and qualities, this is in him to be marvelled, that even as he began, so he continued still unto his lifes end. For neither could his labour and pain-taking weake him, neither promotion chaunge him, neither dainty fare corrupt him. His life was so pure and good, that no kind of

' *As the maner is.*] " Thus did the king," (says Strype speaking of Henry 8th and archbishop Cranmer) " interpose himself divers times between his archbishop and his irreconcilable enemies the Papists: and observing, by these essays against him, under what perils he was like to come hereafter for his religion, about this time (1544) it was, as I conjecture, that the king changed his paternal coat of arms . . . and altered the *three Brames*, which were parcel of his ancestors' arms, into *three Pelicans*, declaring unto him, that those birds should signify unto him, that he ought to be ready, as the Pelican is, to shed his blood for his young ones, brought up in the faith of Christ. For, said the king, you are like to be tasted, if you stand to your tackling, at length." Strype's *Life of Cranmer*, p. 126.

¹ *Repaire againe into Englande.*] This was probably early in the year 1548. His *Answer to my Lord of Winchester's book* is dated from Zurich, Sept. 9. 1547, and his *Declaration of Christ*, from the same place, Dec. 8. in the same year.

slander (although divers went about to reprove it) could faste any faulte uppon him. He was of body strong, his health whole and sound, his wit very pregnant, his invincible patience able to sustain whatsoever sinister fortune and adversitie could do. He was constant of judgment, a good justicer, spare of diet, spare of words, and sparest of time. In housekeeping very liberall, and sometime more free than his living would extend unto. Briefely, of all those vertues and qualities required of S. Paule in a good bishop, in his epistle to Timothy, I knowe not one in this good bishop lacking. Hee bare in countenance and talks alwaies a certaine severe and grave grace, which might peradventure be wished sometime to have been a little more popular and vulgar-like in him: but he knew what he had to do best himselfe.

This by the way I thought to note; for that there was once an honest citizen, and to mee not unknowne, which having in himselfe a certaine conflict of conscience, came to his doore for counsell, but being abashed at his austere behaviour durst not come in, but departed, seeking remedie of his troubled minde at other mens handes, which he afterward by the help of almighty God did finde and obtaine. Therefore in my judgement, such as are appointed and made governors over the flock of Christ, to teach and instruct them, ought so to frame their life, manners, countenance and externall behavior, as neither they shew themselves too familiar and light, wherby to be brought into contempt, nor on the other side againe, that they appeare more lofty and rigorous, than appertaineth to the edifying of the simple flocke of Christ. Neverthelesse, as every man hath his peculiar gift wrought in him by nature, so this disposition of fatherly gravitie in this man neither was excessive, neither did he beare that personage which was in him, without great consideration. For it seemed to him peradventure, that this licentious and unbridled life of the common sort, ought to bee chastened, not only with wordes and discipline, but also with the grave and severe countenance of good men.

After he had thus practised himselfe in this popular and common kinde of preaching; at length, and that not without the great profit of many, he was called to preach before the kings majesty, and soone after, made bishop of Glocester by the kings commandement. In that office he continued two yeares, and behaved himselfe so well, that his very enemies (except it were

for his good doings, and sharpe correcting of sinne) could finde no fault with him: and after that he was made bishop of Worcester^a.

But I cannot tell what sinister and unlucky contention concerning the ordering and consecration of bishops, and of their apparell, with such other like trifles, began to disturbe the good and luckie beginning of this godly bishop. For notwithstanding that godly reformation of religion begunne in the church of England, besides other ceremonies more ambitious than profitable or tending to edification, they used to wear such garments and apparell as the popish bishops^b were woont to do: first a chymere,

^a *Bishop of Worcester.*] He was nominated to the See of Gloucester May 15th, 1550, but was not consecrated till March 8th in the following year. He had the bishopric of Worcester granted to him to hold in *commendam*, on the deprivation of bishop Heath, in April 1552. Le Neve's *Fasti*, p. 101. 299. And towards the end of the same year the two dioceses were united, from thenceforth to be reputed and taken as one. Strype's *Eccles. Memorials*, vol. ii. p. 355. They were disunited again, after Hooper's martyrdom, early in 1554. See Le Neve, &c.

^b *As the popish bishops.*] This kind of representation, in which Fox frequently indulges, is neither just nor prudential. Could Fox be ignorant, that Hooper was to be consecrated agreeably to the acts, both of convocation and parliament, and according to the *Book of Ordination*, so authorized, of the second year of king Edward VI., at which time the habits of the bishops, as well as of the inferior orders of the clergy, had undergone, like all other points of doctrine and discipline, a very extensive and searching reform? I cannot perhaps bring this matter more concisely before my readers, than by an extract from the preface to the valuable *Life of Bishop Pecock, by John Lewis, Vicar of Margate*. After quoting from a Romish ritualist the names, and describing the nature of the vestments used by the "popish clergy," viz. "an amess, an albe, a surcingle, a maniple, a stole, and a chasuble;" all which are distinctly blessed or consecrated, and supposed "to be watered from above by God's grace, . . . that the bishops, priests, and levites being habited with them, may deserve to be defended from all attacks or temptations of malignant spirits." Lewis contents himself with adding simply, "Not one of these vestments was retained in the church of England after the reformation; nor any other consecrated vestments." Why then should Fox lend the weight of his respected name to such injurious misrepresentations; and introduce into these *acts and monuments of the martyrs*, otherwise so valuable and so interesting materials, thus wholly incongruous and out of place; making his book the unsuspected and therefore the more dangerous vehicle for misleading, at that time, a large and growing party of Protestants, who of themselves were sufficiently perverse, wrong-headed, and ignorant, and doing injury to the cause of sound judgment, discretion, and truth, in every age? This it should seem is nothing better than another example, how

and under that a white rochet, then a mathematicall cap with four angles, dividing the whole world into foure parts. These trifles tending more to superstition than otherwise, as he could never abide, so in no wise could he be perswaded to weare them. For this cause he made supplication to the kings majesty, most humbly desiring his highnesse either to discharge him of the bishopricke, or els to dispense with him for such ceremoniall orders. Whose petition the king granted immediately, writing his letter to the archbishop after this tenour.

“ Right reverend father, and right trusty and welbeloved, we greet you well. Whereas we by the advise of our counsell, have called and chosen our right welbeloved and well worthy, M. John Hooper, professor of divinity, to be our bishop of Glocester, as wel for his great knowledge, deep judgement and long study both in the scriptures and other prophane learning, as also for his good discretion, ready utterance and honest life for that kind of vocation; to the intent al our loving subjects which are in his said charge and elsewhere, might by his sound and true doctrine learne the better their duty towards God, their obedience towards us, and their love towards their neighbors: from consecrating of whom, wee understand you do stay, because hee would have you omit and let passe certain rites and ceremonies offensive to his conscience, whereby ye thinke ye should fal in premunire of lawes: we have thought good by the advise aforesaid, to dispense and discharge you of all maner of dangers, penalties and forfeitures, you should run and be in, any maner of way, by omitting any of the same. And these our letters shal be your sufficient warrant and discharge therefore.

“ Yeven under our signet at our castell of Windsore,
the 5. of August, the 4. yeare of our raigne.

“ ED. SOMERSET.
W. WILTSHIRE.
W. NORTH.

W. PAGET.
AN. WINGFIELD.
N. WOOTTON.”

utterly delusive it is to think by concession and conciliation, to content and satisfy a Puritanizing (not less than a Popish) spirit.

Our maxim and motto therefore ought to be—“ Let us stand to the truth: and the truth, (and the truth only,) shall make us free.” For then, of truth will be our shield and buckler.

Besides this letter of the king, also the earle of Warwick (which was afterwards duke of Northumberland) adjoined his letter to the foresaid archbishop of Canturbury to this purpose and effect, that maister Hooper might not be burdened with the oath¹ used then commonly in the consecration of bishops, which was against his conscience, as by the purport of the letter here is to be scene, as followeth.

“After my most hartly commendations to your grace, these may be to desire the same, that in such reasonable things, wherein this bearer my lord elect of Glocester, craveth to be born withall at your hands, you wold vouchsafe to shew him your graces favor, the rather at this my instance: which thing, partly, I have taken in hand by the kings majesties own motion. The matter is waied by his highnes none other but that your grace may facily condescend unto. The principal cause is, that you would not charge this said bearer with an oth burdenous to his conscience. And so for lacke of time I commit your grace to the tuition of almighty God. From Westminster the 23 of July, 1550.

“Your graces most assured loving friend

I. WARWIKE.”

Both this grant of the king, and also the earles letters aforesaid notwithstanding, the bishops still stooode earnestly in defence of the aforesaide ceremonies, saying it was but a small matter, and that the faulte was in the abuse of the things, and not in the

¹ *Burdened with the oath.*] Strype *supposes*, and bishop Burnet *asserts*, that this was the oath of canonical obedience. *Life of Cranmer*, p. 211. and *Hist. of the Reformation*, vol. ii. p. 146. But in his third volume, the bishop, apparently upon better grounds, affirms that it was the oath of supremacy, and tells us, upon the authority of Micronius, minister of the German church in London, that his exception to the oath was, because the *form* ran in these words, “by God, *by the Saints*, and by the Holy Gospels.” This he thought impious. And when he was before the council, the king being present, he argued that God only ought to be appealed to in an oath, for he only knew the thoughts of men. The king was so fully convinced by this, that with his own pen he struck these words out of the oath, saying that no *creature* was to be appealed to in an oath. This being cleared, no scruple remained but with relation to the habits. *Burnet*, vol. iii. p. 203. The bishop, it is probable, was first set right upon this subject by a note of the learned Mr. Baker, of St. John’s College, Cambridge. See *Hist. of Reformat.* vol. iii. p. 407. Appendix.

concord and edifying of the church : for no man in all the citie, was one hair the better for that hot contention.

I will name no body³, partly for that his oppugners being after-

shows, that (he too) the king and the council, on more reflexion, determined to abide by the law.

³ *I will name no body.*] The reader is desired to notice this part of the narrative, as it contains the beginnings of a new series of controversy, directly opposite to those which we have hitherto been engaged in. Fox's inclinations towards Puritanism are well known; and are very apparent, as well as his whole account of this controversy respecting Hooper's consecration, as in many other parts of his *History*. The narrative is coloured in a manner much too favourable to the memory of Hooper. When the author says, that *he will name nobody*, we may be permitted to mention, that while Hooper's principal antagonists were Cranmer and Ridley, names not to be ashamed of, and men certainly very much Hooper's superiors in learning, good temper, and wisdom, his conduct was not approved of, even by Peter Martyr, and Martin Bucer, whose foreign habits and partialities certainly tended towards Puritanism. If the reader is desirous of a more full and correct knowledge of this early part of the controversy, which upon its revival in the reign of Queen Elizabeth blazed out with fury, and became of most pernicious extent and importance, he may consult Burnet's *Hist. of the Reformat.* vol. ii. 152—4. vol. iii. p. 199—204. Strype's *Ecclesiast. Memorials*, vol. ii. 224—7. *Life of Cranmer*, p. 211—16. Ridley's *Life of Bishop Ridley*, 309—24. &c. &c. It is some consolation, however, that Hooper himself long saw his error, and was ashamed of his pertinacity.

The proof of this, a fact far from generally known, and conveying impressions of a very different nature from Fox's statement, we possess in a letter from Hooper himself, which seems to have lain hid for above a century, being not published till the year 1669, when it appeared in the *Sanctæ Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Vindiciæ*, of Dr. John Durell, 4to. On account of the importance of the document, and the *Vindiciæ* being also a scarce volume, I give the entire letter, with the account how it came into his possession. The reader will immediately see, it is of cardinal importance in understanding the true principles and history of this controversy: more especially, if coupled with the other documents, &c., given in immediate connection from Henry Wharton, &c. It seems much to be regretted that the modern editor of Coverdale's *Letters of the Martyrs* (London, 1837), has done nothing to supply in an appendix, this and many other important deficiencies in Coverdale's collection. "Extat earum literarum" (says Dr. Durell) "exemplar in vetere libro manuscripto plurima ejusmodi complectente, qui penes est virum, non in eologia modo, sed et in omni disciplinarum genere cultissimum, D. Sethum Ward, Sarisburiensem episcopum dignissimum, qui illius, pro summa sua humanitate, lubens mihi copiam fecit.

"Valde mihi doluit quod non satisfecerim meo scripto voluntati dignissimorum consiliariorum. Atqui sperabam hoc meo scripto ita satisfecisse, ut hui ultra possent a me exigere. Quid enim poteram amplius, quam, mea conscientia liberata ab omni scrupulo quo antea fuit sollicitata, iudicium hujus motionis vestris Clementiis deferre, et polliceri me facturum quicquid statuis-

ing to my accustomed maner, to keep my pen from pre-
ious judging of any person : yet I thought to note the thing

those words, '*aut recusarit*,' so as to include a *refusal* to obey the
l of the magistrate out of wilfulness, or for any other cause, beside
of unlawfulness by the law of God, which is taken away by the
g to the first part of the question." *Specimen of Errors*, &c., p.

mark the reflecting reader will observe is of extreme moment ; and
ids perfectly with what had been written long before, by Hooker,
Jlason, Sanderson, and others, some of the best portions of which
n printed in the editor's *Christian Institutes*. It is much to be re-
that Burnet, a bishop of the church of England, but often a very
l inconsiderate writer, should have confused a fundamental question,
is understood, and conceded, by one section even of the puritans
es ; abundantly hasty and inconsiderate men, as they too were in all
this description.

gain, we must hear the bishop and the presbyter, in the next page, in
onnexion with this unhappy proceeding of Hooper.

inner wrote back," (*Hist. Reformat.*, p. 154) " that he could not
with the use of episcopal garments at the consecration of Hooper,
incurring a *præmunire*. So the king was moved to write to him,
ng him to do it. But though this was done on the 4th Aug. yet he
consecrated till March next year, and in the meanwhile he was sus-
rom preaching.

king and council rejected this puritanical niceness of Hooper's con-
much further than all this amounts to ; which affairs I will relate
council book.

council, 1550, Oct. 6.—A letter to the bishop of London, that where
th been some difference between him and the elect bishop of Glou-
pon certain ceremonies belonging to the making of a bishop, wherein
'dships' desire is, because they would in no wise the stirring up of
rsies between men of one profession, did send for him, willing him
the occasions thereof ; who humbly desired that he might for decla-
' his doings, put in writing such arguments as moved him to be of
ion he held ; which thing was granted ; and he was by their lord-
mmanded to be at court on Sunday next, bringing with him, that he
an answer have thought convenient.

1. Jan. 13.—Mr. Hooper, bishop elect of Gloucester, appeared before
cil touching his old matter, of denying to wear such apparel as other
wear : and having been before commanded to keep his house, unless
o go to the archbishop of Canterbury, bishops of Ely, London, or
for satisfaction or counsel of his conscience, in that matter ; nor
neither to preach nor read, until he had further licence from the

It appeared, both that he had not kept his house, and that he had
ten and printed a book wherein was contained matter that he should
e written. For the which, and for that also he persevered in his
pinion of not wearing the bishop's apparel, he was now committed to

for this consideration, to admonish the reader hereby how wholesome and necessarie the crosse of Christ is sometime in the church of Christ, as by the sequelle hereof did afterward appeare. For as in a civill governance and common wealth, nothing is more occasion of war, than overmuch peace; so in the church, and among churchmen, as nothing is more pernicious than too much

the archbishop of Canterbury's custody, either there to be reformed, or further to be punished as the obstinacy of his case required.

" ' Jan. 27th.—Upon a letter from the archbishop of Canterbury, that Mr. Hooper cannot be brought to any conformity, but rather persevering in his obstinacy, coveteth to prescribe orders and necessary laws of his own head—

" ' It was agreed, he should be committed to the Fleet upon the occasion, aforesaid.

" ' A letter to the warden of the Fleet, to receive the said Mr. Hooper, and to keep him from conference of any person, saving the ministry of that house.'

" On the 8th of March following he was consecrated. Now, all this was done after the king's letter written in Hooper's behalf to Cranmer; so that in all appearance he was forced to reconcile his squeamish conscience to the episcopal habit, in order to obtain his bishopric." *Specimen of Errors, &c.*, p. 93—95.

Thus happily in this first conflict, the law of the land, the law of reason, and, in a proper sense, the law also of scripture, the firmness of Edward's wise council, and the learning of those great prelates Cranmer, Ridley, and others, were in their combined force, too much for this single champion, and his mere handful of half-a-dozen associates; for, at this moment, they hardly exceeded that number. It must not be forgotten however, that the principles upon which Hooper started, and Fox appears too much to have persevered, did not spend their rage, till (a century after), the monarchy and church of England, and the constitution and liberties of both, had suffered a temporary overthrow, and the land had been deluged with blood.

The last sentence from Wharton shows the exceeding importance of the letter preserved to us by Dr. Durell. It supplies the only link that was wanting, to complete the chain; and we cannot but sensibly regret that this extraordinary man appears to have died without the knowledge of this document, of which he would have understood so well to make the due use. That one article, of an historical nature, should have escaped the notice of Wharton, when we consider the early age at which he was removed, is no way surprising; but it may perhaps be considered less excusable, that the import of a document published by a very able vindicator of the church of England, so long ago as the year 1664, should have been overlooked by Burnet, Strype, Collier, and the whole succession of our ecclesiastical historians. It is some satisfaction to me to believe, that this important passage of ecclesiastical history is for the first time completely developed and cleared in the extracts laid before my readers in the present note. It had only been very concisely and obscurely hinted at, in the two former editions, in the bare and naked reference to Pullen's *Moderation of the Church of England*.

quietnes, so nothing more ceaseth private contentions oftentimes rising amongst them, than the publike crosse of persecution.

Furthermore, so I perswaded myselfe, the same not to bee unexpedient, to have extant such examples of holy and blessed men. For if it do not a little appertaine to our publick consolation and comfort, when we read in the scriptures of the foule dissention betweene Paule and Barnabie, of the fall of Peter, and of Davids murder and adultery; why may or should it not be as well profitable for our posterity, to heare and know the falls of these godly martyrs, whereby we may the lesse despaire in our infirmitie, considering the same or greater infirmities to raigne in the holy saints of God, both prophets, apostles, and martyrs?—And this by the way.

Thou hast heard, good reader, hitherto the weakness of these good men, plainly and simply, as the truth was, declared unto thee, to the end their fall may minister occasion to us either of eschewing the like, or else to take hart and comfort in the like fall and frailnesse of ours.—Now againe, on the other part, it remaineth to record after the foresaid discord the godly reconciliations of these good men in time of persecution, who afterward being in prison for the truths sake, reconciled themselves again with most godly agreement, as appeareth by this letter sent by bishop Ridley, to the said bishop of Glocester. The copie whereof as it was written with his own hand in Latin, hereafter followeth translated into English.

“To my deare brother and reverend fellow elder in Christ, John Hooper, grace and peace.

“My dearly beloved brother and fellow elder, whom I reverence in the Lord; pardon me, I beseech you, that hitherto since your captivitie, and mine, I have not saluted you by my letters, whereas I doe indeed confesse, I have received from you (such was your gentleness) two letters at sundry times; but yet at such time as I could not be suffered to writ unto you againe, or if I might, yet was I in doubt how my letters might safely come unto your hands. But now my deare brother, forasmuch as I understand by your works, which I have but superficially seene, that we thoroughly agree and wholly consent together in those things which are the grounds and substantial points of our religion, against the which the worlde so furiously rageth in these our daies, howsoever in

man past in custom by custom and circumstances of religion your weakness and my simplicity (I grant) hath a little jarred consist in following the similitude of his owne sense and judgement. Now, I say, have you assured, that even with my whole heart, sticking my weapons in the bowels of Christ, I love you the truth, and for the truth sake, which abideth in us, as we are persuaded, shal by the grace of God, abide in us forevermore.

And because the world, as I perceive brother, ceaseth not play his poyson, and busily conspireth against Christ our saviour with all possible force and power, *saith high things against knowledge's light*: let us joine hands together in Christ, and if cannot overcome, yet to our power, and as much as in us lie let us shake these *high altitudes, not with carnall, but with spiritual weapons*: and withall brother, let us prepare our selves the day of our dissolution, by the which after the short time this busie addition, by the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, shall triumph together with him in eternall glory.

I pray you, brother, salute in my name your reverend fellow prisoner and venerable father, Dr. C. * by whom since the first day that I heard of his most godly and fatherly constancie in embracing the truth of the gospel, I have conceived great consolation and joy in the Lord. For the integritie and uprightness of the man, his gravity and innocencie, all England I thinke hath known long ago. Blessed be God therefore, which in such abundance of iniquity and decay of al godliness, hath given unto us in this renowned old age, such a witness for the truth of his gospel. Miserable and hard hearted is he, whom the godliness and constant confession of so worthy, so grave, and so innocent a man, will not move to acknowledge and confesse the truth of God.

I doe not now brother require you to write any thing to me again: for I stand much in shew least your letters should be intercepted before they can come to my hands. Nevertheless know you, that it shall be to me great joy to heare of your constancie and fortitude in the Lords quarrell. And albeit I ha

*) Bishop Burnet understands these initials
 a. *Hist. of Reformat.*, vol. ii. p. 283. edit.
 undoubtedly Dr. Crome, as appears by Cove
 146. A. D. 1563. See also Strype's *Ecclesiast.*

herto written unto you, yet have I twise, as I could, sent
 on my minde touching the matter which in your letters you
 ed to know. Neither can I yet, brother, be otherwise per-
 l: I see me thinkes so many perils, whereby I am earnestly
 d to counsell you not to hasten the publishing of your workes,
 dly under the title of your own name. . For I feare greatly
 y this occasion both your mouth should be stopped here-
 and all thinges taken away from the rest of the prisoners,
 y otherwise, if it so please God, they may bee able to doe
 o many.—Farewell in the Lord my most deare brother:
 there be any moe in prison with you for Christs cause, I
 b you, as you may, salute them in my name. To whose
 I doe most humbly and hartily commend my selfe and
 ow prisoners and con-captives in the Lord; and yet once
 , and for ever, in Christ my most deare brother, farewell.

“N. RIDLEY.”

Hooper after all these tumults and vexations sustained
 his investing and priestly vestures, at length entring into
 ceasse, did there imploy his time which the Lord lent him
 k. Edwards raigne, with such diligence, as may bee a
 cle to all bishops, which shall ever hereafter succeed him,
 ely in that place, but in whatsoever diocese through the
 realme of England.—So carefull was he in his cure, that he
 ther pains untaken, nor waies unsought, how to traine up the
 of Christ in the true word of salvation, continually labour-
 the same. Other men commonly are wont for lucre or
 tions sake, to aspire to bishoprickes, some hunting for
 and some purchasing or buying them, as men use to pur-
 lordships, and when they have them, are loth to leave
 and thereupon also loth to commit that thing by worldly
 whereby to lose them.

this sort of men M. Hooper was cleane contrarie; who
 ed nothing more then gaine, labouring alwaies to save and
 re the soules of his flocke. Who being bishop of two
 ses, so ruled and guided either of them, and both together,
 ough he had in charge but one family. No father in his
 old, no gardiner in his garden, nor husbandman in his vine-
 was more or better occupied, then hee in his dioces amongst
 eke, going about his townes and villages in teaching and
 ing to the people there.

...preaching, he bestowed
...in private study, praier,
...continuall doctrine, hee
...not so much severe to any,
...of riches, and wealthy state,
...they listed. And doubtlesse hee
...was indifferent to all men, as well
...great shame of no small number of men
...many wee doe see so addicted to the
...rich men, that in the meane time they have
...sort of poore people, whom Christ hath
...as the other.

...we will returne our talke to maister Hooper,
...was such, that to the church and all churchmen, it
...light and example, to the rest a perpetual lesson and
...Finally, how vertuous and good a bishop hee was, yee
...conceive and know evidently by this: that even as he was
...of none but of them which were evill, so yet the worst
...them all could not reprove his life in any one jot.

I have now declared his usage and behaviour *abroad* in the
publike affairs of the church: and certainly there appeared in
him *at home* no lesse example of a worthy prelates life. For
although he bestowed and converted the most part of his care
upon the publike flocke and congregation of Christ, for the which
also he spent his bloud; yet neverthelesse there lacked no pro-
vision in him, for to bring up his owne children in learning and
good manners: in so much that yee could not discerne whether he
deserved more praise for his fatherly usage at home, or for his
bishoplke doings abroad. For every where he kept one religion
in one uniforme doctrine and integritie. So that if you entred
into the bishops palace, you would suppose yourself to have
entered into some church or temple. In every corner thereof,
there was some smell of vertue, good example, honest conversation,
and reading of holy scriptures. There was not to be seen in his
house any courtly roystering or idlenesse: no pompe at all, no
dishonest word, no swearing could there be heard.

As for the revenues of both his bishoprickes, although they did
not greatly exceede, as the matter was handled: yet if any thing

[the matter was handled.] Strype's *Ecclesiast. Mem.*, vol. ii. p. 355—7.

surmounted thereof, he pursed nothing, but bestowed it in hospitality. Twise I was, as I remember, in his house in Worcester; where in his common hall I sawe a table spread with good store of meate, and beset full of beggers and poore folke: and I asking his servants what this meant, they told me that every day their lord and maisters manner was, to have customably to dinner a certaine number of poore folke of the said citie by course, who were served by foure at a messe, with whole and wholesome meats: and when they were served (being afore examined⁶ by him or his deputies of the Lords praier, the articles of their faith, and ten commandements) then hee himselfe sate downe to dinner, and not before.

After this sort and maner maister Hooper executed the office of a most carefull and vigilant pastor, by the space of two yeares and more, so long as the state of religion in king Edwards time did safely flourish and take place: and would God that all other bishops would use the like diligence, care, and observance in their function!

After this, king Edward beeing dead, and Mary being crowned queene of England, religion beeing subverted and changed, this good bishop was one of the first⁷ that was sent for by a pursivant to be at London, and that for two causes.

⁶ *Afore examined.*] "He," bishop Ken, as we learn, from the very short and imperfect sketch of his life, by his grandson, Wm. Hawkins, "had a very happy way of mixing his spiritual with his corporeal alms. When any poor person begged of him, he would examine whether he could say the *Lord's Prayer*, the *Creed*, &c.; and he found so much deplorable ignorance among the grown poor people, that he feared little good was to be done upon them: but said, he would try, whether he could not lay a foundation, to make the next generation better. And this put him upon setting up many schools in all the great towns of his diocese, for the poor children to be taught to read, and say their catechism; and about this time, and for this purpose it was, that he wrote and published his *Exposition of the Church-catechism*. . . . By this method and management, he engaged the ministers to be more careful in catechizing the children of their parishes; and they were by him furnished with a stock of the necessary books for the use of children. And we may now judge, by the great and good success of the *charity-schools*, what great and good ends he at that time proposed." P. 12—14. edit. 1713.

⁷ *Was one of the first.*] Two several letters were dispatched, Aug. 22, 1553, to Miles Coverdale and John Hooper clerks, for their immediate repair to the court, there to attend before the lords of council: and on the 29th of that month he made his first personal appearance before the council at Rich-

A letter or report of a certaine godly man, declaring the order of M. Hoopers deprication from his bishoppricke, An. 1554. March 19.

" Forsomuch as a rumor is spread abroad of the talke had at my lord chauncellours, betweene him with other commissioners there appointed, and M. Hooper, cleane contrary to the verity and truth thereof indeede, and therefore to be judged rather to be risen of malice, for the discrediting of the truth by false suggestions and evill reports, than otherwise: I thought it my duty, being present thereat my selfe, in writing to set forth the whole effect of the same: partly that the verity thereof may be known to the doubtfull people, and partly also to advertise them, how uncharitably M. Hooper was handled at their hands, which with all humilitie used himselfe towards them, desiring that with patience he might have beene permitted to speake; assuring all men, that where I stode in a mammering and doubt, which of these two religions to have credited, either that set forth by the kings majesty, that dead is, or els that now maintained by the queenes majesty, their unreverend behaviour towards M. Hooper, doth moove me the rather to credit his doctrine, then that which they with railing and cruell words defended, considering that Christ was so handled before. And that this which I have written, shal have the effect of their talk, as I acknowledge it to be true, so I praye to all the hearers consciences, that they will not be moved, (as I am affected away) for the witness of

*Thomas Darnley, of Darvane, of Law-
of the king as commissioners.*

The lord chancellor asked whether

*Thomas Darnley, of Darvane, of Law-
of the king as commissioners.*

Parley.

Then cried out the bishop Winchester and said, "You shal not have any other, until ye be judged by this." And then began such a noise, tumulte, and speaking togither of a great many that favoured not the cause, that nothing was done ne spoken orderly, nor charitably. Afterwards judge Morgan began to raile at M. Hooper a long time, with many opprobrious and foule words of his doing at Gloucester in punishing of men, and said there was never such a tyrant as hee was. After that, doctor Day bishop of Chichester said, that the councell of Ancyra, which was before the councell of Nice, was against the marriage of priests.

Then cried out my lord chancellor, and many with him, that M. Hooper had never read the counsels.

"Yes my lord," quoth M. Hooper, "and my lord of Chichester, doctor Day, knoweth, that the great councell of Nice, by the meanes of one Paphnutius, decreed that no minister should be separated from his wife." But such clamors and cries were used, that the councell of Nice was not seene.

After this long brutish talke, Tonstall bishop of Duresme, asked M. Hooper whether he beleaved the corporall presence in the sacrament. And maister Hooper said plainly that there was none such, neither did he beleeve any such thing.

Then would the bishop of Duresme have read out of a booke, for his purpose belike (what booke it was, I cannot tell): but there was such a noise and confuse talke on every side, that hee did not read it. Then asked Winchester of M. Hooper, what authority mooved him not to beleeve the corporall presence? He said, the authoritie of God's word, and alledged this text; *Whom heaven must hold untill the latter day.*

Then the bishop of Winchester would have made that text to have served nothing for his purpose, and he said, he might be in heaven, and in the sacrament also.

M. Hooper would have said more to have opened the text, but all men that stood next about the bishop, allowed so his saying with clamours and cries, that M. Hooper was not permitted to say any more against the bishop. Whereupon they bade the notaries write that he was married, and sayd, that hee would not goe from his wife; and that he beleaved not the corporal presence in the sacrament: wherefore he was worthy to be deprived⁷ from his bishopricke.

⁷ *Worthy to be deprived.*] "The register of Canterbury testifieth, that on the 20th of March 1554, the bishops of Winchester, London, Chichester, and

Shopes, and chaines being all closed, and made fast upon me, I have mourned, called and cried for help. But the warden when he hath knowne mee many times readie to die, and when the poore men of the wardes have called to help me, hath commanded the dores to be kept fast, and charged that none of his men should come at mee, saying; "let him alone, it were a good riddance of him." And amongst manie other times, he did thus the 18. of October, 1553, as many can witnes.

"I paied alwaies like a baron to the said warden, as well in fees as for my boord, which was twenty shillings a weeke, besides my mans table, untill I was wrongfully deprived of my bishopricke, and since that time I have paied him as the best gentleman doth in his house: yet hath he used me worse and more vilely than the veriest slave that ever came to the hall commons.

"The sayd warden hath also imprisoned my man William Downton, and stripped him out of his clothes to search for letters, and could finde none, but onely a little remembrance of good peoples names, that gave me their almes to relieve me in prison: and to undoe them also, the warden delivered the same bill unto the said Steven Gardiner, Gods enemy and mine.

"I have suffered imprisonment almost eightene moneths, my goods, living, friends, and comfort taken from mee, the queene owing me by just account eighty pounds or more. Shee hath put me in prison, and giveth nothing to finde me^a; neither is there suffered any to come at me, whereby I might have reliefe. I am with a wicked man and woman, so that I see no remedie (saving Gods helpe) but I shall be cast away in prison before I come to judgement. But I commit my just cause to God, whose will be done, whether it by life or death."

Thus much wrote he himselfe of this matter.

Another Examination of M. Hooper.

The xxii. of Januarie following, (1555) Babington the warden of the Fleete was commanded to bring maister Hooper before

^a *Nothing to finde me.*] He found relief however from the compassion and charity of friends. In another letter, he says "for these ten months almost, ever since my imprisonment, I have had no living nor goods to sustain myself withal: yet such hath been the favour of our heavenly Father, that I have had sufficient to eat and drink, and the same paid for." Coverdale's *Letters of the Martyrs*, p. 84. edit. 1837.

After much reasoning and disputation* to and fro, he was commanded aside, till maister Rogers (which was then come) had

* *Much reasoning and disputation.*] Some further account of this and the next day's proceedings, taken from the official acts of the court, may be found in Strype's *Ecclesiast. Memorials*, vol. iii. p. 180, 1, as follows :

"Hooper being called in, the bishop of Winchester (Monday, Jan. 28.) began to tell him, that even yet, if he would be reconciled, he should be willingly received into the bosom of the holy mother church. Which Hooper did not only refuse, but broke out into some blasphemies (say the date); that is, no more than that he spake against some of their doctrines.

"Then, amongst many other articles, the bishop specially objected to him these that follow :

"*First*, that being a priest, and of a religious order, expressly professing a *vow approved by law*, he took a certain woman to be his wife, *de facto*, whereas *de jure* he ought not; and cohabited with her in wicked and unlawful marriage: and preached, taught, and by books set forth, published and defended such pretended marriages to be lawful and valid by God's law; and so asserted and believed still.—All which, Hooper confessed, and was ready, he said, to defend.

"*Secondly*; that he had asserted, preached, taught, published, and defended in books set forth, and still so believed and held, that by reason of the sin of fornication or adultery committed, persons lawfully married may, by the word of God and his authority, and by the ministry of the magistrate, be separated from the bond of matrimony and divorced from one another; and that so it may be lawful for the man to take another wife, and the woman another husband; on this account, because the woman is no longer the wife of the former man; nor the former man any more the husband of the former wife.—To this he answered affirmatively; and that he was ready to defend it to be true, both by divine and human right, against all adversaries.

"*Thirdly*; that he had asserted, held, published, and in books set forth, taught, and defended, and so believed, asserted, and held still, that in the eucharist or sacrament of the altar, is not truly the true and natural body of Christ, and his true and natural blood, under the species of bread and wine; and that there is mere material bread and material wine only, without the truth and presence of the body and blood of Christ.—To which article he answered in these words, that the very natural body of Christ is not really and substantially in the sacrament of the altar; saying also, that the mass is the iniquity of the Devil; and that the mass is an idol.—This was the work on Monday.

"On the next day, being January 29, the bishop of Winchester, with the bishops above named, together with George, bishop of Chichester, persuaded and exhorted Hooper with many reasons, to reconcile himself. But he, according to the language of the *Acts*, persisted in his obstinacy and malice, and brake out into blasphemies saying, that matrimony is none of the seven sacraments: and, that if it be a sacrament, he can prove seven score sacraments. So, at this session, Winchester pronounced and read the definitive

beene likewise examined. Examinations beeing ended, the two sheriffes of London were commanded about foure of the clocke, to carrie them to the counter in Southwark, there to remaine till the morrow at nine a clocke, to see whether they would relent and come home againe to their catholick church. So maister Hooper went before with one of the sheriffes, and maister Rogers came after with the other; and being out of the church doore maister Hooper looked backe, and stayed a little till maister Rogers drewe neere, unto whome he said; "Come brother Rogers, must we two take this matter first in hand, and begin to frie these fagots?" "Yea sir," said maister Rogers, "by Gods grace." "Doubt not," sayde master Hooper, "but God will give strength." So going forwards, there was such a press of people in the streets, which rejoiced at their constancie, that they had much adoe to passe.

By the way the sheriffe sayd to maister Hooper, "I wonder that yo were so hastie and quicke with my lord chancellour, and did use no more patience:" he answered, "Maister sheriffe, I was nothing at all impatient, although I was earnest in my masters cause; and it standeth mee so in hand, for it goeth upon life and death: not the life and death of this world onely, but also of the world to come."—Then were they committed to the keeper of the counter, and appointed to severall chambers, with commandement that they should not be suffered to speake one with another, neither yet any other permitted to come at them that night.

Upon the next day following, the 29 of January, at the houre appointed they were brought againe by the sheriffes, before the sayde bishop and commissioners in the church, where they were the daie before. And after long and earnest talke, when they perceived that maister Hooper would by no meanes condescend unto them, they condemned him to bee degraded, and read unto him his condemnation¹. That done, maister Rogers was brought

sentence against him, condemning him for an heretic, and excommunicated; and consequently delivered him to the secular court, and into the hands of David Woodroff and William Chester, sheriffs of London; who carried him away with them."

¹ The form of the sentence, in the original Latin, is given at large by Strype in his *Collection of Records*, No. xxviii. p. 80, 1.

² This condemnation.) A copy of this sentence of condemnation is preserved by Strype in his *Records*, vol. iii. p. 80, 1. He was condemned upon

before them, and in like manner intreated, and so they delivered both of them to the secular power, the two sheriffes of London, who were willed to carrie them to the Clinke, a prison not farre from the bishop of Winchesters house, and there to remaine till night.

When it was dark, maister Hooper was led by one of the sheriffes, with many bills and weapons, first through the bishop of Winchesters house, and so over London Bridge, through the citie to Newgate. And by the way some of the sergeants were willed to goe before, and put out the costerdmongers candles, who use to sit with lights in the streets : either fearing of likelihood that the people would have made some attempt to have taken him away from them by force, if they had seene him goe to that prison ; or else beeing burdened with an evill conscience they thought darkenesse to be a most fit season for such a businesse.

But notwithstanding this devise, the people having some foreknowledge of his comming, many of them came forth of their doores with lights and saluted him, praying God for his constancie in the true doctrine which he had taught them, and desiring God to strengthen him in the same to the end. Master Hooper passed by, and required the people to make their earnest prayers to God for him, and so went through Cheapeside to the place appointed, and was delivered as close prisoner, to the keeper of Newgate, where he remained sixe daies, no bodie being permitted to come to him, or to talke with him, saving his keepers, and such as should be appointed thereto.

During this time, Boner bishop of London, and others at his appointment, as Fecknam, Chedsey, and Harpsfielde, &c. resorted divers times unto him, to assay if by any meanes they could perswade him to relent, and become a member of their anti-christian church. All the waies they could devise, they attempted. For besides the disputations and allegations of testimonies of the scriptures, and of auncient writers wrested to a wrong sense, according to their accustomed maner, they used also all outwarde gentleness and significations of friendship, with manie great

three separate points: first, for maintaining the lawfulness of the marriages of the clergy, both *secular* and *religious* ; secondly, for his doctrine respecting divorce; and thirdly for denying the carnal presence of Christ in the eucharist. See also Burnet's *Hist. of the Reformat.*, vol. iii. p. 246—8. Appendix.

profers and promises of worldlie commodities, not omitting the most grievous threatenings, if with gentleness they could not prevaile; but they found him alwaies one man, stedfast and immoveable. When they perceived that they could by no means reclaime him to their purpose, with such perswasions and offices as they used for his conversion, then went they about by false rumors and reports of recantations² (for it is well known, that

² *Of recantations.*] "I found by experience that this device of inventing and spreading false news in their own favour, frequent among the papists in other places, at Rome above all, was a most ordinary practice; from whence during the time of my abode in Italy there came first solemn news that the patriarch of Alexandria, with all the Greek church of Africa, had by their ambassadors submitted and reconciled themselves to the pope, and received from his holiness absolution and benediction; there being no such matter, as I learned afterward of a Greek bishop, who hath particular acquaintance and intelligence with that patriarch. Another time, that the king of Scots, amongst many acts worthy of a christian prince, had chased away his ministers; yea, and executed two of them, confiscating their goods, and bestowing them upon the catholicks: which news was soon after recalled from the same place. Not long after, that Beza the arch-heretick, Calvin's successor, drawing towards his death, had in full senate at Geneva recanted his religion, exhorting them, if they had care to save their souls, to seek reconciliation with the catholick church, and to send for the Jesuits to instruct them; whereupon both himself by special order from the pope was absolved by the bishop of Geneva ere he dyed, and the city had sent to Rome an ambassage of submission: a beginning of which news it was my chance to hear, as being whispered among the Jesuits, two months ere it brake out; but when it was once advertised so solemnly from Rome, it ran over all Christendom, and in Italy was so verily believed to be true, that there were as is said, who rode on very purpose to see those ambassadors of Geneva, yet invisible. To make up the full measure of that noble policy, I being afterwards at Lyons understood that the post of Rome there, then passing for Spain, gave confidently out that he left the queen of England's ambassadors at Rome making great instance for agreement and amity with his holiness, and to have her re-catholized and absolved; news, as to me then seemed, cut out purposely for Spain, and to consoleate their favourers and afflicted adherents.—I find also by the observation and judgement of some wise men, that the Jesuits are masters of that worthy mint, and that all these chymical coins are of their stamp; yea, and that all their glorious news of the miraculous proceedings of the fathers of their society in converting the Indies are not thought much truer; and lastly I perceive that the doctrine of all that side in their cases of conscience makes it lawful for them to equivocate with their adversaries in their answers, though given upon their oaths, whensoever their lives or liberties are touched. Yet the Jesuits are noted by some of their own friends to be too hardy equivocators; whereof they give example of a Jesuit who instructed a maid-servant in England, that if she were examined whether she knew of any priest

they and their servants did spread it first abroad) to bring him and the doctrine of Christ which hee professed, out of credite with the people. So the brute being a little spread abroad, and beleaved of some of the weaker sort, by reason of the often resort of the bishop of London and other, it increased more, and at the last came to M. Hoopers eares. Wherewith he was not a little grieved, that the people should give so light credite unto false rumours, having so simple a ground; as it may appeare by a letter which hee wrote upon that occasion, the copy whereof followeth.

A Letter of M. Hooper for the stopping of certaine false rumours spread abroad of his recantation.

“ The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ bee with all them that unfainedly looke for the comming of our Saviour Christ. Amen.

“ Deare brethren and sisters in the Lord, and my fellow prisoners for the cause of Gods gospell: I do much rejoyce and give thanks unto God for your constancie and perseverance in affliction, unto whom I wish continuance unto the end. And as I do rejoyce in *your* faith and constancie in afflictions that bee in prison, even so doe I mourne and lament to heare of our deere brethren that yet have not felt such daungers for Gods truth, as we have, and do feelee, and be daily like to suffer more, yea, the very extreame and vile death of the fire.

“ Yet such is the report abroad (as I am credibly informed) that I John Hooper a condemned man for the cause of Christ, should now after sentence of death (beeing in Newgate prisoner, and looking daily for execution) recant and abjure that which heretofore I have preached. And this talke ariseth of this, that the bishop of London and his chaplaines resort unto mee. Doubtlesse, if our brethren were as godly as I could wish them, they would thinke, that in case I did refuse to talke with them, they might have just occasion to say, that I were unlearned, and durst not speake with learned men; or else proud and disdainfull to

resorting to her master's house, she should swear if she were put to it, that she knew not of any, which she might do lawfully with this secret intent, that she knew not of any, viz.: with purpose to disclose them: though others defend this as a point of laudable wisdom.” Sir Edwin Sandys' *View of the State of Religion*, &c. London, 1673. p. 110—12.

speake with them. Therefore to avoide just suspicion of both, I have and doe daily speake with them when they come, not doubting but that they report that I am neyther proude nor unlearned. And I would wish all men to doe as I doe in this point. For I feare not their arguments, neither is death terrible unto mee: praying you to make true report of the same, as occasion shall serve; and that I am more confirmed in the truth which I have preached heretofore, by their comming.

"Therefore, yee that may send to the weake brethren, praie them that they trouble mee not with such reports of recantations as they do. For I have hitherto left all things of the world, and suffered great paines and imprisonment, and I thanke God I am as ready to suffer death, as a mortall man may bee. It were better for them to praie for us, than to credite or reporte such rumors that be untrue. We have enemies enow of such as know not God truely. But yet the false report of weake brethren is a double crosse. I wish you eternall salvation in Jesus Christ, and also require your continuall prayer, that hee which hath begun in us, may continue it to the end.

"I have taught the truth with my tongue, and with my pen heretofore; and heereafter shortly will confirme the same by Gods grace with my blood. Forth of Newgate the second of February, an. 1555.

"Your brother in Christ,

"JOHN HOOPER."

Upon Munday morning the bishop of London came to Newgate, and there degraded maister Hooper.

But first here is to be noted, that they, degrading this blessed bishop, did not proceede against him as against a bishop, but as only against a priest³, as they termed him: for such as he was, these baalamites accounted for no bishop.

³ But as only against a priest.] "When they proceeded to burn them that were in orders, they went upon the old maxim, that orders given in schism were not valid. So they did not esteem Hooper nor Ridley bishops, and therefore only degraded them from priesthood; though they had been ordained by their own forms, saving only the oath to the pope. But for those who were ordained by the new book," (of ordination made in the reign of king Edward) "they did not at all degrade them, supposing now they had no true orders by it." Burnet's *Hist. of Reformat.*, vol. ii. p. 269. edit. 4. Compare Prudent's *Ecclesiastical Tracts, The Validity of the Orders of the Church of England*, and Francis Mason's *Vindicia Ecclesie Anglicanae*, in which two

*Here followeth the forme and manner used in the degrading of
B. Hooper.*

The fourth day of February, the yeare above mentioned, in the chappell in Newgate, the bishop of London there sitting with his notarie and certaine other witnesses, came Alexander Andrew the gaoler, bringing with him M. Hooper and M. Rogers, being condemned before by the chauncellor: where the sayd bishop of London, at the request of the aforesaid Winchester, proceeded to the degradation of the parties above mentioned, maister Hooper and maister Rogers, after this forme and manner. First, hee put upon them all the vestures and ornaments belonging to a priest, with all other things to the same order appertaining, as though (being revested) they should solemnly execute in their office. Thus they being apparelled and invested, the bishop beginneth to plucke off, first the uttermost vesture, and so by degree and order comming downe to the lowest vesture, which they had onely in taking Bennet and Collet: and so being stript and deposed, hee deprived them of all order, benefite and priviledge belonging to the clergy: and consequently, that being done, pronounced, decreed, and declared the said parties so degraded, to bee given personally to the secular power, as the sheriffes, being for that yeare, M. Davy Woodrofe, and M. William Chester: who receiving first the sayd M. Rogers at the hands of the bishop, had him away with them, bringing him to the place of execution where he suffered. The witnesses there present, were maister Harpsfield

works, the latter particularly, the whole of this question is discussed with the singular ability and learning of that admirable writer.

"One thing I observe" (says Strype, speaking of Bradford) "that he is styled '*laicus*,' as though they disowned the ordination he received from the hands of Ridley, bishop of London." *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, vol. iii. p. 232. Again; among certain articles communicated by the queen to the bishops in the year 1554, we find it enjoined "touching such persons as were heretofore promoted to anie orders after the newe sort and fashion of orders; considering they were not ordered in verie deed, the bishop of the diocese, finding otherwise sufficiencie and ability in those men, may supply *that thing which wanted in them before*, and then according to his discretion admit them to minister." Fox's *Acts*, &c., p. 1295.

[*Bennet and Collet.*] These were of the lowest offices in the church. The degradation from the latter (the acolythship) consisted in taking away the "cruet and candlestick;" and from the former, in taking away the "surplice and first tonsure." See Fox's *Acts*, p. 606. Compare Wilkins, vol. iii. p. 412.

archdeacon of London, Robert Cosin, and Robert Willerton, canons of Paules, Thomas Mountague, and George Howe clerkes, Tristram Swadocke, and Richard Clunney Sumner, &c.

The same Munday at night being the 4. of Februarie, his keeper gave him an inkeling that he should be sent to Glocester to suffer death, whereat he rejoiced very much, lifting up his eyes and hands unto heaven, and praising God that he saw it good to send him amongst the people over whom hee was pastor, there to confirme with his death the truth which he had before taught them: not doubting but the Lord would give him strength to performe the same to his glorie: and immediately hee sent to his servants house for his bootes, spurres, and cloke, that he might be in a readinesse to ride when hee should be called.

The next daie following about foure of the clocke in the morning before day, the keeper with others came to him and searched him, and the bed wherein he lay, to see if he had written any thing; and then he was led by the sheriffes of London and other their officers forth of Newgate, to a place appointed not farre from S. Dunstans church in Fleetstreete, where sixe of the queenes gard were appointed to receive him, and to carie him to Glocester, there to be delivered unto the sheriffe, who with the L. Shandoyes^s, M. Wickes, and other commissioners, were appointed to see execution done. The which gard brought him to the Angell, where he brake his fast with them, eating his meate at that time more liberally than he had used to do a good while before. About the breake of the day he went to horse, and lept cheerefully on horsebacke without helpe, having a hood upon his head under his hat that he should not be knowne, and so tooke his journey joyfully towards Glocester, and alwaies by the way the gard learned of him where he was accustomed to bait or lodge, and ever caried him to another inne.

Upon the Thursday following, he came to a towne in his dioces called Ciceter, fifteen miles from Glocester, about eleven of the clocke, and there dyed at a womans house which had alwaies hated the truth and spoken all evill she could of M. Hooper. This woman perceiving the cause of his comming, shewed him all the friendship she could, and lamented his case with teares, confessing that she had before often reported, that if he were put to the triall, he would not stand to his doctrine.

^s *L. Shandoyes.*] Sir John Bridges, first lord Chandos of Sudeley.

After dinner he rode forwardes, and came to Glocester about five of the clocke, and a mile without the towne was much people assembled which cried and lamented his estate: in so much that one of the gard rode post into the towne, to require ayde of the maior and sheriffes, fearing least he should have beene taken from them. The officers and their retinue repaired to the gate with weapons, and commanded the people to keepe their houses, but there was no man that once gave any signification of any such rescue or violence. So was hee lodged at one Ingrams house in Glocester, and that night (as he had done al the way) he did eate his meate quietly, and slept his first sleep soundly, as it was reported by them of the gard and others. After his first sleepe he continued all that night in praier untill the morning, and then he desired that he might go into the next chamber (for the gard were also in the chamber where he laie) that there being solitarie, hee might pray and talke with God: so that all the day, saving a little at meat, and when hee talked at any time with such as the gard licenced to speake with him, he bestowed in prayer.

Amongst other that spake with him, sir Anthony Kingston knight, was one. Who seeming in times past his verie friend, was then appointed by the queenes letters, to be one of the commissioners, to see execution done upon him. Maister Kingston being brought into the chamber, found him at his prayers: and as soone as he saw M. Hooper, he burst forth in teares. Maister Hooper, at the first blush knew him not. Then said maister Kingston, "Why my lord, doe ye not knowe me an olde friend of yours, Anthony Kingston?"

"Yes, M. Kingston, I do now know you well, and am glad to see you in health, and do prayse God for the same."

"But I am sory to see you in this case: for as I understand you be come hither to die. But (alas) consider that life is sweet, and death is bitter. Therefore seeing life may be had, desire to live: for life hereafter may do good."

"Indeed it is true M. Kingston, I am come hither to end this life, and to suffer death here, because I will not gainsay the former truth that I have heeretofore taught amongst you in this diocesse, and else where; and I thank you for your friendly counsaile, although it be not so friendly as I could have wished it. True it is master Kingston that death is bitter, and life is sweete: but (alas) consider that the death to come is more bitter, and the life

to come is more sweet. Therefore for the desire and love I have to the one, and the terror and feare of the other, I do not so much regarde this death, nor esteeme this life, but have settled myselfe⁶

⁶ *Have settled myselfe.*] He that was so settled for himself, in his own mind, might well be entitled to address a word of exhortation and comfort to partners in suffering; as he has done, in very striking and beautiful terms, in a letter to certain prisoners, who had been seized in Bow-church yard, on New Year's Day, engaged in prayer and reading the Scriptures.

"O! glad may you be that ever you were born, to be apprehended and taken, while you were so virtuously occupied; blessed be they that suffer for righteousness sake. If God had suffered them that took your bodies, to have taken your lives also, then had you now been following the Lamb in perpetual joys, away from the company and assembly of wicked men. But the Lord will not so suddenly have you to depart, but reserveth you gloriously to speak, and to maintain the truth to the world. Be of good comfort: all the hairs of your head are numbered; and there is not one of them shall perish, except your heavenly Father suffer it. Now you be even in the field, and placed in the fore-front of Christ's battle. It is doubtless a singular grace of God, and a special love of him towards you, to give you this fore-ward and pre-eminence; and a sign, that he trusteth you above many other of his people.

"Remember, dear brethren and sisters, what lookers-on you have to see and behold you in this fight:—God, and all his holy angels, who be ready always to take you up, if you be slain in this fight. Consider also whom you have standing at your backs; all the faithful brethren, who shall take courage, strength, and desire to follow such valiant and noble Christians as you be. Be not afraid therefore of your adversaries. For He that is in you is stronger than he that is in them. Shrink not, although it seemeth to the flesh painful. Your pains shall not be now so grievous, as hereafter your joy shall be comfortable. Read the 8th and 9th chapters to the Romans; to the Hebrews the 11th and 12th, and upon your knees thank God that ever you were counted worthy to suffer any thing for his truth's sake. . . . So let us now who are called, commit all things to Him that calleth us. He will take heed that all things shall be well. He will surely comfort the husband: He will doubtless help the wife: He will guide the servants: He will keep the house: yea, rather than any thing should be left undone, He will rock the cradle. Cast therefore your care upon God; for He doubtless careth for you. . . . God's Holy Spirit be with you now and ever-more. Jan. 4, 1554." (1555, new style.) Strype's *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, vol. iii. no. 27. *Records*.

We have another letter written about a fortnight after to some friends who, it should seem, had sought his directions and advice, in prospect of the perilous times which they saw were rapidly coming on. The parliament, we are to understand, had restored the pope's supremacy; and the ancient statutes of Henry IV. and V. against heresy, they had revived: so that all the same instruments of persecution, which had wrought such havoc in the hands of Arundel, Chicheley and Longlands, were now ready to be called into action by those, who had long ago given proofs abundant how impatient they were to be so furnished. "Now therefore," says the bishop, "is the time of trial,

through the strength of Gods holy spirit, patiently to passe through the torments and extremities of the fire now prepared for me,

to see whether we fear God more, or man :” and he immediately proceeds, in compliance with their request, to debate for them the whole question of duty, in a few concise, but striking propositions, which, doubtless, he had often before revolved, for his own use, and was now willing to impart for the approaching necessities of his friends.

“ You must now,” says he, “ turn all your cogitations from the peril which you see, to mark by faith what *followeth* that peril ; namely, either victory in this world by your enemies ; or else, a surrender of this life, to inherit the everlasting kingdom. Beware then of looking too much on the felicity, or the misery of this world : for the consideration and earnest love or fear of either, draweth from God.—Wherefore, think with yourselves, as touching the *felicity* of the world, it is good ; but yet none otherwise than as it standeth with the favour of God. It is to be kept, but yet so far forth only, as by keeping of it we lose not God. It is good, to abide and tarry still among our friends here ; but yet so that we tarry not therewithal in God’s displeasure, and hereafter have to dwell with the devils in fire everlasting. There is nothing under God but may be kept, if so be that God, being above all things we have, be not lost.—Of *adversity* judge the same.—Imprisonment is painful ; but yet liberty upon evil conditions is more painful. The prisons are noisome : but yet not so much so as sweet houses, where the fear and true honour of God lacketh.—I must be alone and solitary : it is better so to be, and to have God with me, than to be in company with the wicked.—Loss of goods is great : but loss of God’s grace and favour is greater.—I am a poor simple creature, and cannot tell how to answer before such a great sort of the noble, learned and wise : it is better to make answer before the pride and pomp of wicked men, than to stand naked in the sight of all heaven and earth, before the just God, at the latter day.—I shall die then by the hands of the cruel man : he is blessed, that loseth his life full of mortal miseries, and findeth the life full of eternal joys.—It is a grief to depart from goods and friends : but yet not so much as to depart from grace and heaven itself.—Wherefore, there is neither *felicity* nor *adversity* of this world, that can appear to be great, if it be weighed with the joys or pains in the world to come.—I can do no more but pray for you : do the same for me, for God’s sake.

“ For my part, I thank thee, heavenly Father, I have made my account, and appointed myself unto his will. As He will, so I will, by His grace.”—*Letters of the Martyrs*, p. 93, 4. edit. 1837.

I mentioned at the beginning of this note, the beauty, of a tender and domestic character, of the extract from Hooper. I am tempted, under similar inducements, to annex another passage, of a like domestic nature and of kindred beauty, from another hand. It is from a letter of Laurence Saunders to his wife. After warning her not to appear so frequently at the grate of his prison, lest her own personal safety should be endangered, he goes on to shew, *what* his mind is still prepared to anticipate and to bear, for her, and for their only child, if need shall require. “ You shall, I think, shortly come *far enough* into danger, by keeping faith and a good conscience. Do this then, in earnest, and not leaving off. So if we two continue God’s children

rather than to deny the truth of his word, desiring you and others in the meane time, to commend me to Gods mercy in your prayers."

"Well my lord, then I perceive there is no remedie, and therefore I will take my leave of you: and I thank God that ever I knew you, for God did appoint you to call me being a lost child: and by your good instructions, where before I was both an adulterer and a fornicator, God hath brought me to the forsaking and detesting of the same."

grafted in Christ, the same God's blessing which we receive, shall also sett upon our Samuel. Though we should shortly depart hence, and leave the poor infant, to our seeming, at all adventures, yet shall he have our graces: God to be his God: for so hath he said, and he cannot lie: *I will be thy God* (saith he), *and the God of thy seed*. Yea, if you leave him in the wild wilderness destitute of all help, being called of God to do his will, whether to die for the confession of Christ, or for any work of obedience; that God which heard the cry of the little poor infant of Agar, Sarah's handmaiden, and did succour it, will do the like to the child of you or of any other fearing him, and putting your trust in him."—*Letters of the Martyrs*, p. 149.

[*Both an adulterer.*] This passage is illustrated by an extract, published by bishop Burnet in his third volume, p. 209; from a letter written from Oxford by one John ab Ulmis, a Swiss, to Bullinger, Dec. 4th, 1552. "In the same letter (says the historian) he gives an instance of Hooper's impartial zeal in the discharge of his function in his diocese: that while he was censuring some inferior people, for their scandalous life, one said to him, 'we poor people must do penance for these things, while great and rich men, as guilty as we, are overlooked.' Upon that, he said, 'name any person, how great soever, that was guilty of adultery, so that it could be proved against him, and he would leave himself in their hands, to be used by them as they pleased, if he did not proceed equally against all.' So, in a few days, Sir Anthony Kingston, a great man in those parts, being accused of adultery, he cited him into his court. He, for some time, refused to appear. At last he came; and when the bishop was charging his sin severely upon him, he gave him very foul language, and at last fell to beat him. This was presently followed so severely, that he was fined in five hundred pounds, and forced to submit to do penance.

"This raised the bishop's character, as it contributed not a little to establish his authority in his diocese. He set himself to do his duty there with so much zeal, that his wife, who was a German, wrote to Bullinger, praying him to write to her husband, to take a little more care of himself: for he preached commonly thrice, sometimes four times in one day. The crowds of those who came constantly to hear him, made him look upon them, as persons that were hungry for the word of life. So she apprehending, that his zeal made him labour beyond his strength, studied to get others to put some stop to that, which, it seems, she could not prevail with him so far as to restrain?"

"If you have had the grace so to do, I do highly praye God for it: and if you have not, I pray God ye may have, and that you may continually live in his feare." After these and manie other words, the one tooke leave of the other, M. Kingston with bitter teares, M. Hooper with teares also trickling downe his cheekes. At which departure M. Hooper told him, that all the troubles he had sustained in prison, had not caused him to utter so much sorrow.

The same day in the after noone, a blind boy, after long intercession made to the gard, obtained licence to be brought unto M. Hoopers speech. The same boy not long afore had suffered imprisonment at Glocester for confessing of the truth. Maister Hooper after he had examined him of his faith, and the cause of his imprisonment, beheld him stedfastly, and (the water appearing in his eyes) sayde unto him: "Ah poore boy, God hath taken from thee thy outward sight, for what consideration hee best knoweth; but hee hath given thee an other sight much more precious: for he hath endued thy soule with the eye of knowledge and faith. God give thee grace^a continually to pray unto him, that thou lose not that sight, for then shouldest thou bee blinde both in bodie and soule."

After that another came to him, whom he knew to be a very papist and a wicked man, which appeared to bee sory for maister Hoopers trouble, saying: "Sir, I am sorry to see you thus." "To see me? Why," said he, "art thou sory?" "To see you," saith the other, "in this case. For I heare say you are come hither to die, for the which I am sory." "Be sory for thy selfe man," sayd M. Hooper, "and lament thine owne wickednesse: for I am well, I thank God, and death to me for Christs sake is welcome."

The same night he was committed by the gard, their commission being then expired, unto the custodie of the sheriffes of Gloucester. The name of the one was Jenkins, the other Bond, who with the maior and aldermen repaired to maister Hoopers lodging, and at the first meeting saluted him, and took him by the hand. Unto whome Hooper spake on this manner. "Maister maior,

^a *God give thee grace.*] The bishop's prayer was granted. For this poor blind boy, whose name was Thomas Drowry, was afterwards himself a martyr. He was burnt at Gloucester, chiefly for denying the doctrine of Transubstantiation, about the fifth of May, 1556. His story is given in Fox's *Acts*, p. 1735.

I give most heartie thanks to you, and to the rest of your brethren, that you have vouchsafed to take mee a prisoner and a condemned man by the hand: whereby, to my rejoycing, it is some deale apparant that your olde love and frindship towards me is not altogether extinguished: and I trust also that all the things I have taught you in times past, are not utterly forgotten, when I was here by the godly king that dead is, appointed to be your bishop and pastor. For the which most true and sincere doctrine, because I will not now account it falsehood and heresie, as many other men doe, I am sent hither (as I am sure you knowe) by the queenes commandement, to die; and am come where I taught it, to confirme it with my blood. And our maister sheriffes, I understand by these good men, and my wise friends," (meaning the gard) "at whose hands I have found as much favour and gentleness by the way hitherward, as a prisoner could reasonably require (for the which also I most heartily thanke them) that I am committed to your custodie, as unto them that must see mee brought to morrow to the place of execution. My request therefore to you shall be onely, that there may be a quick fire, shortly to make an end, and in the meane time I will bee as obedient unto you, as your selves would wish. If you thinke I doe amisse in anie thing, holde up your finger, and I have done. For I am not come hither as one inforced or compelled to die, for it is well knowen, I might have had my life with worldly gaine: but as one willing to offer and give my life for the truth, rather than to consent to the wicked papistical religion of the bishop of Rome, received and set forth by the magistrates in England, to Gods high displeasure and dishonour: and I trust by Gods grace to morrow to die a faithfull servant of God, and a true obedient subjecte to the queene."

These and such like words in effecte used M. Hooper to the maior, sheriffes and aldermen, whereat many of them mourned and lamented. Notwithstanding, the two sheriffes went aside to consult, and were determined to have lodged him in the common gaole of the towne called Northgate, if the gard had not made earnest intercession for him: who declared at large how quietly, mildely, and patiently hee had behaved himselfe in the way, adding thereto, that any child might keepe him well enough, and that they themselves would rather take paines to watch with him, than that hee should be sent to the common prison. So it was determined at the length he should still remaine in Robert

Ingram's house, and the sheriffes and the sergeants and other officers did appoint to watch with him that night themselves. His desire was that he might goe to bed that night betimes, saying, that he had many things to remember: and so did at five of the clocke, and slept one sleepe soundly, and bestowed the rest of the night in prayer. After he gate up in the morning, he desired that no man should be suffered to come into the chamber, that he might be solitarie till the houre of execution.

About eight of the clock came Sir John Bridges, L. Shandoys, with a great band of men, Sir Anthony Kingston, Sir Edmund Bridges, and other commissioners appointed to see execution done. At nine of the clocke M. Hooper was willed to prepare himselfe to be in a readinesse, for the time was at hand. Immediately hee was brought downe from his chamber by the sheriffs, who were accompanied with bils, gleives, and weapons. When he sawe the multitude of weapons, he spake to the sheriffes on this wise: "Maister sheriffes," (sayd he) "I am no traytor^o,

^o *I am no traytor.*] It may be presumed that in this and a similar expression above, Hooper has reference to a very false and scandalous report which his enemies had propagated of his disloyalty, and that he had written a letter of encouragement to certain persons who had been committed to prison for cursing queen Mary. Against this calumny he vindicated himself in an *Apology*, which was afterwards, in the reign of queen Elizabeth, printed in London by John Tisdale. From this *Apology* it appears that the only foundation for the charge was that he had written a letter, not to the persons alleged, but to some other individuals, exhorting them to persevere in their prayers which they made together in the vulgar tongue. "There (says he) they gave God thanks for that they had receaved at his handes, and asked of him the thinges that they lacked, and prayed also for the queene and the magistrates. . . . Nowe doo the wicked papistes fayne matter, and chaunge prayer, wherein I requyred them to persevere for the quene, in to cursing the quene." Hooper's *Apology*, Signat. A. 7. A. D. 1562. In the course of the same tract he boldly asserts his unimpeachable loyalty and fidelity, and appeals to the services which he had rendered to the queen when she stood in extreme need of them. "I have bene alwayes a true manne to al the estates of thys realme. I wyll stande with the lawe in that pointe and reprove myne accusers, whatsoever they be. As for my truthe and loyaltye to the queenes hyghnesse, the tyme of her moste dangerouse estate can testifye wythe me, that when there was both commandments and commissions out against her, whereby she was in the sighte of the worlde the more in daunger, and lesse lyke to come to the crowne; yet when she was at the worste, I rode myselfe from place to place (as it is well knowen) to wyn and stay the people for her party. And whereas another was proclaymed, I preferred her notwithstandinge the proclamations. And to helpe her as muche as I could,

neither needed you to
the place where I must
have gone alone to the
Afterwarde looking as
sembled, being by cele
(for it was market day
towards death) he said

"Alas, why bee these
adventure they thinke
have in times past, un
standing the cause
When I was appar
them true and dur
Because I wil not
truth, this kinde of

So he wrope for
a lambe to the
hat upon his head
For the pish
caused him
charged him
his mouth
bitterly for
heaven and
and he was

when not to
yourself
Julian Talbot
yours to know

them, to looke with so cheerefull and ruddish a countenance as he did at that present. When he came to the place appointed where he should die, smilinglie he beheld the stake and preparation made for him, which was neere unto the great elme tree over against the colledge of priests, where he was woont to preach. The place round about the houses, and the boughes of the tree were replenished with people, and in the chamber over the colledge gate stood the priests of the colledge. Then kneeled hee downe (for asmuch as hee could not be suffered to speake unto the people) to praier, and beckned unto one sixe or seven times whom he knew well, to heare the saide praier, to make report thereof in time to come (powring teares upon his shoulders and in his bosome) who gave attentive eares unto the same: the which prayer he made upon the whole Creed, wherein he continued for the space of halfe an hour. Now after hee was somewhat entred into his prayer, a boxe was brought and laide before him upon a stoole, with his pardon² (or at the least wise it was fained to be his pardon) from the queene, if he would turne. At the sight wherof he cried: "If you love my soule away with it, if you love my soule away with it." The boxe being taken away, the lord Shandoys saide: "Seeing there is no remedie, dispatch quickly." Maister Hooper said; "Good my lord, I trust your lordship will give me leave to make an ende of my praiers."

Then said the lord Shandoys to Sir Edmund Bridges his sonne (which gave eare before to M. Hoopers prayer at his request:) "Edmund, take heede that he doe nothing else but pray: if he do, tell mee, and I shall quicklie dispatch him." Whiles this talke was, there stepped one or two in uncalled, which hearde him speake these wordes following.

"Lord," said he, "thou art a gracious God and a mercifull Redeemer. Have mercy therefore upon me most miserable and wretched offender, after thy great mercy, and according to thine inestimable goodnesse. Thou art ascended into heaven, receive mee to be partaker of thy joyes, where thou sittist in equall glorie with thy father. For well knowst thou Lord, wherefore I

² *With his pardon.*] The constancy of these blessed martyrs was continually solicited by applications of this searching nature, when the last bitter hour of their trial drew nigh. Compare Fox's *Acts*, p. 1356. 1362. 1386. 1398. 1423. 1474. 1719. &c.

am come hither to suffer, and why the wicked doe persecute this thy poore servant: not for my sinnes and transgressions committed against thee, but because I will not allow their wicked doings, to the contaminating of thy bloud, and to the deniall of the knowledge of thy truth, wherewith it did please thee by thy holy spirit to instruct me: the which with as much diligence as a poore wretch might (being therto called) I have set forth to thy glory. And well seest thou, my Lord and God, and what terrible paines and cruell torments be prepared for thy creature: such, Lord, as without thy strength none is able to beare, or patiently to passe. But all things that are impossible with man, are possible with thee. Therefore strengthen mee of thy goodnesse, that in the fire I breake not the rules of patience; or else assuage the terroure of the paines, as shall seeme most to thy glory."

As soone as the maior had espied these men which made report of the former wordes, they were commanded away, and could not be suffered to heare any more¹. Praier being done, he

¹ *To heare any more.*] We have among many others of a like kind, a very valuable confession in a letter written to a bishop (perhaps in the nature of a circular), of the effect that was produced at these martyrdoms on the assembled spectators, by the conduct of the sufferers. It is from cardinal Pole, written shortly before the meeting of convocation which was to assemble in the month of November A. D. 1555.

"De reliquis quæ ex unoquoque vestrum cognoscenda erant, quo ad cultum Dei et animarum salutem vel institui, vel corrigi oporteat, te admonere nihil necesse arbitramur: hoc tantum quod ad coercendos hæreticos pertinet, scribendum curavimus, de quo cum multi pii homines mecum egerunt, tum vero imprimis serenissima Regina, ut ad unumquemque vestrum scriberem admonuit; ut, quia rudi atque imperitæ multitudini nonnulli eorum, *non minus morientes obsunt, quam dum vivunt*, huic rei sic provideatur, ut, cum ii ad supplicium ducuntur, concionator adsit, qui causam mortis, qui eorum male actam vitam ac pertinaciam, qui indulgentiam et diligentiam adhibitam ut resipiscerent, et a morte liberarentur, exponat. . . . Ita et hoc misericordiæ opus usque ad extremum erga hæreticos præstabitur, et populus eo scandalo liberabitur, in quod facile solet incidere, cum sine concionatore, qui hæc exponat miseri hominis in cruciatibus perferendis tolerantiam tantum videt, nec diaboli vim aut dolos, sub falsa pietatis ac fortitudinis specie, animadvertit" *Poli Epistolæ*, tom. v. p. 88. Brixie, 1757. 4to. But these gentler methods, and the other harsher ones, of forbidding the martyrs to speak to the people, and forbidding the people to encourage or pray for the martyrs, in their hour of trial, were far from successful. One instance may serve as a specimen, which is strikingly described by Heylin in his *History of the Reformation*, part ii. p. 79, as follows:

prepared himself to the stake, and put off his hosts gowne, and delivered it to the sheriffes, requiring them to see it restored unto the owner, and put off the rest of his geare, unto his doublet and his hose, wherein he would have burned. But the sheriffes would not permit that (such was their greedinesse); unto whose pleasures (good man) he very obedientlie submitted himselfe: and his doublet, hose, and peticote were taken off. Then being in his shirt, he tooke a point from his hose himselfe, and trussed his shirt betweene his legs, where he had a pound of gunpowder⁴ in a bladder, and under each arme the like quantitie

“ This proclamation, though it were very smart and quick, yet there was somewhat of more mercy in it, than in another which came out in the very same month, at the burning of seven persons in Smithfield, published both at Newgate, where they were imprisoned, and at the stake, where they were to suffer; whereby it was straightly charged and commanded, that no man should either pray for, or speak to them, or once say, God help them! A cruelty more odious than that of Domitian, or any of the greatest tyrants of the elder time, in hindering all intercourse of speech, upon some jealousy and distrusts of state, between man and man.

“ Which proclamation notwithstanding, Bentham the minister of one of the London congregations, seeing the fire set to them, turning his eyes unto the people, cryed and said, ‘ We know they are the people of God, and therefore we cannot chuse but wish well to them, and say, *God strengthen them* ;’ and so boldly he said, ‘ Almighty God, for Christ’s sake strengthen them.’ With that, all the people with one consent cryed, ‘ Amen, Amen,’ the noise whereof was so great, and the cryers so many, that the officers knew not whom to seize on, or with whom they were to begin their accusation.—And though peradventure it may seem to have somewhat of a miracle in it, that the Protestants should have a congregation under Bonner’s nose; yet so it was, that the godly people of that time were so little terrified with the continual thoughts of that bloody butcher, that they maintained their constant meetings for religious offices even in London itself; in one of which congregations, that namely whereof Bentham was at this time minister, there assembled seldom under 40, many times 100, and sometimes 200, but more or less as it stood most with their conveniency and safety.

“ By the encouragement and constant preaching of which pious men, the Protestant party did not only stand to their former principles, but were resolved to suffer whatsoever could be laid upon them, rather than forfeit a good conscience, or betray the cause. They had not all the opportunity of such holy meetings, but they met frequently enough in smaller companies, to animate and comfort one another in those great extremities.”

⁴ *A pound of gunpowder*] There were not wanting those whose hearts were hard enough to grudge to the poor sufferers this last melancholy consolation, which the charity of friends, or of the superintendents of the execution occasionally administered. Dorman, afterwards one of bishop Jewel’s antagonists,

delivered him by the guard. So desiring the people to say the Lords praier with him, and to pray for him (who performed it with teares, during the time of his paines) he went up to the stake. Now when he was at the stake, three yrons made to binde him to the stake, were brought: one for his necke, another for his middle, and the third for his legges. But he refusing them said: "ye have no neede thus to trouble your selves. For I doubt not but God will give strength sufficient to abide the extremitie of the fire, without bands: notwithstanding, suspecting the frailtie and weakenesse of the flesh, but having assured confidence in Gods strength, I am content ye doe as yee shall thinke good."

So the hooke of yron prepared for his middle, was brought, which being made somewhat too short (for his bellie was swoln by imprisonment) he shranke and put in his bellie with his hand, untill it was fastned; and when they offered to have bound his necke and legs with the other two hooques of yron, he utterlie refused them, and would have none, saying; "I am well assured, I shall not trouble you."

Thus being readie, he looked upon the people, of whome hee might be well seene (for he was both tall, and stood also on a high stoole) and beheld round about him: and in every corner there was nothing to be seene but weeping and sorrowfull people. Then lifting up his eies and hands unto heaven, he praied to himselfe. By and by he that was appointed to make the fire, came to him, and did aske him forgiveness. Of whome he asked,

was present at the burning of Latimer and Ridley; and in his *Disproof of Nowell's Reproof*, fol. 19. A. D. 1565, he notices their having gunpowder given them, the sooner to rid them of their pains, "a kind of practice" (says he) "amongst Christs martyrs, never, I trow, heard of, the sooner to dispatch themselves; as with my own eyes I saw Ridley and Latimer burned." And in the margin he writes, "This agreeth not with the martyrdom of Polycarpus." To these reflexions, Dean Nowell in his *Confutation of Mr. Dorman*, p. 276. A. D. 1567, thus replies: "That Dorman might justly lament, that he did see that wicked cruelty executed most unworthily upon so worthy men of learning and virtue, and so reverend in age as the one," (Latimer,) "and in office and calling as they were both. But the more he might lament, that he reported that horrible wickedness and cruelty, without lamenting therefore; yea rather rejoycing highly therein." He added, "That Ignatius, that holy martyr, said he would provoke and anger the beasts, that they might the more speedily tear him in pieces, and greedily devour him. And why may not the heat of fire he provoked, as well as the heat and fury of beasts?" See Strype's *Ecclesiast. Memor*, vol. iii. p. 230.

why he should forgive him, saying, that he knew never any offence he had committed against him? "Oh sir" (said the man) "I am appointed to make the fire." "Therein" (said M. Hooper) "thou loest nothing offend me: God forgive thee thy sinnes, and doe thine office, I pray thee." Then the reedes were cast up, and he received two bundles of them in his owne hands, imbraced them, cissed them, and put under either arme one of them, and shewed with his hand, how the rest should be bestowed, and pointed to the place where any did lacke.

Anon, commandement was given that the fire should be set to, and so it was. But because there were put to no fewer greene fagots then two horses could carry upon their backs, it kindled not by and by, and was a pretty while also before it took the reeds upon the fagots. At length it burned about him, but the winde having full strength in that place (it was also a lowring and cold morning) it blew the flame from him, so that he was in a manner no more but touched by the fire.

Within a space after, a fewe drie fagots were brought, and a new fire kindled with fagots, (for there were no more reeds:) and that burned at the neather parts, but had small power above, because of the winde, saving that it did burne his haire, and scorch his skinne a little. In the time of which fire even as at the first flame, saying mildely and not very loude (but as one without paines:) "O Jesus the sonne of David have mercy upon me, and receive my soule." After the second fire was spent, he did wipe both his eyes with his hands, and beholding the people, he said with an indifferent loude voice: "For Gods love (good people) let me have more fire." And all this while his neather parts did burne: for the fagots were so fewe, that the flame did not burne strongly at his upper parts.

The third fire was kindled within a while after, which was more extreame than the other two: and then the bladders of gunpowder brake, which did him small good, they were so placed, and the winde had such power. In the which fire he praied with somewhat a loude voice: "Lord Jesu have mercy upon me: Lord Jesu have mercy upon me: Lord Jesus receive my spirit." And these were the last words he was heard to utter. But when he was blacke in the mouth, and his tongue swolne, that he could not speake, yet his lippes went till they were shrunk to the gummies: and he knocked his breast with his hands, untill one of his armes fell off, and then knocked still with the other, what

time the fat, water, and bloud dropped out at his fingers ends, untill by renewing of the fire, his strength was gone, and his hand did cleave fast in knocking to the yron upon his brest. So immediatly bowing forwards, he yeelded up his spirit.

Thus was he three quarters of an houre or more in the fire. Even as a lambe, patiently he aboad the extreamitie therof, neither mooved forwards, backwards, or to any side: but having his neather parts burned, and his bowels fallen out, hee died as quietly as a childe in his bed: and he now reigneth as a blessed martyr, in the joyes of heaven prepared for the faithfull in Christ, before the foundations of the world: for whose constancie all Christians are bound to praise God.

DOCTOR ROWLAND TAYLOR.

Our weapons are faith, hope, charity, righteousness, truth, patience, prayer unto God; and our sworde wherewith we smite our enemies, we beate, and batter, and beare downe all falseboode, is the worde of God. With these weapons under the banner of the crosse of Christe we do fight, ever having our eye upon our grand master, duke and captain, Christ. And thus we reckon ourselves to triumph, and to win the crowne of everlasting bliss, when induring in this battaile, without any shrinking or yeelding to the enemies, after the example of our grand captaine Christ our master, after the example of his holy prophets, apostles and martyrs, when, I say, we are slain in our mortal bodies of our enemies, and are most cruelly, and without all mercy murdered.

BISHOP RIDLEY.

DOCTOR ROWLAND TAYLOR.

towne of Hadley was one of the first that received the word of God in all England, at the preaching of maister Thomas Hey: by whose industrie the gospel of Christ had such great successe, and tooke such roote there, that a great number of that parish became exceeding well learned in the holy scriptures, as well women as men; so that a man might have found among them many, that had often reade the whole bible through, that could have said a great part of Saint Pauls epistles by heart, and very well and readily have given a godly learned sentence in any matter of controversie. Their children and servants were also brought up and trained diligentlie in the right knowledge of Gods word, so that the whole towne seemed rather a universitie of the learned, then a town of clothmaking or tanning people. And what most is to be commended, they were for the more part faithfull followers of Gods word in their living.

In this town was doctor Rowland Tailor, doctour in both the lawes and canon lawes, and a right perfect divine, parson. Who when he first entring¹ into his benefice, did not, as the common

[*His first entring.*] “Here let me add this note of this reverend man, Dr. Turner, dean of Wells, his countryman and spiritual father in Christ, wrote of him to Mr. Fox. ‘Dr. Taylor, who was burnt at Hadley, was born in Northumberland, in the town of Rothbury, not far from Riddes-

With this man I lived for many years in great familiarity, and often earnestly admonished him to embrace the evangelical religion: and that might the easier be brought to think as we did, I privately got him the book called *Unio Dissidentium*; by which, and the sermons of Latimer, he was taken and easily came over to our doctrine.’” *Strype's Ecclesiastical Annals*, vol. iii. p. 183.

sort of benefited men do, let out his benefice to a *farmer*, that should gather up the profits, and set in an ignorant unlearned priest to serve the cure, and, so they may have the fleece, little or nothing care for feeding the flocke. But contrarily he forsooke the archbishop of Canterbury Thomas Crammer, with whome he before was in houshold, and made his personall abode and dwelling in Hadley among the people committed to his charge. Where he was a good shepheard, abiding and dwelling among his sheepe; gave himselfe wholly to the study of holy Scriptures, most faithfully endeavoring himselfe to fulfill that charge, which the Lord gave unto Peter, saying; *Peter lovest thou me? Feede my lambes: Feed my sheepe: feed my sheepe.* This love of Christ so wrought in him, that no sunday nor holie day passed, nor other time when he might get the people together, but he preached to them the word of God, the doctrine of their salvation.

Not only was his word a preaching unto them, but all his life and conversation was an example of unfained Christian life and true holinesse. He was void of all pride, humble, and meeke as any childe: so that none were so poore, but they might boldlie, as unto their father, resort unto him; neither was his lowlines childish or fearefull, but as occasion, time and place required, he would be stout in rebuking the sinfull and evill doers; so that none was so rich but he would tell him plainely his fault, with such earnest and grave rebukes as became a good curate and pastor. He was a man very milde, voide of al rancour, grudge, or evill will, ready to doe good to all men, readily forgiving his enemies, and never sought to doe evill to any.

To the poore that were blinde, lame, sick, bedrid, or that had many children, he was a very father, a carefull patron, and diligent provider, insomuch that hee caused the parishioners to make a generall provision for them: and hee himselfe (beside the continuall releef that they alwaies found at his house) gave an honest portion yearlie to the common almes boxe. His wife also was an honest, discrete, and sober matrone; and his children well nurtured, brought up in the feare of God and good learning.

To conclude; he was a right and livelie image or patterne of all those vertuous qualities described by S. Paule in a true bishop, a good salt of the earth, savourily biting the corrupt manners of evil men, a light in Gods house set upon a candlestick for all good men to imitate and follow.

Thus continued this good shepheard among his flock, governing and leading them through the wildernesses of this wicked world, all the daies of the most innocent and holy king of blessed memory, Edward the sixth. But after it pleased God to take king Edward from this vale of misery unto his most blessed rest, the papists, who ever ssembled and dissembled, both with king Henry the eighth, and king Edward his son, now seeing the time convenient for their purpose, uttered their false hypocrisie, openly refusing all good reformation made by the said two most godly kings; and contrary to that they had all these two kings daies preached, taught, written, and sworn, they violently overthrew the true doctrine of the gospell, and persecuted with sword and fire all those that would not agree to receive againe the Romaine bishop as supreme head of the universall church; and allow all the errors, superstitions and idolatries, that before by Gods word were disproved and justly condemned, as though now they were good doctrine, vertuous, and true religion.

In the beginning of this rage of antichrist, a certaine petie gentleman after the sort of a lawyer, called Foster, being a steward and keeper of courts, a man of no great skill, but a bitter persecuter in those daies, with one John Clerke of Hadley, which Foster had ever beene a secret favourer of all Romish idolatrie, conspired with the said Clerke to bring in the pope and his maumetry againe into Hadley church. For as yet doctor Taylour, as a good shepheard had retained and kept in his church the godlie church service and reformation made by king Edward, and moste faithfully and earnestlie preached against the popish corruptions, which had infected the whole countrey round about.

Therefore the foresaid Foster and Clerke hired one John Werth, parson of Aldam, a very fit minister for their purpose, to come to Hadley, and there to give the onset to begin againe the popish masse.

To this purpose they builded up with all haste possible the altar, intending to bring in their masse againe, about the palme Sunday. But this their devise tooke none effect: for in the night the altar was beaten downe. Wherefore they built it up againe, the second time, and laid diligent watch, least any should againe break it downe.

On the day following came Foster and John Clerk, bringing with them their popish sacrificer, who brought with him all hisplements and garments, to play his popish pageant, whome

they and their men garded with swords and bucklers, least any man should disturbe him in his missall sacrifice.

When doctour Taylour, who, (according to his custome) sat at his book studying the word of God, heard the bells ring, he arose and went into the church, supposing some thing had bin there to be done, according to his pastorall office : and comming to the church, he found the church doores shut and fast barred, saving the chancell doore, which was onelie latched : where he entring in, and comming into the chancell, saw a popish sacrificer in his robes, with a broad new shaven crowne, ready to beginne his popish sacrifice, beset round about with drawne swords and bucklers, least any man should approche to disturbe him.

Then said doctour Tailour ; “ Thou divell, who made thee so bold to enter into this church of Christ, to prophane and defile it with this abhominable idolatrie ?” With that start up Foster, and with an irefull and furious countenance, saide to D. Taylour ; “ thou traytour, what doest thou heere, to let and disturbe the queenes proceedings ?” Doctor Taylour answered : “ I am no traytour, but I am the shepheard that God my Lord Christ hath appointed to feed this his flocke : wherefore I have good authority to be here : and I command thee thou popish wolf, in the name of God to avoid hence, and not to presume here with such popish idolatry, to poison Christs flocke.”

Then said Foster, “ wilt thou traitourly heretick make a commotion, and resist violently the queenes proceedings ?”

Doctour Tailour answered, “ I make no commotion, but it is you papists that make commotions and tumults. I resist only with Gods word, against your popish idolatries, which are against Gods word, the queenes honor, and tend to the utter subversion of this realme of England. And further thou dost against the law², which commandeth that no masse be saide but at a consecrate altar.”

When the parson of Aldam heard that, he began to shrinke backe, and would have left his saying of masse : then start up

² *Against the law.*] “ Ye hold still” (says Dr. William Turner, addressing himself to the bishops of England) “ hallowing of churches and of vestmentes ; and that a priest may not say masse but in a hallowed place, without a superaltare ; and this ordayned Felix the first pope of that name.” *Hunting and finding out the Romish Fox*, by Will. Wraghton. Signat. A. 7. imprinted at Basyll, A. D. 1543.

John Clerke, and said ; “ M. Averth, be not afraid, ye have a superaltare³. Goe forth with your busines man.”

Then Foster, with his armed men, tooke doctor Tailor, and led him with strong hand out of the church⁴, and the popish prelate proceeded in his Romish idolatry. Doctor Tailors wife, who followed her husband into the church, when shee saw her husband thus violentlie thrust out of his church, she kneeled downe and held up her hands, and with a loud voice said ; “ I beseech God the righteous judge to avenge this injurie, that this popish idolator this day doth to the bloud of Christ.” Then they thrust her out of the church also, and shut the dores, for they feared that the people would have rent their sacrificer in peeces. Notwithstanding, one or two threw in great stones at the windowes, and missed very little the popish masser.

Thus you see how without consent of the people, the popish masse was againe set up, with battaile array, with swordes and bucklers, with violence and tyranny.

Within a day or two after, with all haste possible, this Foster and Clerke made a complaint of doctour Taylour, by a letter written to Steven Gardiner bishop of Winchester, and lord chancellor.

When the bishop heard this, he sent a letter missive to doctour Tailor, commanding him within certaine daies, to come and to appeare before him upon his allegiance, to answeere such complaints as were made against him.

When doctour Taylours-friends heard of this, they were exceeding sorie and agreed in minde : which then foreseeing to what end the same matter would come, seeing also all truth and justice were troden under foot, and falshood with cruel tyranny were set aloft and ruled all the whole route : his friends, I say, came to him, and earnestly counselled him to depart and-flie, alledging and

³ *Ye have a superaltare.*] “ Superaltare is a stone consecrated by the bishops, commonly of a foote long, which the papists carry instead of an altar when they masse for money in gentlemens houses.” Fox in the margin. Compare also *Life of Cromwell*, p. 225. n. 2.

⁴ *Out of the church.*] Taylor, in a letter to his wife, written some time after, speaks thus, in reference to these circumstances, “ Though another have now the benefice, yet, as God knoweth, I cannot but be careful for my dear Hadley. And therefore as I could not but speak, after the first abominable mass began there, I being present, so I cannot but write now being absent, hearing of the wicked profanation of my late pulpit.” *Letters of the Martyrs*, p. 496.

not gladlie die against the pope and his adherents? I
 that the papacie is the kingdome of antichrist, altogether
 lies, altogether full of falsehood, so that all their doctrine,
 from Christs Crosse be my speed and Saint Nicholas⁴, unto
 id of their Apocalips, is nothing but idolatry, superstition,
 s. hypocrisie and lies.

Wherefore I beseech you and all other my friends, to pray
 e. and I doubt not but God will give me strength and his
 spirit, that all mine adversaries shall have shame of their
 b."

When his friends sawe him so constant, and fully determined
 they with weeping eyes commended him unto God: and he
 a day or two prepared himself to his journey, leaving his
 with a godlie olde priest, named Sir Richard Yeoman¹, who
 ards for Gods trueth was burnt at Norwich.

d St. Nicholas.] See Myles Hoggard's New A B C paraphrastically
. 1557. 4to.

"When children first begin to learne
 Their letters for to knowe,
 Right their difference to discern
 Thei lerne their Christ crosse row:
Christ his crosse be my speede, saye they,
And good saint Nycholas:
 In our child hode this did we pray.
 For so the custome was."

below he proceeds,

"The holy man saint Nicholas
 Our children call for ayde:
 I thinke most men knoweth not the case
 And why it was so sayde.
 Sainct Nicholas a childe beinge
 His crosse right soone he bore;
 For his body with muche fastinge
 He punished full sore:
 To teach both children and old men
 Their crosse to take lykewise,
 And after Christ to beare it then
 With often exercise.
 And after this child-hode past,
 A bishop made was he;
 All worldlynes from him he cast,
 And walkte in charitie."—

Richard Yeoman.] Yeoman's story is told at some length by Fox,
, and contains several exceedingly curious and affecting particulars.

There was also in Hadley one Alcocke, a verie godly man, well learned in the holy scriptures, who (after Sir Richard Yeoman was driven away) used dailie to reade a chapter, and to say the English letanie in Hadley church. But him they fetched up to London, and cast him in prison in Newgate : where after a years imprisonment he died.

But let us returne to doctor Taylor againe, who beeing accompanied with a servant of his owne, named John Hull, tooke his journey towards London. By the way, this John Hull laboured to counsell and perswade him very earnestlie to flie, and not to come to the bishop, and profered himselfe to go with him to serve him ; and in all perils to venture his life for him and with him.

But in no wise would doctour Tailour consent or agree thereunto, but said : " Oh John, shall I give place to this thy counsell and worldlie perswasion, and leave my flocke in this danger ! Remember the good shepheard Christ, which not alonely fed his flocke, but also died for his flocke. Him must I follow, and with Gods grace will doe. Therefore good John pray for me ; and if thou seest me weak at any time, comfort mee, and discourage mee not in this my godlie enterprise, and purpose."

Thus they came up to London, and shortlie after doctour Tailour presented himselfe to the bishop of Winchester ; Steven Gardiner, then lord chauncellor of England.

After his dismissal from his cure at Hadley by Newall, Dr. Taylor's successor, he wandered a long time from place to place in that neighbourhood, moving and exhorting all men to stand faithfully to God's word, to give themselves to prayer, and to bear the cross now laid upon them with patience and Christian hope. " But when hee perceived his adversaries to lie in wait for him, he went into Kent, and with a little packet of laces, pinnes, and points, and such-like things, he travelled from village to village, selling such things, and by that poore shift gat himself somewhat to the sustaining of himselfe, his poore wife and children." After some time had elapsed " he came againe secretly to Hadley, and tarried with his poore wife, who kept him secretly in a chamber of the town-house, commonly called the Guildhall, more than a yeare. All the whiche time the good old father abode in a chamber locked up all the day, and spent his time in devout praier, and reading the scriptures, and in carding of wool which his wife did spin. His wife also did goe and beg bread and meate for her selfe and her children, and by such poore meanes sustained they themselves." In this hiding place he was discovered at length by Newall, hurnd to prison to Bury, and burnt at Norwich. " The chief articles objected to him were his marriage, and the masse sacrifice."

when Gardiner sawe doctor Taylour, hee according to his custome, all to reviled him, calling him knave, traytour, &c, with many other villainous reproches : which all doctor heard patiently, and at the last said unto him :

"My lord," quoth hee, "I am neither traytour nor heretick, true subject, and a faithful Christian man ; and am come unto your commandement, to know what is the cause that your ship hath sent for me."

He said the bishop, "art thou come, thou villaine! How thou look me in the face for shame! Knowest thou not my name?"

He answered, "I know who you are. Ye are doctor Rowland Gardiner bishop of Winchester, and lord chancellor, but but a mortal man I trowe. But if I should be afraid of worldly lookes, why feare you not God, the lord of us all! I dare ye for shame looke any christian man in the face, ye have forsaken the trueth, denied our Saviour Christ and his word, and done contrary to your owne othe and writing! With your countenance will ye appeare before the judgement seate of God, and answer to your othe made first unto that blessed king the eighth, of famous memory, and afterward unto blessed Edward the sixth his son?"

The bishop answered : "Tush, tush, that was Herodes othe",

[*that was Herodes othe.*] In a conference between Dr. Martin and arch-bishop Cranmer, when Cranmer was in prison at Oxford, Martin alleges to the bishop, "You say that you have sworne once to king Henry the eighth against the popes jurisdiction, and therefore you may never forswear it, and so ye make a great matter of conscience in the breach of the othe. Heere will I aske you a question or two. Herod did sweare, what his harlot asked of him he would give her, and he gave her John the Baptist's head. Did he well in keeping his othe?"

He answered, "I think not." Fox's *Acts*, p. 1702. And Bradford having pleaded in answer that he had been six times sworn against the admission of any jurisdiction or authority in this realm of England, Gardiner says, "Herodes othes a man should make no conscience at."

[*Oxford.* But, my lord, these were no Herodes othes, no unlawful othes, as according to Gods word, as you yourself have well affirmed in your *De vera obedientia*." Fox's *Acts*, p. 1459. In the progress of our work we shall find the reformers continually reminding Gardiner of this offender of his preface prefixed to it, Tonstall of his sermon preached for Henry VIII. A.D. 1539, and several others of the bishops of like gross tendencies between their doctrines and practices in the two preceding and present reigns.

unlawfull, and therefore worthy to be broken. I have don well in breaking it : and, I thanke God, I am come home againe to our mother the catholick church of Rome, and so I would thou shouldst doe."

Doctor Taylor answered, "should I forsake the church of Christ, which is founded upon the true foundation of the apostles and prophetes, to approve those lies, errours, superstitions and idolatries, that the popes and their company at this day so blasphemously do approve? Nay, God forbid.

"Let the pope and his returne to our Saviour Christ and his worde, and thrust out of the churches such abhominable idolatries as he maintaineth, and then will Christian men turn unto him. You wrote truely against him, and were sworne against him."

"I tell thee," quoth the bishop of Winchester, "it was Herods oth, unlawfull, and therefore ought to be broken and not kept: and our holy father the pope hath discharged me of it."

Then said D. Taylor: "but you shall not so be discharged before Christ, who doubtles will require it at your hands, as a lawfull oth made to your liege and soveraigne lord the king; from whose obedience no man can assoile you, neither the pope nor none of his."

"I see," quoth the bishop, "thou art an arrogant knave, and a very foole."

"My lord," quoth D. Taylor, "leave your unseemely rayling at me, which is not seemely for such a one in authoritie as you are. For I am a Christian man, and you know that *Hee that saith to his brother Racha, is in danger of a councill; and he that saith thou foole, is in danger of hell fire.*"

The bishop answered, "Ye are false and lyars all the sort of you." "Nay," quoth Dr. Taylor, "we are true men, and know that it is written, *The mouth that lieth slaieth the soule.* And againe, *Lord God thou shalt destroy all that speake lies.* And therefore wee abide by the trueth of Gods worde, which ye, contrary to your own consciences, deny and forsake."

"Thou art married" (quoth the bishop)? "Yea," (quoth doctor Taylor) "that I thanke God I am, and have had nine children, and all in lawfull matrimony; and blessed bee God that ordained matrimony, and commanded that every man that hath not the gift of continencie should marry a wife of his owne, and not live in adultery, or whoredome."

Then said the bishop : " thou hast resisted the queenes proceedings, and wouldest not suffer the parson of Aldham a very vertuous and devout priest, to say masse in Hadley." Doctor Taylor answered, " My lord I am parson of Hadley ; and it is against all right, conscience and lawes, that any man shall come into my charge, and presume to infect the flock committed unto me, with venome of the popish idolatrous masse."

With that the bishop waxed very angry, and said : " Thou art a blasphemous hereticke indeede, that blasphemest the blessed sacrament" (and put off his cappe) " and speakest against the holy masse, which is made a sacrifice for the quick and the dead *." Doctor Taylour answered, " Nay I blaspheme not the blessed sacrament which Christ instituted, but I reverence it as a true Christian man ought to doe, and confesse that Christ ordained the holy communion in the remembrance of his death and passion, which when we keepe according to his ordinance, we (through faith) eat the body of Christ, and drinke his blood, giving thanks for our redemption, and this is our sacrifice for the quick and the dead, to give God thanks for his mercifull goodnes shewed to us, in that he gave his sonne Christ unto the death for us."

" Thou saiest well" (quoth the bishop). " It is all that thou hast said, and more too ; for it is a propitiatorie sacrifice for the quicke and the dead." Then answered doctor Taylour : " Christ gave himself to die for our redemption upon the crosse, whose bodie there offered, was the propitiatorie sacrifice, full, perfect, and sufficient unto salvation. for all them that beleeve in him. And this sacrifice did our Saviour Christ offer in his owne person himselfe once for all, neither can any priest any more offer him, nor we neede no more propitiatorie sacrifice ; and therefore I say with Chrysostome. and all the doctors : Our sacrifice is only memorative, in the remembrance of Christes death and passion, a sacrifice of thanksgiving. and therefore the fathers call it *Eucharistia* : and other sacrifice hath the church of God none."

" It is true." quoth the bishop, " the sacrament is called *Eucharistia*. a thanksgiving. because we there give thanks for our redemption ; and it is also a sacrifice propitiatorie for the quicke and the dead, which thou shalt confesse ere thou and I have done." Then called the bishop his men, and said : " have

* And the dead.] See art. XXXI. of the Church of England.

this fellowe hence and cary him to the kings bench, and charge the keeper hee be streitly kept."

Then kneeled doctor Taylour downe, and helde up both his hands, and said: "(Good Lord I thanke thee; and from the tyranny¹⁰ of the bishop of Rome, and all his detestable errors, idolatries, and abominations, good Lord deliver us: and God be praysted for good king Edward." So they caried him to prison, to the kinges bench, where hee lay prisoner almost two yeares.

This is the summe of that first talke, as I saw it mentioned in a letter that doctor Taylor wrote to a friende of his, thanking God for his grace, that he had confessed his truth, and was found worthy for trueth to suffer prison and bands, beseeching his friends to pray for him, that hee might persevere constant unto the end.

Being in prison, doctor Taylour spent all his time in praier, reading the holy Scriptures, and writing, and preaching, and exhorting the prisoners and such as resorted to him, to repentance and amendement of life.

Within a few days after, were diverse other learned and godly men in sundrie countries¹ of England committed to prison

¹⁰ *From the tyranny.*] In the English Litany, which was first permitted and published in the year 1544, and in the Primer of king Henry the eighth which came out in the following year, one of the petitions ran in the following words, "From all sedition and privy conspiracy, from the tyranny of the bishop of Rome, and all his abominable enormities, from all false doctrine and heresy, from all hardnesse of hart, and contempt of thy word and commaundements; Good Lord deliver us." In the two books of king Edward the petition remained, with the change of the word *detestable* for *abominable*. To this passage in the Litany no doubt Dr. Taylor had reference in the prayer which he offered up. Comp. Fox's *Acts*, p. 1438 and p. 1443, where a similar use is made by two other confessors of the same petition. At the beginning of the reign of queen Elizabeth among some other conciliatory alterations which then took place, the words relating to the bishop of Rome, as of too controversial a nature for divine worship, were omitted, and the petition framed as it now stands.

¹ *In sundrie countries.*] We have an important testimony of bishop Burnet, valuable as conveying his most mature and deliberate judgment of the cruelties and miseries of these unhappy times; but infinitely more valuable, as it is derived, not from the evidence of enemies to the queen and her proceedings; but, in fact, from the express records of her own ministers, and privy council. The extract I borrow from the *Introduction* to the third volume

for religion, so that almost all the prisons in England were become right Christian schooles and churches, so that there

of the *Hist. of the Reformation*, printed in 1715, six and thirty years after the publication of the first two volumes.

" In queen Mary's time, beside all that scene which I had formerly opened, of a perfidious breach of solemn promises, of the corrupting and packing of parliaments, and of that unrelenting cruelty, which was pursued to the end of that reign without intermission ; I have had occasion to see much farther into the spirit which then prevailed. I have had the perusal of the original council book, that went from the beginning of her reign to the last day of the year 1557 ; in which such a spirit of cruelty and bigotry appears, through the whole course of that reign, that I was indeed amazed to find a poor harmless woman, weak though learned, guilty of nothing but what her religion infused in her, so carried to an indecency of barbarity, that it appears that Bonner himself was not cruel enough for her, or at least for her confessor. She believed herself with child, and when the time came in which she expected to be delivered, she continued looking for it every day above a month ; then a conceit was put in her head, that she could not bear her child, as long as there was a heretick left in the kingdom.

" It was a great part of the business of the council, to quicken the persecution every where. Letters were writ to the men of quality in the several counties, to assist at the execution of those who suffered for heresy, and to call on all their friends to attend on them : letters of thanks were writ to such officious persons, as expressed their zeal, ordering them to commit all to prison, who came not to the service, and to keep them in prison till the comfort of their amendment appeared. Directions were given to put such as would not discover others, to the torture : thanks were in a particular style sent to some gentlemen, who (as it is expressed) came so honestly, and of themselves to assist the sheriffs at those executions. Pretences of conspiracies were every where under examination, many were committed, and tried for words. Letters were writ to corporations, about the elections of mayors : and the lords had many letters, to look carefully to the elections of parliament men, and to engage the electors, to reserve their voices for such as they should name ; sheriffs began to grow backward, and to delay executions, in hopes of reclaiming persons so condemned, but they were ordered to do so no more.

" Letters were on one day wrote to the sheriffs of Kent, Essex, Suffolk, and Staffordshire, and to several mayors, to signifie what had moved them to stay the executions of such persons as had been delivered to them by the ordinaries, being condemned for heresy. One letter of a more singular strain was wrote to the lord mayor and the sheriffs of London, to give substantial orders, (I give the words in the council book) ' that when any obstinate man, condemned by order of the law, shall be deliver'd to be punish'd for heresy, there be a good number of officers and other men appointed to be at the execution ; who may be charged to see such as shall misuse themselves either by comforting, aiding, or praising the offenders ; or otherwise use themselves to the ill example of others, to be apprehended and committed to

Bradford hearing this, thanked God that he had provided him such a comfortable prison fellow ; and so they both together lauded God, and continued in praier, reading, and exhorting one the other : insomuch that D. Taylor tolde his friendes that came to visite him, that God had most gratusly provided for him, to send him to that prison where he found such an angell of God, to be in his company to comfort him.

After that doctor Taylor had lien in prison a while, hee was cited to appeare in the arches at Bow church, to answer unto such matter, as there shuld be objected against him. At the day appointed he was led thither, his keeper waiting upon him. Where, when he came, he stoutly and strongly defended his marriage, affirming by the scriptures of God, by the doctors of the primitive church, by both lawes civill and canon, that it is lawfull for priestes to marry ; and that such as have not the gift of continencie, are bound in pain of damnation to marrie. This did he so plainly proove, that the judge could give no sentence of divorce against him, but gave sentence he should be deprived of his benefice because he was married.

“ You do me wrong then” (quoth doctor Taylor) and alledged many lawes and constitutions for himselfe, but all prevailed not. For he was againe carried into prison, and his livings taken away, and given to other. As for Hadley benefice, it was given or solde, I wote not whether to one maister Newealle, whose great vertues were altogether unlike to doctour Taylor his predecessour, as the poore parishioners full well have proved.

After a yeare and three quarters, or thereabout, in the which time the papists got certaine olde tyrannous lawes, which were put downe by king Henry the eight, and by king Edward, to bee againe revived by parliament, so that now they might *ex officio*, cite whom they would, upon their owne suspition, and charge him with what articles they lusted, and except they in all things agreed to their purpose, burne them : when these lawes² were

² *When these lawes.*] See *Life of Rogers*, p. 322, note ².

“ Yea, have they not already gotten that auctorite by renewing the wicked act, *ex officio*, that they may call any man before them, upon suspection, and keepe him forty daies in their prisons, although no man have accusid him, and examine him privily in his, or their houses or places? and so condempne him to lose both goods, lands, and life too, except he recant?” *Supplication to the queen's majesty*, fol. 19, said to be imprinted by John Cawood.

be translated into English, which booke was not of his owne making: yet hee set it forth in his owne name, and truly that booke for the time did much good. But there was after that set forth by the most innocent king Edward (for whom, God bee praised everlastingly) the whole church service, with great deliberation, and the advise of the best learned men of the realme, and authorised by the whole parliament, and received and published gladly by the whole realme: which booke was never reformed but once, and yet by that one reformation it was so fully perfited, according to the rules of our Christian religion in every behalfe, that no Christian conscience could bee offended with any thing therein contained: I meane of that booke reformed⁶."

Then my lord chancellor said: "Diddest thou never reade the booke that I set fort⁶ of the sacrament?"

I answered that I had read it.

Then hee saide: "How likest thou that booke?" With that, one of the councell (whose name I knowe not) sayde: "My lord, that is a good question: for I am sure, that booke stoppeth all their mouthes." Then saide I: "My lord, I thinke many things be farre wide from the trueth of Gods worde in that booke."

Then my lord said: "Thou art a very varlet." To that I answered: "that is as ill as racha or fatue." Then my lord saide: "Thou art an ignorant beetill brow."

To that I answered: "I have read over and over again the

⁶ *That booke reformed.*] The Book of Common Prayer was first published in the year 1549. The revised copy, here appealed to by Taylor, was printed A. D. 1552. Of the History of the English Liturgy, and of the alterations which took place at this, and other times, see Wheatly on the Common Prayer, Sparrow, Shepherd, &c. &c.

⁶ *That I set fort.*] Gardiner printed not less than three works upon this subject. The first in 1546, intituled, *Detection of the Devils Sophistrie*; the second, *An explication and assertion of the true catholick faith*, in 1551, against Abp. Cranmer (these two in English); and the third, as we are told by Strype and Tanner, in 1552, (and if so certainly again also in 1554) intituled *Confutatio cavillationum, quibus sacrosanctum Eucharistiæ sacramentum ab impiis Capharnaitis impeti solet*. This, I apprehend, is the book here inquired of by Gardiner. It was aimed in part against Cranmer, but without the mention of his name. The archbishop had made considerable progress in an Answer to it at the time of his martyrdom: but his labour being thus frustrated, Peter Martyr took up the design, and thoroughly confuted Gardiner's performance in a very elaborate *Defence of the ancient and apostolical doctrine*, printed A. D. 1559, in folio.

holy Scriptures, and S. Augustines workes through; S. Cyprian, Eusebius, Origene, Gregory Nazianzen, with divers other books through once: therefore I thanke God I am not utterly ignorant. Besides these, my lord, I professed the civil lawes, as your lordship did, and I have read over the canon law also."

Then my lord said: "with a corrupt judgement thou readest all things. Touching my profession it is divinitie', in which I have written divers books." Then I said: "My lord, ye did write one booke, *De vera obedientia*: I would you had beene constant in that: for indeed you never did declare a good conscience that I heard of, but in that one booke."

Then my lord said, "tut, tut, tut, I wrot against Bucer on priests marriages: but such books please not such wretches as thou art, which has beene married many yeares."

To that I answered: "I am married indeed, and I have had nine children in holy matrimony, I thank God: and this I am sure of, that your proceedings now at this present in this realme against priests marriages is the maintenance of the doctrine of devils, against naturall lawe, civil lawe, canon lawe, general counsels, canons of the apostles, ancient doctors, and Gods lawes."

Then spake my lord of Duresm, saying: "You have professed the civil law, as you say. Then you know that *Justinian* writeth that priests should at their taking of orders sweare, that they were never married: and he bringeth in, to prove that, *Canones Apostolorum*."

To that I answered: "that I did not remember any such lawe of *Justinian*. But I am sure that *Justinian* writeth in *Titulo de indicto viduitate*, in his Code^a that if one would bequeath to his

^a *It is divinitie.*] Notwithstanding what the lord chancellor says here, it is certain that his original profession was that of a civilian, and his degrees were in that science. There were times when this crafty politician knew how to express himself in a very different manner, respecting his proficiency in theological studies. In a letter to his former imperious master king Henry VIII. he thus humbly bows himself to the monarch's will. "The contrary whereof, if your grace can now prove, yet I, *not learned in divinitie*, ne knowing any part of your graces proves, am I trust without cause of blame in that behalf. When I know that I know not, I shall then speak hereafter." Strype's *Keeles. Memor.*, vol. i. p. 148. Records. For Cranmer's estimate of bishop Gardiner's learning and controversial talents, see his *Answer to Gardiner*, p. 349. 333. edit. 1580.

^a *Code* | *Codex* lib. vi. tit. xl. *De indicta viduitate et lege Julia Miscella tollenda.* l. 3. *Qui relictum quid fuerit.*

wife in his testament a legacie, under a condition that she should never marry againe, and take an oathe of her for accomplishing the same, yet she may marry againe if he die, notwithstanding the aforesaid conditions and othe taken and made against marriage: and an othe is another maner of obligation made to God, than is a papisticall vow made to man.

"Moreover, in the Pandects^{*} it is contained, that if a man doth manumit his handmaid under a condition, that she shall never marry; yet she may marry, and hir patrone shall lose *jus patronatus*, for adding the unnaturall and unlawfull condition against matrimony."

Then my lord chancellour said; "thou saiest that priests may be married by Gods law. How proovest thou that?"

I answered: "by the plaine words and sentences of S. Paule, both to Timothy and to Titus; where he speakes most evidently of the marriage of priests, deacons, and bishops. And Chrysostome writing upon the epistle to Timothy saith: It is an heresie to say that a bishop may not be married."

Then said my lord chancellour, "thou lyeest of Chrysostome. But thou doest, as all thy companions doe, belie ever without shame, both the scriptures and the doctors. Didst thou not also say, that by the canon law priests may be married? which is most untrue, and the contrarie is most true."

I answered: "We reade in the decrees, that the foure generall counells, Nicene, Constantinopolitane, Ephesine, Chalcedone, have the same authoritie that the foure evangelists have. And wee read in the same decrees (which is one of the chiefe books of the canon law) that the council of Nice, by the means of one Paphnutius, did allow priests and bishops marriages. Therefore by the best part of the canon law, priests may be married."

Then my lord chancellour said: "thou falsifiest the generall councill. For there is expresse mention in the said decree, that priestes should bee divorced from their wives, which bee married."

Then said I, "if those words be there, as you say, then am I content to lose this great head of mine. Let the book be fetched."

Then spake my lord of Duresme: "though they be not there,

^{*} Pandects.] ff. lib. xl.

may be in *Ecclesiastica historia*, which Eusebius wrote, which booke the decree was taken."

Then said I: "it is not like that the pope would leave out such sentence, having such authoritie, and making so much of his purpose."

Then my lord chancellour said: "Gratian was but a patcher, thou art glad to snatch up such a patch as maketh for thy purpose." I answered, "my lord, I cannot but marvell that you should call one of the chiefe papistes that ever was, but a patcher."

Then my lord chancellor saide: "Nay I call thee a snatcher and a patcher. To make an end; wilt thou not returne again with us to the catholicke church?" and with that he rose.

And I saide, "By Gods grace I will never depart from Christs church." Then I required that I might have some of my friends to come to mee in prison: and my lord chancellor said: "thou shalt have judgment within this week:" and so was I delivered againe unto my keeper. My lord of Duresme woulde that I should beleve as my father and my mother did. I alledged S. Augustine, that we ought to preferre Gods word before all men.

After that doctor Taylor thus with great spirite¹ and courage

¹ *With great spirite.*] We have some further particulars in Strype, taken apparently from the official records.

"This reverend man, on Jan. 29, was called before the said commissioners. Then bishop Gardiner, as he had done the others, exhorted him to be reconciled: but he stiffly persisted in his former judgment. Then did the bishop object two articles to him, as just matter to make him an heretic. The one was, that he asserted, believed, preached and defended, that in the Eucharist is not truly the true and natural body and blood of Christ, under the species of bread and wine: and that material bread and material wine are there only. These articles Taylor freely confessed, saying that so he still believed and was ready to defend: saying, moreover, *judicially*, that *transubstantiation* is a conjuring word; *concomitantia* another juggling word: and that the bishop of Rome is against God: and that he made by a juggling word, the body and blood of Christ of bread and wine: and that to worship it with honour due to God, is idolatry. Then the bishop assigned him to appear there again between three and four in the afternoon. What was then done appears not. But, Jan. 30, he appeared again. Then Winchester, beginning after his usual way, offered to receive him into favour, and the unity of the church, if with a penitent mind he would return. But he more stiffly persisting in his *averse* opinions: I use the words of the Acts, brake out into very many blasphemies, saying, that there be but two sacraments, baptism, and the *enactment* of the body and blood of Christ. And that after consecration, the

had answered for himselfe, and stoutly rebuked his adversaries for breaking their othe made before to king Henry and to king Edward his sonne, and for betraying the realme into the power of the Romaine bishop, they perceiving that in no case he could be stirred to their wils and purpose, that is, to turne with them from Christ to antichrist, committed him thereupon to prison againe, where he endured till the last of Januarie.

Upon which day and yeare aforesaid, D. Taylour and M. Bradford, and M. Sanders were againe called to appeare before the bishop of Winchester, the bishoppe of Norwich, of London, of Salisbury, and of Duresme, and there were charged again with heresie and schisme, and therefore a determinate answer was required; whether they would submit themselves to the Romain bishop and abjure their errors, or else they would according to their lawes proceed to their condemnation.

When doctor Taylor and his fellowes, M. Bradford and M. Saunders heard this, they answered stoutly and boldly, that they would not depart from the truth which they had preached in king Edwards daies, neither would they submit themselves to the Romish antichrist, but they thanked God for so great mercie, that he would call them to be worthy to suffer for his word and truth.

When the bishops saw them so boldly, constantly, and unmoveably fixed in the trueth, they read the sentence of death upon them, which when they had heard, they most joyfully gave God thanks, and stoutely said unto the bishops: We doubt not but God the righteous judge, will require our bloud at your hands, and the proudest of you all shall repent this receiving againe of antichrist, and your tyranny that ye now shew against the flocke of Christ.

So was doctor Taylor, now condemned, committed to the Clink^e, and the keepers charged straitly to keepe him: "for ye

bread and wine remains. He denied transubstantiation; and said, that the natural body of Christ is not here, but in heaven; and that Christ's body could not be in two places at once.—After long disputations, the bishop asked him again, whether he would return to the unity of the Catholic church? He answered, that he would not come to Antichrist's church.—Then the bishop read the sentence definitive against him, condemning him for an heretic and excommunicate: and so delivered him to the sheriff of London.—And thus they made a riddance of Dr. Taylor."—*Ecclesiastical Memorials*, vol. iii. p. 182, 3.

³ *The Clink.*] In Southwark, belonging to the bishoprick of Winchester.

have now another maner of charge" (quoth the lord chancellor) "then ye had before: therefore looke ye take heed to it."

When the keeper brought him toward the prison, the people flocked about to gaze upon him: unto whom he saide: "God be praised (good people) I am come away from them undefiled, and will confirme the truth with my bloud." So was hee bestowed in the Clinker till it was toward night, and then hee was removed to the Counter by the Poultry.

When doctor Taylor had lien in the said Counter in the Poultry a sevendnight or thereabouts prisoner, the fourth day of February, anno 1555, Edmund Boner bishop of London³, with

³ *Boner bishop of London.*] Bonner, the reader is desired to observe,—not Gardiner,—as heretofore.

We saw above, in a note to this present account of Taylor, that Gardiner, some years before, denied the charge of cruelty with which he was commonly taxed. "I know" (says he) "it is not my fault." And it is certain, that when, in January 1556, he sat in judgment upon Bradford, with other commissioners of the queen, Bradford, with great spirit having alleged, "I have been now a yeare and almost three quarters in prison, and all this time you never questioned me of this matter, when I might have spoken my conscience frankly without peril. But now you have a lawe to hang up and put to death, if a man answer freely, and not to your appetite, and so now you come to demand this question. Ah, my lord, Christ used not this way to bring men to faith; no more did the prophets or apostles. Remember what Bernard writeth to pope Eugenius: *Apostolos lego stetisse judicandos, sedisse judicantes non lego*; that is, 'I read that the apostles stood to be judged; but I read not that they sate to judge;'—the lord chancellor publicly disclaimed that these methods of proceeding were by his advice, and seems to have intimated that he did not think they would prove successful: for thus Fox proceeds:

"Heere the lord chancellor was appalled, as it seemed, and said most gently, 'That he used not this meanes. It was not my doing,' quoth he, 'although some there be that think this to be the best way.'" Fox, p. 1461. edit. 1610.

But it is more remarkable still, that having borne his part, and that undoubtedly the leading and foremost part, in the trial of this sanguinary experiment, and having found that the expected result did not ensue, but rather, that the streams of blood only watered the fields of heresy to fresh fertility, he withdrew his hand, and resolutely persisted in refusing any further share in these dreadful proceedings. It may not be amiss to take the account of this matter from Fox.

"After that Steven Gardiner had got the lawes, and the secular arme on his side, as ye have heard, with full power and authoritie to raigne and rule as he listed, and had brought these godly bishops and reverende preachers aforesaid under foot, namely the archbishop of Canterbury, doctor Ridley, bishop of London, maister Latimer, M. Hooper, bishop of Worcester and Gloucester, maister Rogers, maister Saunders, doctor Taylor, and maister Bradford, all which he had now presently condemned, and some also burned:

others, came to the saide Counter to degrade him, bringing with them such ornaments, as do appertaine to their massing mummerie. Now being come, hee called for the said doctor Taylor to be brought unto him (the bishop being then in the chamber, where the keeper of the Counter and his wife lay). So doctor Taylor was brought downe from the chamber above that, to the said Boner. And at his comming, the bishop said: "Maister doctor, I would you would remember your selfe, and turne to your mother holy church: so may you do well enough, and I will sue for your pardon." Whereunto maister Taylor answered: "I would you and your fellowes would turn to Christ. As for me I will not turne to antichrist." "Well," quoth the bishop, "I am come to degrade you: wherefore put on these vestures." "No," quoth doctor Taylor, "I will not." "Wilt thou not?" said the bishop. "I shall make thee, ere I goe." Quoth doctor Taylor, "you shall not by the grace of God." Then he charged him upon his obedience to doe it, but hee would not doe it for him.

he supposed now all had beene cocke-sure, and that Christ had beene conquered for ever, so that the people being terrified with example of these great learned men condemned, never would ne durst once rout against their violent religion. But they were deceived. For within eight or nine daies after that S. Gardiner had given sentence against M. Hooper, M. Rogers, M. Saunders, D. Taylor, and M. Bradford, being the eighth of Februarie, six other good men were brought likewise before the bishops for the same cause of religion, to be examined, whose names were, W. Pigot butcher, Stephen Knight barber, Thomas Tomkins weaver, Thomas Hauks gentleman, John Laurence priest, William Hunter prentice.

"Stephen Gardiner seeing thus his device disappointed, and that crueltie in this case would not serve to his expectation, gave over the matter as utterly discouraged, and from that day meddled no more in such kind of condemnations, but referred the whole doing thereof to Bonner bishop of London; who supplied that part right doughtily, as in the further processe of this history will hereafter evidently, and too much appeare." Fox's *Acts*, p. 1389. The following story shows that he retained the same judgment near the time of his death. "At length Thomas Whittle being apprehended by one Edmund Alabaster, in hope of rewarde and promotion, which he miserable gaped after, he was brought first as prisoner before the bishoppe of Winchester, who then was fallen latelie sicke of his disease, whereof not long after he died most strangely. But the apprehender, for his profered service, was highlie checked and rated of the bishop, asking if there were no man unto whome he might bring such rascals but to him. Hence, quoth he, out of my sight, thou varlet, what dost thou trouble me with such matters? The greedie cormorant being thus defeated of his desired prey, yet thinking to seek and to hunt further, carried his prisoner to the bishop of London." Fox's *Acts*, p. 1675.

So he willed another to put them on his backe : and when hee was thoroughly furnished therewith, hee set his handes by his sides, waking up and downe, and said : " how say you my lord, am I not a goodly foole ? how say you my maisters ? If I were in cheape, should I not have boyes enough to laugh at these apish toys, and toying trumpery ? " So the bishop scraped his fingers, thumbes, and the crowne of his head, and did the rest of such like develish observances.

At the last, when hee should have given doctor Taylor a stroke on the brest with his crosier staffe, the bishops chapleyn said : " my lord strike him not, for he will sure strike againe." " Yea by S. Peter will I " (quoth doct. Taylor). " The cause is Christes, and I were no good Christian if I would not fight in my maisters quarrell." So the bishop laide his curse upon him, but strooke him not. Then doctor Taylour said : " though you doe curse mee ; yet God doth blesse me. I have the witness of my conscience, that ye have done me wrong and violence : and yet I pray God, if it be his will, to forgive you. But, from the tyranny of the bishop of Rome, and his detestable enormities, good Lord deliver us." And in going up to his chamber, hee still said : " God deliver me from you ; God deliver me from you." And when hee came up, hee tolde maister Bradford (for then both lay in one chamber) that he had made the bishop of London afraide : " for," saith he laughingly, " his chapleyn gave him counsell not to strike me with his crosier staffe, for that I would strike againe : and by my troth," said he rubbing his handes, " I made him beleeve I would do so indeed."

[*Scraped his fingers.*] Thus in the ceremonial of the degradation of archbishop Cranmer, " a barber clipped his haire round about, and the bishop scraped the tops of his fingers, where he had been annointed, wherein bishop Bonner behaved himselfe as roughly and unmannerly, as the other bishop " (Thurby) " was to him soft and gentle." Fox's *Acts*, p. 1709. In another part of his work, Fox has published the entire ritual of the degradation of an archbishop, with the rubrics, &c. from which the reader, if he thinks it worth his while, may obtain an explanation of the mystical import of these and all the other ceremonies. *Acts and Monuments*, p. 1931.

" Oliver. What haddest thou done that he gave thee so sore penance? Nicholas. It chanced the chalice to be left at my house, and one of the feet of it hang out at a little hole ; and so I chanced to touch it with my bare hande. Oliver. That was not so great offence. Nicholas. No was : Our sir John would sing no more with it, till it was newe hallowed. And he scraped my fingers, till the bloode followed." Michael Wood's *Dialogue or familiar talk*, signat. H. A. A. D. 1554.

The night after that he was degraded, his wife and his son Thomas resorted to him, and were by the gentlenesse of the keepers permitted to sup with him. For this difference was ever found betweene the keepers of the bishops prisons, and the keepers of the king's prisons, that the bishops keepers were ever cruell, blasphemous, and tyrannous, like their maisters: but the keepers of the kings prisons shewed for the most part, as much favour as they possibly might.

So came doctor Taylors wife, his son, and John Hull his servant, to sup with him: and at their comming in afore supper, they kneeled downe and praied, saying the Letany.

After supper walking up and downe, he gave God thanks for his grace, that had so called him and given him strength to abide by his holy worde: and turning to his sonne Thomas: "My deare sonne," said he, "almighty God blesse thee, and give thee his holy spirit, to be a true servant of Christ, to learn his word, and constantly to stand by his trueth all thy life long. And my sonne, see that thou feare God alwaies. Flee from all sin, and wicked living: be vertuous, serve God with dayly praier, and apply thy book. In any wise see thou be obedient to thy mother, love her, and serve her: be ruled by her now in thy youth, and follow her good counsell in all things. Beware of lewd company, of young men that feare not God, but followe their lewd lusts and vaine appetites. Fly from whoredom, and hate all filthy living, remembering, that I thy father doe die in the defence of holy marriage. An other day when God shall blesse thee, love and cherish the poore people, and count that thy chiefe riches is to be rich in almes: and when thy mother is waxed old, forsake her not, but provide for her to thy power, and see that she lacke nothing. For so will God blesse thee, and give thee long life upon earth and prosperitie: which I pray God to graunt him."

Then turning to his wife: "My deare wife," quoth hee, "continue stedfast in the feare and love of God, keepe your selfe undefiled from their popish idolatries, and superstitions. I have bin unto you a faithfull yokefellow, and so have you been unto mee; for the which I pray God to reward you, and doubt you not deare wife, but God will reward it.

"Now the time is come that I shall bee taken from you, and you discharged of the wedlocke bond towards mee: therefore I will give you my counsell, what I thinke most expedient for you. You are yet a childbearing woman, and therefore it will be most

convenient for you to marry. For doubtlesse you shal never be at a convenient stay for your self and our poore children, nor out of trouble, till you bee married. Therefore as soone as God will provide it, marry with some honest faithfull man that feareth God. Doubt you not, God will provide an honest husband for you, and he will be a mercifull father to you and to my children ; whom I pray you, bring up in the feare of God, and in learning, to the uttermost of your power, and keep them from this Romish idolatry." When he had thus said, they with weeping teares praised together, and kissed one the other : and he gave to his wife a booke of the church service, set out by k. Edward, which in the time of his imprisonment he daily used. And unto his sonne Thomas he gave a Latine booke, containing the notable sayings of the old martyrs, gathered out of *Ecclesiastica historia* : and in the end of that booke he wrote his Testament and last *Vale*, as hereafter followeth.

The last Will and Testament of Dr. Rowland Taylor, Parson of Hadley.

" I say to my wife, and to my children : The Lord gave you unto me, and the Lord hath taken me from you, and you from mee : blessed be the name of the Lord. I beleeve that they are blessed which die in the Lord. God careth for sparowes, and for the haire of our heads. I have ever found him, more faithfull and favourable, than is any father or husband. Trust ye therefore in him by the meanes of our deare Saviour Christes merites : beleeve, love, feare and obey him : pray to him, for he hath promised to helpe. Count mee not dead, for I shall certainly live, and never die. I goe before, and you shall follow after, to our long home. I go to the rest of my children, Susan, George, Ellen, Robert and Zachary. I have bequeathed you to the only omnipotent.

" I say to my deare friends of Hadley, and to all other which have heard mee preach, that I depart hence with a quiet conscience, as touching my doctrine : for the which I pray you thank God with me. For I have after my little talent declared to other, those lessons that I gathered out of Gods booke, the blessed bible. Therefore if I or an angell from heaven should preach to you any other gospell, than that ye have received, Gods great curse upon that preacher.

" Beware for Gods sake, that ye deny not God, neither decline from the worde of faith, least God decline from you, and so do ye everlastingly perish. For Gods sake beware of popery, for though it appeare to have in it unitie, yet the same is in vanitie and anti-christianitie, and not in Christes faith and veritie.

" Beware of the sinnne against the holy Ghost, now after such a light opened so plainly and simply, truely, thoroughly and generally to all England.

" The Lord graunt all men his good and holy spirite, increase of his wisdom, condemning the wicked world, hearty desire to be with God and the heavenly company, through Jesus Christ, our only mediator, advocate, righteousness, life, sanctification, and hope, Amen, Amen. Pray, Pray.

" ROWLAND TAYLOUR departing hence in sure hope, without all doubting, of eternall salvation, I thank God my heavenly father, through Jesus Christ my certaine Saviour, Amen.

" The 5. of Februarie. Anno 1555.

" Psalme 27.

" The Lord is my light and my salvation : whom then shall I fear ?

" Rom. 8.

" God is he that justifieth : who is he that can condemne ?

" Psalme 30.

" In thee O Lord have I trusted, let me never be confounded."

On the next morrow, after that doctor Taylour had supped with his wife in the Counter, as is before expressed, which was the fift day of February, the shiriffe of London, with his officers came to the Counter by two of the clocke in the morning, and so brought forth doctor Taylour, and without any light led him to the Wool-sacke, an inne without Aldgate. Doctor Taylours wife suspecting that her husband should that night be caried away, watched all night within S. Butolphs church-porch beside Aldgate, having with her two children, the one named Elizabeth of thirteen yeares of age (whom being left without father or mother, doctor Taylor had brought up of almes from three yeares old) the other named Mary, doctor Tailors own daughter.

Now, when the shiriffe and his company came against S. Butolphes church, Elizabeth cried saying : " O my deare father :

mother, mother, here is my father led away." Then cried his wife: "Rowland, Rowland, where art thou?" for it was a very darke morning, that the one could not see the other. Doctor Tailor answered: "Deare wife, I am here," and staid. The shiriffes men would have led him forth, but the shiriffe said: "Stay a little maisters, I pray you, and let him speake to his wife;" and so they staid.

Then came she to him, and hee tooke his daughter Mary in his armes; and he, his wife, and Elizabeth kneeled down and said the Lords praier. At which sight the shiriffe wept apase, and so did divers others of the company. After they had praied, he rose up and kissed his wife, and shooke her by the hand, and said: "Farewell my deare wife, be of good comfort, for I am quiet in my conscience. God shall stir up a father for my children." And then he kissed his daughter Mary and said, "God blesse thee, and make thee his servant:" and kissing Elizabeth, hee said: "God blesse thee. I pray you all stand strong and stedfast unto Christ and his worde, and keepe you from idolatry." Then said his wife: "God be with thee dear Rowland. I wil with God's grace meete thee at Hadley."

And so he set forth to the Woolsacke, and his wife followed him. As soone as they came to the Woolsacke, hee was put into a chamber, wherein hee was kept with foure yeomen of the guard, and the sheriffes men. Doctor Taylor, as soone as he was come into the chamber, fell downe on his knees and gave himselfe wholly to praier. The shiriffe then seeing doctor Tailors wife there, would in no case graunt her to speak any more with her husband, but gently desired her to goe to his house and take it as her own, and promised her she should lack nothing, and sent two officers, to conduct her thither. Notwithstanding she desired to go to her mothers, whither the officers led her, and charged her mother to keep her there till they came againe.

Thus remained doctor Taylor in the Woolsacke, kept by the shiriffe and his company, till eleven of the clocke. At which time the shiriffe of Essex was ready to receive him: and so they set him on horsebacke within the inne, the gates being shut.

At the comming out of the gates, John Hull, before spoken of, stode at the railes with Thomas, doctor Taylors sonne. When doctor Taylor saw them, he called them, saying: "Come hither my sonne Thomas." And John Hull lifted the child up, and set him on the horse before his father: and doctour Taylour

put off his hatte and said to the people that stode there looking on him: "Good people this is mine owne sonne, begotten of my body in lawfull matrimony: and God bee blessed for lawfull matrimony." Then lifted he up his eyes towardes heaven, and prayed for his sonne, laide his hande upon the childe's head, and blessed him, and so delivered the childe to John Hull, whom he tooke by the hand, and said: "farewell John Hull, the faithfulllest servant that ever man had." And so they rode forth, the shiriffe of Essex with foure yeomen of the guard, and the shiriffes men leading him.

When they were come almost at Burntwood, one Arthur Faysie, a man of Hadley, who before time had beene doctor Taylors servant, met with them, and he supposing him to have been at libertie, said: "Maister doctor, I am glad to see you againe at libertie," and came to him, and took him by the hand. "Soft sir," quoth the shiriffe, "hee is a prisoner: what hast thou to doe with him?" "I cry you mercy," said Arthur, "I knew not so much, and I thought it none offence to talke to a rue man." The shiriffe was very angry with this, and threatned to carry Arthur with him to prison; notwithstanding, hee bade him get him quickly away, and so they rode forth to Burntwood; where they caused to be made for doctor Taylor, a close hood, with two holes for his eyes to look out at, and a slit for his mouth to breathe at. This they did that no man should know him, nor see speak to any man. Which practice they used also with others. Their owne consciences tolde them, that they ledde innocent lambes to the slaughter. Wherefore they feared, lest if the people should have heard them speake, or have seene them, they might have beene much more strengthened by their godly exhortations, to stand stedfast in Gods word, and to fly the superstitions and idolatries of the papacie.

All the way doctor Taylor was joyfull and merry, as one that accounted himselfe going to a most pleasant banquet or bridall. He spake many notable things to the shiriffe, and yeomen of the guard that conducted him, and often mooved them to weep through his much earnest calling upon them to repent, and to mend their evill and wicked living. Oftentimes also he caused them to wonder and rejoyce, to see him so constant and stedfast, void of all feare, joyfull in heart and glad to die. Of these yeomen of the guard, three used doctor Taylor friendly, but the fourth

(whose name was Homes) used him very homely, unkindly, and churlishly.

At Chelmesford met them the shiriffe of Suffolke, there to receive him, and carry him forth into Suffolke. And being at supper, the shiriffe of Essex very earnestly laboured him to returne to the popish religion, thinking with faire words to perswade him, and said, "Good maister doctor. wee are right sorry for you, considering what losse is of such one as ye might be if ye would. God hath given you great learning and wisdom, wherefore yee have been in great favour and reputation in times past with the councell and highest of this realme. Besides this, yee are a man of goodly personage, in your best strength, and by nature like to live many yeares, and without doubt, ye should in time to come bee in as good reputation as ever ye were, or rather better. For ye are well beloved of all men, as well for your virtues as for your learning: and mee thinke it were great pity you should cast away your selfe willingly, and so come to such a painefull and shamefull death. Ye should doe much better to revoke your opinions, and returne to the catholicke church of Rome, acknowledge the popes holinesse to be the supream head of the universall church, and reconcile your selfe to him. You may do well yet, if you will: doubt ye not but ye shall finde favour at the queenes hands. I and all these your friends will be suters for your pardon: which no doubt, ye shal obtain. This councell I give you, good M. doctor, of a good hart, and good will toward you: and thereupon I drinke to you." In like maner said all the yeomen of the guard; "Upon that condition maister doctor, we will all drinke to you."

When they had all drunk to him, and the cup was come to him, he staid a little, as one studying what answere he might give. At the last thus he answered and said, "Maister shiriffe, and my maisters all, I hartily thanke you of your good will. I have harkened to your words and marked well your counsell. And to be plaine with you, I do perceive that I have bin deceived my self, and am like to deceive a great many of Hadley of their expectation." With that word they all rejoiced. "Yes good maister doctor," quoth the shiriffe, "Gods blessing on your heart: hold you there still. It is the comfortablest worde, that we heard you speake yet. What should ye cast away your selfe in vaine? Play a wise mans part, and I dare warrant

it yee shall finde favour." Thus they rejoiced very much at the word, and were very merry.

At the last: "Good M. doctor," quoth the shiriffe, "what meant ye by this, that ye said ye thinke ye have beene deceived your self, and think ye shall deceive many one in Hadley?" "Would you know my meaning plainly?" quoth he. "Yea," quoth the shiriffe, "good maister doctor tell it us plainely."

Then said doctor Taylor, "I will tell you how I have bin deceived, and as I thinke, I shall deceive a great many. I am as you see, a man that hath a very great carkase, which I thought should have beene buried in Hadley church yard, if I had died in my bed, as I well hoped I should have done: but herein I see I was deceived: and there are a great number of wormes in Hadley churchyard, which should have had jolly feeding upon this carrion, which they have looked for many a day. But now we be deceived, both I and they: for this carkase must be burnt to ashes, and so shall they lose their bait and feeding, that they looked to have had of it."

When the shiriffe and his company heard him say so, they were amazed, and looked one on another, marvelling at the mans constant minde, that thus without all feare, made but a jest at the cruell torment, and death now at hand prepared for him. Thus was their expectation cleane disappointed. And in this appeareth what was his meditation in his chiefest wealth and prosperitie; namely, that hee should shortly die and feede wormes in his grave: which meditation if all our bishops, and spirituall men had used, they had not for a little worldly glory forsaken the worde of God and trueth, which they in king Edwards daies had preached and set forth: nor yet to maintain the bishop of Romes authoritie, have committed so many to the fire as they did.

But let us returne to doctor Taylor: who at Chelmesforde was delivered to the shiriffe of Suffolk, and by him conducted to Hadley, where hee suffered. When they were come to Lanham, the shiriffe staid there two daies: and thither came to him a great number of gentlemen and justices upon great horses, which all were appointed to aid the sheriffe. These gentlemen laboured doctor Taylor very sore, to reduce him to the Romish religion, promising him his pardon, "which," said they, "wee have here for you." They promised him great promotions, yea a bishopricke if he would take it: but all their labour and flattering words were in vaine. For he had not built his house upon the

sand, in perill of falling at every puffle of winde, but upon the sure and unmoovable rocke, Christ. Wherefore hee abode constant and unmoovable unto the end.

After two daies, the shiriffe and his company led doctor Taylor towards Hadley, and comming within a two mile of Hadley. "Why maister doctor," quoth the shiriffe, "how doe you now?" He answered: "Well, God be praised, good master shiriffe. Never better: for now I know I am almost at home. I lacke not past two stiles to goe over, and I am even at my fathers house.—But maister shiriffe," said he, "shall not wee go thorough Hadley?" "Yes," said the shiriffe, "you shall go thorough Hadley." Then said he: "O good Lord, I thank thee. I shall yet once ere I die see my flocke, whom thou Lord knowest I have most heartily loved, and truely taught. Good Lord blesse them, and keep them stedfast in thy word and trueth."

When they were now come to Hadley, and came riding over the bridge, at the bridge foote waited a poore man with five small children: who when he saw doctor Taylor, he and his children fell down upon their knees, and held up their hands, and cried with a loud voice, and said: "O deare father and good shepheard, doctor Taylor: God help and succour thee, as thou hast many a time succoured me, and my poore children." Such witnesse had the servant of God of his vertuous and charitable almes given in his life time. For God would now the poore should testifie of his good deeds, to his singular comfort, to the example of others, and confusion of his persecutors and tyrannous adversaries. For the shiriffe and other that led him to death, were wonderfully astonied at this: and the shiriffe sore rebuked the poore man for so crying. The streets of Hadley were beset on both sides the way with men and women of the towne and countrey who waited to see him: whome when they beheld so led to death, with weeping eys and lamentable voices they cried, saying one to another: "Ah good Lord, there goeth our good shepheard from us, that so faithfully hath taught us, so fatherly hath cared for us, and so godly hath governed us. O mercifull God: what shall we poore scattered lambes doe? What shall come of this most wicked world? Good Lord strengthen him and comfort him:" with such other most lamentable and pitious voices. Wherefore the people were sore rebuked by the shiriffe and catchpoles his men, that ledde him. And

doctour Taylor evermore sayd to the people: "I have preached to you Gods word and truth, and am come this day to seale it with my bloud."

Comming against the almes houses, which he well knew, he cast to the poore people mony, which remained of that good people had given him in the time of his imprisonment. As for his living, they tooke it from him at his first going to prison, so that he was sustained all the time of his imprisonment by the charitable almes of good people that visited him.

Therefore the money that now remained, hee put in a glove readie for the same purpose, and (as is said) gave it to the poore almesmen standing at their doores to see him. And comming to the last of the almshouses, and not seeing the poore that there dwelt ready in their doores, as the other were, he asked: "Is the blinde man and blinde woman, that dwelt here alive?" It was answered, "Yea: they are there within." Then threw he glove and all in at the window, and so rode forth.

Thus this good father and provider for the poore, now took his leave of those, for whom all his life hee had a singular care and studie. For this was his custome, once in a fortnight at the least, to call upon sir Henry Doyll, and others the rich cloth-makers, to goe with him to the almshouses, and there to see how the poore lived: what they lacked in meat, drinke, clothing, bedding, or anie other necessaries. The like did he also to other poore men that had many children, or were sicke. Then would he exhort and comfort them, and where he found cause, rebuke the unruly, and what they lacked, that gave he after his power: and what he was not able, he caused the rich and wealthy men to minister unto them. Thus shewed he himselfe in all thinges an example to his flocke, worthy to be followed; and taught by his deed, what a great treasure almes is to all such as cheerfully for Christs sake do it.

At the last, comming to Aldam common^s, the place assigned

^s *Aldam common.*] "In Aldham Common, not far from Hadley town, is a great stone, that assigns the place where he suffered, and on it are written these words, or to this effect,

*Doctor Taylor for maintaining what was good
In this place shed his blood."*

Strype's Life of Cranmer, p. 420.

In the same place Strype has recorded his epitaph, taken from a brass plate in the parish church of Hadley.

where he should suffer, and seeing a great multitude of people gathered thither, he asked "what place is this, and what meaneth it that so much people are gathered hither?" It was answered: "It is Aldham common, the place where you must suffer: and the people are come to looke upon you." Then said he: "thanked be God, I am even at home;" and so light from his horse, and with both his hands, rent the hood from his head.

Now his head was notted evill favouredly, and clipped, much like as a man would clip a fooles head: which cost the good bishop Boner had bestowed upon him, when he disgraded him. But when the people saw his reverend and ancient face, with a long white beard, they burst out with weeping teares, and cried, saying: "God save thee good doctour Taylor: Jesus Christ strengthen thee, and helpe thee: The Holy Ghost comfort thee:" with such other like godly wishes. Then would hee have spoken to the people: but the yeomen of the gard were so busie about him, that as soon as he opened his mouth, one or other thrust a tippe staffe into his mouth, and would in no wise permitte him to speak.

Then desired he licence of the shiriffe to speak: but the shiriffe denied it to him, and bad him remember his promise to the councell.

"Well," quoth Doctor Taylor, "promise must be kept." What this promise was, it is unknown: but the common fame was, that after he and others were condemned, the councel sent for them, and threatned them they would cut their tongues out of their heads, except they would promise, that at their deaths they would keepe silence, and not speake to the people. Wherefore they desirous to have the use of their tongues, to call upon God as long as they might live, promised silence. For the papists feared much, least this mutation of religion, from truth to lies, from Christes ordinances to the popish traditions, should not so quietly have beene received as it was, especially this burning of the preachers: but they measuring others mindes by their owne, feared lest any tumult or uprore^a might have beene stirred. the

^a *Tumult or uprore.*] When interests so momentous were at stake, we are not to wonder that we hear of tumults and fears of tumults. One class of expedients for prevention was, as we have seen, to forbid the martyrs to speake to the people, at the time of their execution; and the people to hear them; or to pray for them; or, to assist at their prayers. How these virtual confessions of a bad cause were likely to succeed, we may easily conjecture; and partly

having so just a cause not to bee contented with their ; or else (what they most feared) the people should more n confirmed by their godly exhortations to stand stedfast their vaine popish doctrine and idolatrie. But thanks to hich gave to his witnesses faith and patience, with stout any harts to despise all torments: nether was there so as any one man that once shewed any signe of disobedience s the magistrates. They shed their blood gladly in the : of the truth, so leaving example unto all men of true and obedience: which is to obey God more than men; and if equire it, to shed their owne blood rather than to depart Gods truth.

tor Taylor perceiving that he could not be suffered to , sate downe, and seeing one named Soyce, he called him yd: "Soyce, I pray thee come and pull off my bootes and em for thy labour. Thou hast long looked for them, now em." Then rose he up, and put off his clothes unto his and gave them away. Which done, hee said with a loud "Good people, I have taught you nothing but Gods holy and those lessons that I have taken out of Gods blessed

, we have seen. Another expedient with the same object, and with :cess, Strype thus describes: "Preachers, and they such as were of the best ability that way, were now studiously set up to preach ble into an ill opinion of the late proceedings, especially in religion." f these were Feckenham, Weston, White, Watson, Harpsfield and . "This last-named came up at Paule's cross, August 13 (1553), ere present the lord mayor, and his brethren, and the lord Courteney, reat auditory. This man did according to his instructions, fiercely lay im, in accusing the doings of the former reign with such reflections ings that were dear to the people, that it set them all into a hurly And such an uproar began, such a shouting at the sermon, and cast- of caps, as that one who lived in those times, and kept a journal of that then fell out, writ, *it was as if the people were mad*, and that there ave been some great mischief done, had not the people been awed at by the presence of the mayor and lord Courteney. In this confu- e young people and the women bore their part; and so did some and, namely, the minister of St. Ethelborough's within Bishopsgate; we shall hear, smarted severely for it. And, which most of all shewed ular displeasure against the preacher, a dagger was thrown at him: roke up the assembly; and the divine was conveyed away for fear of " Strype's *Eccles. Memor.*, vol. iii. p. 21. Compare p. 135, where is unt of a gun being discharged at Dr. Pendleton, while preaching the at Paul's cross, June 10, 1554. See also Hoggard's *Displaying of mts*, fol. 92, 3. A.D. 1556.

patch) the Lord knoweth which shall judge all : more of this I have not to say.

These foure were appointed to set up the fagots, and to make the fire, which they most diligently did : and this Warwike cruelly cast a fagot at him, which light upon his head, and brake his face, that the bloud ran down his visage. Then said doctor Tailor : " Oh friend, I have harme inough, what needed that ? "

Furthermore, sir John Shelton there standing by, as doctour Taylour was speaking and saying the Psalme *Miserere* in English, stroke him on the lippes : " Ye knave," said hee, " speake Late ; I will make thee." At last they set to fire : and doctour Taylour, holding up both his handes, called uppon God, and said : " Mercifull father of heaven, for Jesus Christ my Saviours sake, receive my soule into thy handes." So stood he still, without either crying or mooving, with his handes folded together, till Soyce with an halberd stroke him on the head that the brains fell out, and the dead corpes fell downe into the fire.

Thus rendered the man of God' his blessed soule into the hands of his mercifull Father, and to his most deare and certaine Saviour Jesus Christ, whom he most entirely loved, faithfully and earnestly preached, obediently followed in living, and constantly glorified in death.

• *The men of God.*] Strype in his *Memorials of Archbishop Crammer*, p. 421, has preserved a considerable fragment of the heads of a sermon preached at Hadley, the day after Taylor's martyrdom, by Newall his successor in that benefice : " a right popish sermon" (says Strype) " patched up of ignorance, malice, uncharitableness, lies and improbabilities." " It mooveth many minds," (remarks the preacher), " to see an heretic constant, and to die. But it is not to be marvelled at : for the devil hath power over soul and body. For he causeth men to drown, and hang themselves, at their own wills. Much more he may cause a man to burn ; seeing he is tied, and cannot fly.—Sure he died in damnable case, if he did not otherwise repent in the hour of pain.—And I warrant you he said not one word at his death, more than desired the people to pray for him : which was no token of a Christian, but of stubbornness. But I am glad that ye were so quiet." See the rest.

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BISHOP LATIMER.

We are now more near to God than ever we were. Yea, we are at the gates of heaven ; and we are become a joyful spectacle, in *this our captivity*, to God, to the angels, and all his saints, who look that we should end our course with glory.

LATIMER.

Then they brought a faggot, kindled with fire, and laid the same downe at doctor Ridley's feete. To whom master Latimer spake in this manner, Bee of good comfort, master Ridley, and play the man : wee shall this day light such a candle, by God's grace, in England, as I trust shall never bee putte out.

JOHN FOX.

BISHOP LATIMER.

HUGH LATIMER was the sonne¹ of one Hugh Latimer of Thurcaston in the countie of Leicester, a husbandman of right good estimation²; with whom also he was brought up, until he was of the age of foure yeares or thereabout. At which time his parents

¹ *Was the sonne.*] Mr. Gilpin, in his *Life of Latimer*, says (I know not upon what authority) that he was born "about the year 1470."—I incline however to think, that 1470 is too early a date by many years.

² *Right good estimation.*] In his first sermon before king Edward, preached in the year 1549, Latimer gives the following pleasing description of his father and family.

"My father was a yeoman, and had no landes of his own, onely he had a farme of three or four pounds by yeare at the uttermost; and hereupon he tilled so muche as kept half a dozen men. He had walke for an hundred sheepe, and my mother milked thirty kine. He was able, and did finde the king an harness, with himselfe and his horse, while he came to the place that he should receive the kinges wages. I can remember that I buckled his harness, when he went to Blackheath felde (A.D. 1497.). He kept me to schole, or else I had not been able to have preached before the kinges majesty now. He maryed my sisters with five pound or twenty nobles a piece, so that he brought them up in godliness, and feare of God. He kept hospitality for his poore neighbours; and some almes he gave to the poore: and all this did he of the said farme. Whereas, he that now hath it payeth sixteen pounds by the yeare or more, and is not able to doe anye thing for his prince, for himselfe, nor for his children, or give a cup of drinke to the poore." Fol. 32. edit. 1584. In another sermon (the sixth) preached likewise before the king, we have some further circumstances communicated respecting his early years. "Men of Englande in times past, when they would exercise themselves (for we must needs have some recreation, our bodyes cannot endure without some exercise), they were wont to goe abroad in the fields of shooting. The art of shooting hath been in times past muche esteemed in this realme: it is a gift of God that he hath given us to excell all other nations withall.

exercises ' in other things, he gave himself to the study of such schoole divinitie, as the ignorance of that age did suffer '.

" Remember ye not how within this thirty yeares and farre lesse, and yet it dureth unto this day, the old barkyng cures, dunces, disciples, and lyke draffe called Scotistes, the children of darkenesse, raged in every pulpit agaynst Greke, Latin, and Hebrue ; and what sorrow the scholemasters, that taught the true Latin tongue, had with them ; some beatyng the pulpit with theyr fystes for madnesse, and roaryng out with open and foamyng mouth, that if there were but one Terence or Virgil in the world, and that same in their sleeves, and a fire before them, they would burne them therein, though it should cost them their lives ; affirming that all good learyng decayed, and was utterlye lost sence men gave them unto the Latin tongue ? Yea, and I dare say that there be twenty thousand priests, curates this day in England, and not so few, that cannot geve you the right English unto this text in the Pater Noster ; *Fiat voluntas tua sicut in celo, et in terra*, and answere thereto." Ibid. p. 278. *Answer unto M. More's first Book.* A.D. 1530.

" Remember ye not, how in our owne tyme, of all that taught grammar in England, not one understode the Latin tounge ?—How came we then by the Latin tounge agayne ? Not by them, though we learned certaine rules and principles of them, by which we were moved, and had an occasion to seke further ; but out of the old authors." Ibid. p. 268.

But the most striking and valuable passage is from the preface to his admirable work, *The Obedience of a Christian Man.* A.D. 1528.

An objector is supposed to begin, urging against the reformers, that they rested all on the mere doctrine of private judgment :

" By this meanes then, thou wilt that no man teach another, but every man take the scripture, and learne by himselfe.—Nay verely, so say I not. Nevertheless, seeing that ye wyll not teach, if any man thyrst for the truth, and read the Scripture by hymselfe, desiring God to open the dore of knowledge unto him, God for his truthe sake will, and must teach hym.—Howbeit my meaning is, that as a mayster teacheth his prentice to know all the poyntes of the mete-yard ; first how many inches, how many feete, and the halfe yarde, the quarter, and the nayle ; and then teacheth him to mete other thinges thereby ; even so will I that ye teach the people Gods lawe, and what obedience God requireth of us unto father and mother, mayster, lord, king, and all superiours : and wyth what frendly love he commandeth one to love another.—And teach them to knowe that natural venome, and byrth poyson, which moveth the very hartes of us to rebell agaynst the ordinances and wyll of God, and proveth that no man is righteous in the sight of God, but that we are all damned by the lawe. And then, when thou hast meeked them and feared them wyth the lawe, teach them the testament and promises, which God hath made unto us in Christ. And teach them the principles and ground of the fayth ; and what the sacramentes signifie ; and then shall the spirite work with thy preaching, and make them feele. So would it come to passe that as we knowe by natural wit, what followeth of a true principle of natural reason ; even so, by the principles of the fayth, and by the plaine Scriptures, and by the circumstances of the text, should we judge all men's exposition,

Zelous he was then^e in the popish religion, and therewith as scrupulous, as himselfe confessed, that being a priest, and using

and all mens doctrine; and should receive the best, and refuse the worst. I woulde have you to teach them also the properties and manner of speakings of the Scripture, and how to expound proverbes and similitudes. And then, if they go abroad, and walke by the fieldes and medowes of all manner of doctours and philosophers they coulde catch no harme. They should discerne the poyson from the honey, and bring home nothing, but that which is holosome.

But nowe do ye cleane contrary: ye drive them from Gods worde, and will let no man come thereto, until he have bene two yeres Maister of Art.—First they nosel them in sophistry, and in *Benefundatum*. And there corrupt they their judgements with apparent argumentes, and wyth alleaging unto then textes of logike, of natural philautia, of metaphysike and moral philosophy, and of all manner of bookes of Aristotle, and of all manner of doctours, which they yet never saw. Moreover, one holdeth this, another that, one is *real*, another *nominal*. What wonderful dreames have they of their predicamentes, universales, second intentions, quiddities, hæc scitises, and relatives! And whether *species fundata in chimæra*, be *vera species*? And whether this proposition be true, *non ens est aliquid*? Whether *ens* be *equivocum* or *univocum*? *Ens* is a voyce only, say some. *Ens* is *univocum*, saith another, and descendeth into *ens creatum*, and into *ens increatum, per modos intrinsecos*. When they have in this wise brawled eight, ten, or twelve, or moe yeares, and after that their judgmentes are utterly corrupt; then they beginne their divinitie. Not at the Scripture; but every man taketh a sundry doctour: which doctours are as sundry, and as divers, the one contrary unto the other, as there are divers fashions and monstrous shapes, none like another among our sectes of religion. Every religion, every universitie, and almost every man hath a sundry divinitie. Now, whatsoever opinions every man fyndeth wyth his doctour, that is his gospel, and that only is true with him; and that holdeth he all his life long: and every man, to maintaine his doctour withal, corrupteth the Scripture and fashioneth it after his owne imagination, as a potter doth his claye. Of what text *then* provest hell, will another prove purgatory; another *limbo patrum*; and another the assumption of our lady; and another shall prove of the same text that an ape hath a tayle. And of what text the *graye* fryer proveth that our lady was without original sinne, of the same shall the *blacke* fryer prove that she was conceived in original sinne. And all this do they wyth apparent reasons, with false similitudes and likenesses, and with arguments and persuasions of mans wisdom. There is no other division or heresy in the world save mans wisdom: and when mans folishe wisdom interpreteth the Scripture. Mans wisdom scattereth, divideth, and maketh sectes: while the wisdom of one is, that a *white* coate is best to serve God in; and another a *blacke*; another a *graye*; another a *biere*. And while one saith that God will heare your prayer in this place: another saith in that place. And one saith this place is holier, and another that place is holier: and this religion is holier than that; and this saint is greater with God, than that; and an hundred thousand like thinges. Mans wisdom is plaine idolatry: neither is there any other idolatry, than to imagine of God after mans wisdom. God is not

to say masse, he was so servile an observer of the Romish decrees, that hee thought hee had never sufficiently mingled his masse wine ' with water : and moreover, that he should never be

man's imagination, but that onely, which He saith of himselfe. God is nothyng but his law, and his promises ; that is to say, that which he biddeth thee *to do*, and that which he biddeth thee *beleve and hope*." *Works*, p. 103, 4.

* *Zelous he was then.*] See *Life of Bilney*, p. 29, and Latimer's *Sermons*, fol. 294. edit. 1584. "All the papistes thinke themselves to be saved by the law : and I myself have bene of that daungerous, perilous, and damnable opinion, till I was thirty years of age ; so long had I walked in darkness, and in the shadowe of death."

† *Mingled his masse wine.*] "*Vinum tuum mixtum est aqua* :—It had been good for our missal priests to have dwelled in that countrey, for they might have been sure to have had their wine well mingled with water.—I remember how scrupulous I was in my time of blindnesse and ignorance ; when I should say masse, I have put in water twice or thrice for fayling, in so much, when I have been at my *memento*, I have had a grudge in my conscience, for fearyng that I had not put in water enough."—Latimer's *Sermons*, fol. 45. In the Catechism of the Council of Trent, the mixing of a portion of water with the wine in the Eucharist is declared to be an *apostolical tradition* ; and, it is added, that, though its absence is not fatal to the efficacy and essence of the sacrament, yet it cannot be omitted *without mortal sin*, "*eum sine mortali peccato prætermittere non licet*."—*Catechism. ad Paroch.* De Eucharistiæ Sacramento, § 17.

It is a favourite subject with Luther to enlarge upon his own servile fear, and the superstitious reverence with which he was addicted to the several observances and ceremonies of his profession, whilst he continued a *monk*. See also *Life of Bilney*, p. 25, 6. A writer, in the reign of Edward the sixth, gives incidentally the following picture of his religion, before his conversion to the protestant faith.

"It fared then with them" (the Jews) "as it dyd with me, whan I was a holy papist ; at what tyme I was at thys point wyth God, that if I had hearde masse both Sondaye and holye day, and sayde our Lady mattins, or our Ladyes psalter, kissed and licked devoutly saintes feet (for so called they their images), and besprinkled myself well favouredly wyth conjured water, and had done the superstitious penance enjoyned to me by my *ghostly*, shall I say *enemye*, or *father* ?—then, I say, I was at such poynte wyth God, I thought it, and assuredly beleved, that I had done my full duty unto hym, though I never once called to remembrance the benefite of Christes death in satisfying and pacifying for all the trespasses and synnes of my former evill life, and naughty conversation.

"Yea, besides all this popysh and devillishe presumption, I thought farther, that if I had done the sayd vayne workes, and such other no better, that I was no more beholden unto God, than he was to me ; neither gave I him more thanks for pardonyng me of my synnes, than one marchaunt man geveth to another for the obtaynyng a peny worthe for a penie.

"But thanks be unto the Lorde who of hys mere clemency, delivered me

Notwithstanding, such was the goodnesse and merciful purpose of God, that when he saw his good time, by the which way Latimer thought to have utterly defaced the professours of the gospel, and true church of Christ, he was at length himselfe by a member of the same, pretily caught in the blessed net of Gods word. For M. Thomas Bilney (whose storie is before described) being at that time a trier out of Sathans subtleties, and a secret overthrower of antichristes kingdome, seeing maister Latimer to have a zeale in his waies (although without knowledge) was stricken with a brotherly pitie towards him, and bethought by what meanes hee might best winne this zealous ignorant brother to the true knowledge of Christ. Wherefore, after a short time, he came to M. Latymers study, and desired him to heare him make his confession. Which thing he willingly granted : by hearing whereof, he was (through the good spirit of God) so touched, that hereupon he forsook his former studying of the schoole doctors, and other such fopperies, and became an earnest student of true divinitie ; as he himselfe, as well in his conference with M. Ridley, as also in his first sermon⁹ made upon the *pater noster*, doth confesse.— So that whereas before he was an enemy, and almost a persecutor of Christ, he was now a zealous seeker after him, changing his olde manner of cavilling and railing, into a diligent kinde of conferring both with maister Bilney and others, and came also to maister Stafford before hee died, and desired him to forgive him.

After this his winning to Christ, hee was not satisfied with his own conversion only, but like a true disciple of the blessed Samaritane, pitied the misery of others ; and therefore became both a publike preacher, and also a private instructor to the rest of his brethren within the universitie, by the space of three

block unto him, then intending to preach to the world the sincere doctrine of the gospel, so he mightily, tracting no time, preached daily in the university of Cambridge, both in English, and, *ad clerum*, to the great admiration of all men, that aforetime had known him of a contrary severe opinion.”—Strype’s *Eccelesiast. Memor.* vol. iii. p. 233. “ Master Latimer being yet a fervent and a zealous papist, standing in the schooles when master Stafford read, bade the scholars not to heare him : and also preaching against him, exhorted the people, not to beleeve him : and yet the said Latimer confessed himselfe, that he gave thanks to God, that he asked him forgiveness before he departed.” Fox’s *Acts*, p. 524.

⁹ In his first sermon.] Folio 124. edit. 1584.

said) he made the heart to be *triumph*, exhorting and inviting all men thereby to serve the Lord with inward heart and true affection, and not with outward ceremonies : adding moreover to the praise of that *triumph*, that though it were never so small, yet it would take up the best *coats card* beside in the bunch, yea, though it were the king of clubs ; meaning therby, how the Lord would be worshipped and served in simplicitie of the heart and veritie, wherein consisteth true Christian religion, and not in the outward deeds of the letter only, or in the glistening shew of mans traditions, or pardons, pilgrimages, ceremonies, voves, devotions, voluntarie workes, and workes of supererogation, foundations, oblations, the popes supreamacie, &c. so that all these either were needlesse, where the other is present ; or els were of small estimation, in comparison of the other.

It would aske a long discourse to declare what a stirre there was in Cambridge, upon this preaching of M. Latimer.—Belike Sathan began to feele himselfe and his kingdome to be touched too neare, and therefore thought it time to looke about him, and to make out his men of armes.

First, came out the prior of the blacke friers called Buckneham, otherwise surnamed *Domine labia*, who thinking to make a great hand against M. Latimer, about the same time of christenmas, when M. Latimer brought forth his cardes, to deface belike the doings of the other, brought out his christenmas dice, casting there to his audience *cinque* and *quater* : meaning by the *cinque* five places in the New Testament, and the foure doctors² by the *quater*, by which his *cinque quater*, hee would proove that it was not expedient the scripture to be in English, least the ignorant and vulgar sort thorough the occasion thereof, might happilie be brought in danger to leave their vocation, or else to runne into some inconvenience ; as for example :

The plowman when he heareth this in the gospell : *No man that layeth his hand on the plough, and looketh back, is meete for the kingdome of God*, might peradventure hearing this, cease from his plough. Likewise the baker when he heareth that *a little leaven corrupteth a whole lump of dove*, may percase leave our bread unleavened, and so our bodies shall be unseasoned. Also the sim-

² *The foure doctors.*] I. e. the four great fathers of the western church ; Augustin, Jerome, Ambrose, and Gregory. *Comp. Life of Wickliffe*, p. 255. vol. i.

ple man when he heareth in the gospel: *If thine eye offend thee, pluck it out, and cast it from thee*, maie make himselfe blinde, and so fill the world full of beggers.—These with other mo this clarklie frier brought out, to the number of five, to proove his purpose.

M. Latimer hearing this frierlie sermon of doctor Buckneham, commeth againe the afternoone, or shortlie after to the church, to answere the frier; where resorted to him a great multitude, as well of the universitie, as of the towne, both doctours and other graduates, with greate expectation to heare what he could say: among whom also, directlie in the face of Latimer underneath the pulpit, sate Buckneham the foresaid frier, prior of the black friers, with his blacke friers coule about his shoulders.

Then master Latimer first repeating the frierlie reasons of doctour Buckneham, whereby he would prove it a dangerous thing for the vulgar people, to have the scripture in the vulgar tongue, so refuted the frier, so answered to his objections, so dallied with his bald reasons of the ploughman looking back, and of the baker leaving his breade unleavened, that the vanitie of the frier might to all men appeare; wel proving and declaring to the people, how there was no such feare nor danger for the scriptures to be in English, as the frier pretended: at least this requiring, that the scripture might be so long in the English tongue, till English men were so mad, that neither ploughman durst looke backe, and the baker wold leave his bread unleavened. And proceeding more-over in his sermon he began to discourse of the mysticall speeches, and figurative phrases of the scripture: which phrases he saide were not so diffuse and difficult³, as they were common in the scripture, and in the Hebrew tongue most commonlie used and knowne; and not onelie in the Hebrew tongue, but also everie speech (saith he) hath his metaphors and like figurative significations, so common and vulgar to all men, that the very painters doe painte them on walles and on houses.

“As for example,” (saith he) looking towards the frier that sate over against him, “when they paint a fox preaching out of a friers coule, none is so mad to take this to be a foxe that preacheth, but know well enough the meaning of the matter, which is to

³ *Diffuse and difficult.*] Compare above, *Life of Wolsey*, vol. i. p. 514, and n. (*). Also Barlowe's *Dialogue concerning the Lutheran factions*, signat. l. 2. —“it is above my capacitie; and I dare not meddle with so dyffuse matters.”

paint out unto us, what hypocrisie, craft and subtile dissimulation lieth hid many times in these friers coules, willing us thereby to beware of them.”—In fine, frier Buckneham with this sermon was so dashed, that never after durst he peep out of the pulpit against M. Latimer.

Besides this Buckneham, there was also another rayling frier, not of the same coate, but of the same note and faction, a *gray* frier and a doctour, an outlandishman called doctour *Venetus*⁴, who likewise in his brawling sermons, railed and raged against master Latimer, calling him a mad and brainelesse man, and willing the people not to beleewe him. To whom master Latimer answering again, taketh for his ground the words of our Saviour Christ, Matthew the fifth, *Thou shalt not kill, &c. But I say unto you, whosoever is angry with his neighbour shall be in danger of judgment; and whosoever shall say unto his neighbour Racha, (or any other like wordes of rebuking, as brainelesse) shall be in danger of counsell: and whosoever shall say to his neighbour, foole, shall bee in danger of hell fire.*

In discussing of which place, first he divideth the offence of killing into three branches. One to be with hand, the other with hart, the third with word. With hand when wee use anie weapon drawne, to spill the life of our neighbour. With heart when we be angry with him. With word, when in word or countenance we disdainefullie rebuke our neighbour, or dispitelfullie revile him. Words of rebuking are when we speak any opprobrious and unseemelie thing, whereby the patience of our neighbor is mooved, as when we call him *mad* (said hee) or *brainelesse*, or such like, which are guiltie of counsaile. Words of spite or reviling, are, when we call him *foole*: which Christ saith is guiltie of hell fire.

Thus M. Latimer in handling and trimming this matter, after that with the weight of Christes wordes, and the explaning of the same, hee had sufficientlie borne the frier cleane downe, then he turned to the fift chapter of the booke of Wisdom. Out of the which chapter he declared to the audience, how the true servants and preachers of God in this worlde commonlie are scorned and reviled of the proud enemies of Gods word, which count them here

⁴ *Doctor Venetus.*] This Venetian doctor is not improbably “the maister doctor Nicholas the Italian frier,” mentioned in the *Life of Sir Thomas More*, p. 124 of this volume.

as mad men, fooles, brainelesse, and drunken : so did they (said hee) in the scripture call them which most purelie preached and set forth the glory of Gods word. But (said hee) what will be the end of these jollie fellows, or what will they say in the end! *Nos insensati, nos insensati, &c.* *We madd men, wee madd fooles, we, we, our selves, &c.* And that will be their end, except they repent.—And thus ending his sermon, he so confounded the poore frier, that he drave him not onlie out of countenance, but also cleane out of the universitie.

But what should I heere stand deciphrring the names of his adversaries, when whole swarmes of friers and doctors flockt against him on everie side, almost through the whole universitie, preaching likewise and barking against him. Amongst whom was doctor Watson master of Christs collidge, whose schollar Latimer had been afore : doctor Notaries master of Clarehall, doctor Philo master of Michael house, doctour Metecalfe¹, master of Saint Johns, doctor Blithe² of the Kings hall, doctour Bullocke master of the Queenes collidge, doctor Cliffe of Clement house, doctor Donnes of Jesus collidge, doctor Palmes master of Saint Nicholas hostel : Bain, Rud. and Greenwood bachelors of divinity, all three of S. Johns collidge : also Brikenden bachelor of divinitie of the same house, and scholler sometime to the said Latimer. Briefly, almost as many as were Heads there of houses, so many impugniers did this worthy standerdbearer of Christs gospell sustaine.

Then came at last doctor West, bishop of Ely, who preaching against master Latimer at Barnwell³ abbey, forbade him within the churches of that universitie to preache anie more. Notwithstanding so the Lord provided that doctor Barnes prior of the Augustine friers, did licence⁴ master Latimer to preache in his

¹ *Doctor Metcalfe.* Nicholas Metcalf, who was rector of Henley and archdeacon of Rochester : a long and good character of him is in Ascham's *School-master*, p. 165. He was a considerable benefactor to St. John's.

² *Doctor Blithe.* Geoffrey Blithe, afterwards dean of York and bishop of Lichfield and Coventry.

³ *Barnwell.* Or, *De fontibus puerorum*, near Cambridge. The register book is preserved in the British Museum, Harl. MS. 3611.

⁴ *Did licence.* His priory, like most other religious houses, being by the pope's dispensation, exempt from episcopal jurisdiction, to the great injury of ecclesiastical discipline.—Richard West died April 25, 1533. Le Neve's *Fam.* p. 70.

church of the Augustines, and hee himselfe preached at the church by, called S. Edwards church.

This M. Latimer (as you have heard) being bayted by the friers, doctors, and masters, of that universitie, about the yeare^o aforesaide, 1529, notwithstanding and maugre the malice of these malignant adversaries, continued yet in Cambridge¹ preaching the space of three yeares together, with such favour and applause of the godlie, also with such admiration of his enemies that heard him, that the bishop himselfe² coming in, and hearing his gift, wished himselfe to have the like, and was compelled to commend him upon the same.

^o *About the yeare.*] This date is confirmed by two documents, printed from the library of Corpus Christi Coll. Camb. in Dr. Lamb's *Collection of Letters, Statutes, &c.* 1838. 8vo. p. 14—8, dated severally, Jan. 24. and Jan. 29. 1529. i. e. 1529-30.

¹ *Continued yet in Cambridge.*] For a general description of the character and subjects of his preaching at this period, see Becon's *Jewel of Joy*. Works, vol. ii. fol. 9, 10, and Turner's *Preservative against the poison of Pelagius*, A. D. 1551, Dedication to Latimer. Comp. *Strype's Cranmer*, p. 369. It became soon after a common saying, which continued to prevail in the reign of king Edward, that, "When Master Stafforde read, and Master Latimer preached, then was Cambryge blessed." Becon, fol. 10.

"I myself have known some," (says Becon) "which through persuasion of their friends went to his sermons, swelling blown full, like Esop's frogs, with envy and malice against him; but when they returned, his sermon being done, and demanded how they liked him and his doctrine, they answered, with the bishops' and pharisees' servants, *There was never man spake like unto this man.*" Ibid.

² *The bishop himselfe.*] "West, then bishop of Ely" (as we are told by Morice, archbishop Cranmer's secretary) "hearing of Mr. Latimer's conversion, determined with himself to come and hear him preach, but that it should be suddain and withouten any intelligence to be given to Latymer. And so it came to pass, that on a time when Mr. Latymer had prepared to preach in the university a sermon *ad Clerum*, in Latin, the bishop hearing thereof, came secretly and suddainly from Ely, and entered into the university church, accompanied with certain men of worship (Latimer then being well entered into his sermon): whose approach being honourable, Latymer gave place and surceased from further speaking, until the bishop and his retinue were quietly placed. That done, after a good pause, Latymer beginneth to speak to his auditory, after this sort. 'It is of congruence meet,' (quoth he,) 'that a new auditory, namely being more honorable, requireth a new theme, being a new argument to intreat of. Therefore, it behoveth me now to divert from mine intended purpose, and somewhat to intreat of the honourable estate of a bishop. Therefore, let this be the theme, quoth he, *Christus existens pontifex futurorum bonorum, &c.*' This text he so fruitfully handled, expounding every word, and setting forth the

fter M. Latimer had beene so acquainted with the aforesaid master Bilney, he went with him to visite the prisoners in the tower in Cambridge; and being there, among other prisoners here was a woman which was accused that she had killed her own childe, which act she plainlie and stedfastlie denied. Whereby it gave them occasion to search for the matter, and at length they found that her husband loved her not, and therefore sought all meanes he could to make her away. The matter was thus :

A childe of hers had beene sicke a whole yeare, and at length died in harvest time, as it were in a consumption. Which when it was gone, she went to have her neighbours to help her to the buriall, but all were in harvest abroad : whereby she was enforced with heavinesse of heart, alone to prepare the childe to the buriall. Her husband coming home, and not loving her, accused her of murdering the childe. This was the cause of her trouble, and master Latimer by earnest inquisition, of conscience thought the woman not guiltie. Then immediately after, was he called to preach before king Henrie the eight, at Windsore : where after his sermon the kings majestie sent for him, and talked with him familiarlie. At which time M. Latimer finding opportunity, kneeled downe, opened this whole matter to the king, and begged her pardon, which the kinge most graciously granted, and gave it him at his returne homeward. In the meane time the woman was delivered of a childe in the prison, whose godfather was M. Latimer, mistris Cheeke ' godmother. But all that while he would not tell her of the pardon, but laboured to have her tell the truth of the matter. At length the time came when she looked to suffer, and master Latimer came as he was wont to instruct her : unto whome shee made great lamentation and mone, to be purified before her suffering, for she thought to be damned if she should suffer without purification.

Then master Bilney being with master Latimer, both told her that that lawe was made to the Jewes, and not to us, and how women bee as well in the favour of God before they bee purified,

* *Mistress Cheeke.*] This probably was the mother of Sir John Cheeke. He was born at Cambridge, his father having settled there on marrying 'a gentlewoman of that county.' "She was," says Strype, "a grave, wise, and good woman. Ascham in one of his epistles stiles her *venerandam illam feminam.*" She had a daughter married to Cecil, afterwards the great lord Burghley. Strype's *Life of Cheeke*, p. 3.

adversaries, and such as did molest him, partly their names be above expressed. Among the rest of this number was doctor Redman¹, a man savouring at that time somewhat more of superstition, than of true religion, after the zeale of the pharises, yet not so malignant or harmefull, but of a civill and quiet disposition, and also so liberall in well doing that few poore schollers were in that universitie, which fared not better by his purse. This D. Redman being of no little authoritie in Cambridge, perceiving and understanding the bold enterprise of M. Latimer, in setting abroad the word and doctrine of the gospel, at this time or much about the same, writeth to him, seeking by perswasion to revoke the saide Latimer from that kinde and maner of teaching: to whom M. Latimer maketh answeare againe in few words. The summe and effect of both their letters translated out of Latine, heere follow to be seene.

The Summe of the Epistle written by D. Redman to M. Latimer.

“Grace be with you, and true peace in Christ Jesu. I beseech you heartilie, and require most earnestly, even for charities sake that you will not stand in your own conceit with a minde so indurate, nor preferre your own singular judgment in matters of religion and controversies before so many learned men, and that more is, before the whole catholike church, especially considering that you neither have anie thing at all in the word of God to make for you, nor yet the testimony of any authentical writer.

sure enough.—No doubt she thought that the devill would have no power against him.” Latimer’s *Sermons*, fol. 198. edit. 1584.

I subjoin also, as bearing upon these superstitions, a noble sentence or two, from Tindal’s *Parable of the Wicked Mammon*, near the beginning.

“Also remember that His Son’s blood is stronger than all the sins and wickedness of the whole world: and therewith quiet thyself, and thereunto commit thyself and bless thyself in all temptation (namely at the hour of death) with that *holy candle*. Or else perishest thou, though thou hast a thousand *holy candles* about thee, a hundred ton of *holy water*, a ship full of *pardons*, a cloth-sack full of *friers’ coats*, and all the ceremonies in the world, and all the good works, deservings, and merits of all the men in the world be they, or were they, never so holy. God’s word only lasteth for ever; and that which he hath sworn doth abide when all other things perish.”

¹ *Doctor Redman.*] John Redman, the first master of Trinity college, afterwards dean of Westminster: see his character in Strype’s *Memorials*, vol. ii. pt. i. p. 530. Oxford edition.

After that, he returned to the universitie again, where shortly after, by the meanes of D. Buts, the kings physition, a singular

chamber, by the sound of a little bell, which the cardinal used to ring, when any person should come or approach unto him. When Mr. Latymer was before hym, he well advised him, and said, 'Is your name Latymer?' 'Yea, forsooth,' quoth Latymer. 'You seem,' quoth the cardinal, 'that you are of good years, nor no babe, but one that should wisely and soberly use yourself in all your doings. And yet it is reported to me of you, that you are much infected with this new fantastical doctrine of Luther, and such like heretics: and that you do very much harm among the youth, and other light heads, with your doctrine.' Said Mr. Latymer again, 'Your grace is misinformed: for I ought to have some more knowledge, than to be so simply reported of: by reason that I have studied, in my time, both of the ancient doctors of the church, and also of the school doctors.' 'Marie, that is well said,' quoth the cardinal: 'I am glad to hear that of you. And therefore,' quoth the cardinal, 'you Mr. doctor Capon, and you Mr. doctor Marshal,' (both being there present) 'say you somewhat to Mr. Latymer touching some question in Duns.' Whereupon Dr. Capon propounded a question to Mr. Latymer. Mr. Latymer being fresh then of memory, and not discontinued from study, as those two doctors had been, answered very roundly; some-while helping them to cite their own allegations rightly, where they had not perfectly nor truly alleged them.

"The cardinal, perceiving the ripe and ready answering of Latimer, said, 'What mean you, my masters, to bring such a man before me into accusation? I had thought that he had been some light-headed fellow, that never studied such kind of doctrine, as the school-authors are. I pray thee, Latymer, tell me the cause, why the bishop of Ely and other do mislike thy preachings. Tell me the truth, and I will bear with thee, upon amendment.' Quoth Latymer, 'your grace must understand, that the bishop of Ely cannot favour me, for that not long ago I preached before him in Cambridge a sermon of this text *Christus existens pontifex*, &c. wherein I described the office of a bishop so uprightly as I might, according to the text, that never after he could abide me; but hath not only forbidden me to preach in his diocese, but also found the means to inhibit me from preaching in the university.' 'I pray you tell me,' quoth the cardinal, 'what time didst thou preach before him from that text.' Mr. Latymer plainly and simply (committing his cause unto Almighty God, who is the director of princes hearts) declared unto the cardinal the whole effect of his sermon preached before the bishop of Ely. The cardinal, nothing at all misliking the doctrine of the word of God, that Latymer had preached, said unto him, 'Did you not preach any other doctrine than you have rehearsed?' 'No surely,' said Latymer. And examining thoroughly with the doctors, what else would be objected against him, the cardinal said unto Mr. Latimer, 'if the bishop of Ely cannot abide such doctrine, as you have here repeated, you shall have my licence, and shall preach it unto his beard, let him say what he will.' And thereupon, after a gentle monition given unto Mr. Latimer, the cardinal discharged him with his

The Letter of M. Latimer written to k. Henry for the restoring again of the free libertie of reading the holy scriptures.

To the most mightie prince k. of England, Henry the eighth, grace, mercy, and peace from God the Father and our Lord Jesus Christ.

“ The holy doctour Saint Augustine in an epistle which hee wrote to Casulanus, sayth, that hee which for feare of any power hideth the truth, provoketh the wrath of God to come upon him : for he feareth men more than God. And according to the same, the holy man Saint John Chrysostome saith ; that he is not alonely a traytour to the truth, which openly for truth teacheth a lie, but he also which doth not freely pronounce and shewe the truth that he knoweth.—These sentences (most redoubted king) when I read now of late, and marked them earnestly in the inward parts of mine hart, they made me sore afraid, troubled, and vexed mee grievously in my conscience, and at the last drave me to this streyt, that either I must shewe forth such things as I have read and learned in Scripture, or els to bee of that sort that provoke the wrath of God upon them, and be traytors unto the trueth : the which thing than it should happen, I had rather suffer extreame punishment.

“ For what other thing is it to be a traytour unto the trueth, than to be a traytour and a Judas unto Christ, which is the very truth and cause of all truth ? the which saieth, *that whosoever denyeth him heere before men, he will deny him before his Father in heaven.* The which denying ought more to bee feared and dread, then the losse of all temporall goods, honour, promotion, fame, prison, slander, hurts, banishmentes, and all manner of torments, and cruelties, yea, and death it selfe, be it never so shamefull and painefull. But alas, how little doe men regard those sharpe sayings of these two holy men ? and how little do they feare the terrible judgement of almighty God ? and speciallie they which boast themselves to be guides and captaines unto other, and chalenging unto themselves the knowledge of holy Scripture, yet will neither shewe the trueth themselves (as they be bound) neither suffer them that would : so that unto them may be sayd that which our saviour Christ said to the Pharisies, (Math. 23.) *Wo be it unto you Scribes and Pharisies, which shut up the kingdome of*

... laws, statutes, customs, ceremonies, and
... and amongst them with cursinges, excommu-
... and corruptions (corrections I would say) and n-
... they say that they cannot prevayle against
... when he more it is persecuted, the more incre-
... and they have made it treason to your nobl-
... scripture in English.

... beseech your grace to pardon me aw-
... to leave me a word or two: yea and though
... concerning your high majesty and regall pow-
... mighty God hath called your grace, there is
... betweene you and me, as betweene God a-
... on you be deere to me and to all your subjects, in G-
... defend, aide, and succour us in our right; and so
... and quake to speake to your grace.—But a-
... that you bee a mortall man, in daunger
... in you the corrupt nature of Adam, in the wh-
... both conceived and borne, so have you no lesse ne-
... of Christes passion for your salvation, than I
... your subjects have, which be all members of the
... body of Christ. And though you be an higher member
... must not disdain the lesser. For as saint Paul sayet
... *maine that he taken most vilest and had in least reputat-
... as the other, for the preservation and keeping of*

homely, and simple letter unto your grace, trusting that you will accept my true and faithfull minde, even as it is.

“ First, and before all thinges, I will exhort your grace to marke the life and processe of our saviour Christ and his apostles in preaching and setting forth of the gospel; and to note also the words of our maister Christ, which he had to his disciples when he sent them forth to preach his gospell: and to these have ever in your minde the golden rule of our maister Christ; *The tree is knowne by the fruite.* For by the diligent marking of these, your grace shall clearly knowe and perceive who be the true followers of Christ, and teachers of his gospel, and who be not.

“ And concerning the first; all scripture sheweth plainly that our saviour Jesus Christes life was very poore. Begin at his birth, and I beseech you, who ever heard of a poorer or so poor as hee was! It were too long to write how poore Joseph and the blessed virgin Mary took their journey from Nazareth toward Bethlehem, in the colde and frostie winter, having no body to wait upon them, but he both master and man, and she both mistres and maide. How vilely thinks your grace, were they intreated in the innes and lodgings by the waie? and in how vile and abject place was this poore maide, the mother of our saviour Jesus Christ, brought to bed in, without companie, light, or anie other thing necessarie for a woman in that plight?—Was not here a poore beginning, as concerning the world? Yes truelie. And according to this beginning was the processe and end of his life in this world; and yet he might by his godlie power have had al the goods and treasures of this world at his pleasure, when and where he would.

“ But this hee did to shewe us that his followers and vicars should not regard nor set by the riches and treasures of this world; but after the saying of David wee ought to take them, which saith thus: *If riches, promotions, and dignitie happen to a man, let him not set his affiance, pleasure, trust, and heart upon them.* So that it is not against the povertie in spirite which Christ praiseth in the gospel of Saint Matthew, chapter 5, to be rich², to be in dignitie, and in honour; so that their hearts be

² *To be rich.*] “ I will not say but men may have riches; and many good men have had great riches; yet riches must be had *cum tremore*, with fear. It is a dangerous thing to have them. They be but burthens; they that have them be but bayliffes and stewardes over them: they must make account for

not fixed and set upon them so much, that they neither care for their nor good men. But they bee enemies to this povertie in spirit. have they never so little, that have greedie and desirous minies to the goods of this world, onely because they would live after their own pleasure and lusts. And they also be privy enemies (and so much the worse) which have professed, as they saie, wilfull povertie, and will not bee called worldly men, and they have lords lands and kings riches; yea rather than they would lose one jote of that which they have, they will set debate between king and king, realme and realme, yea between the king and his subjectes, and cause rebellion against the temporall power, to the which our saviour Christ himself obeyed and paid tribute, as the gospell declareth: unto whom the holy apostle S. Paul teacheth every Christian man to obey. Yea and beside all this, they will curse and ban, as much as in them lieth, even into the deep pit of hell, all that gainesaie their appetite, whereby they thinke their goods, promotions, or dignities should decaie.

"Your grace maie see what meanes and craft the spiritualtie (as they will bee called) imagine, to breake and withstande the actes which were made¹ in your graces last parliament against their superfluities. Wherefore they that thus doe, your grace maie know them not to bee true followers of Christ.—And although I named the spiritualty to be corrupt with this unthrifitie ambition; yet I meane not all to be faultie therein, for there bee some good of them. Neither will I that your grace should take awaie the goods due to the church, but take awaie all evill persons from the goods, and set better in their stead. I name nor appoint no person, nor persons, but remit your grace to the rule of our saviour Christ, as in Matthew the 7th chapter: *by their fruites ye shall know them.*

"As touching the words that our saviour Christ spake to his disciples when he sent them to preach his gospell, they be read in Matthew the 15th chapter, where he sheweth. *that here they shall bee hated and despised of all men worldly. and brought before*

them. And therefore above all things rich men must have in fleshly memory this scripture; *when riches come upon you, set not your hartes upon them.*" Sermons, fol. 188. On the Gospel on All Saints' Day.

¹ Acts which were made.] These were against exactions for probates of wills; for regulating mortuaries; and against pluralities and non-residence. Fox's Acts, p. 907, 908. Burnet's Reformat., vol. i. p. 79, 80. Wake's State

Arch., p. 472—4.

kinges and rulers ; and that all evill should be said by them, for their preaching sake ; but he exhorteth them to take patientlie such persecution by his own example, saying, It becometh not the servant to be above the maister. And seeing they called me Belzebub, what marvel is it, if they call you divelish persons and hereticke? Read the 14th chapter of St. Mathews gospell, and there your grace shall see that hee promised to the true preachers no worldlie promotions or dignitie, but persecution and all kinds of punishment, and that they should be betrayed even by their own brethren and children. In John also he saith : *In the world ye shal have oppression, and the world shall hate you ; but in me you shall have peace.* And in the 10th chapter of St. Mathewes gospell saith our saviour Christ also : *Loe I send you forth as sheepe among wolves.* So that the true preachers go like sheepe harmlesse, and bee persecuted, and yet they revenge not their wrong, but remit all to God : so farre is it off that they will persecute any other, but with the worde of God only, which is their weapon.—And so this is the most evident token that our saviour Jesus Christ would that his gospel and the preachers of it should bee knowne by, that it should bee despised among those worldlie wise men, and that they shoulde repute it but foolishnesse and deceivable doctrine, and the true preachers should be persecuted and hated, and driven from towne to towne, yea and at the last lose both goods and life.

“ And yet they that did this persecution, should think that they did well, and a great pleasure to God. And the apostles remembring this lesson of our saviour Christ, were content to suffer such persecutions, as you maie read in the Actes of the Apostles and the Epistles. But we never read that they ever persecuted any man. The holy apostle S. Paul saith, *that every man that will live godly in Christ Jesu, should suffer persecution.* And also he saith further in the epistle written to the Philippians in the first chapter : *that it is not only given to you to beleeve in the Lord, but also to suffer persecution for his sake.*

“ Wherefore take this for a sure conclusion, that there, where the word of God is truly preached, there is persecution, as wel of the hearers as of the teachers : and where as is quietnes and rest in worldly pleasure, there is not the trueth. For the world loveth all that are of the world, and hateth all things that are contrarie to it. And to be short, S. Paul calleth the gospell *the word of the crosse*, the word of punishment. And the holy

your last proclamation : the which promise I pray God that your gracious highnesse maie shortlie performe, even to daie before to morrowe. Nor let not the wickednesse of these worldlie men deteine you from your godlie purpose and promise. Remember the subtile worldly wise counsellors of Hammon the sonne of Naas, king of the Ammonites, which, when David had sent his servants to comfort the yong king for the death of his father, by crafty imaginations counselled Hammon, not alonely not to receive them gentlie, but to entreate them most shamefully and cruelly, saying : *that they came not to comfort him, but to espie and search his land, so that afterward they bringing David word how every thing stood, David might come and conquer it.* (2 Sam. x. 3.) And they caused the young king to sheare their head, and to cut their coates by the points, and sent them away like fooles : whom he ought rather to have made much of, and to have intreated them gently, and have given them great thanks and rewards. O wretched counsellors !—But see what followed of this carnall and worldlie wisdom. Truly nothing but destruction of all the whole realme, and also of all them which tooke their partes.

“ Therefore good king, seeing that the right David, that is to say, our saviour Christ, hath sent his servants, that is to saie, his true preachers, and his owne worde also to comfort our weake and sicke soules, let not these worldlie men make your grace beleeve that they will cause insurrections and heresies, and such mischiefes as they imagine of their own mad brains, least that he

convenient so to be.” Wilkins's *Concil.*, vol. iii. p. 741. I believe we may truly say, that the following is by no means an uncandid representation of the motives and design of this promise. “ When the clergy condemned Tindal's translation of the new Testament, they declared they intended to set out a new translation of it, which many thought was truly never designed, but only pretended, that they might restrain the curiosity of seeing Tindal's works, with the hopes of one that should be authorised.” Johnson's *Historical Account*, p. 69, in bishop Watson's *Theolog. Tracts*, vol. iii. For an account of the intrigues and contrivances of Gardiner and the popish party, when, a few years afterwards (1540), Henry renewed his promise, with a much more sincere purpose of fulfilling it, see the same work, p. 77, 8, or Lewis's *History of Translations*, p. 144, &c. Also Turner's *Hunting of the Romish Fox*, signat. D 8, &c. A. D. 1543.

The pretence for refusing licence to other versions was that the bishops would set forth a better ; “ but this,” says Cranmer in a letter to Cromwell, in 1537, “ I think will not be till a day after doomsday.” *Remains*, vol. i. p. 197.

be avenged upon you and your realme, as was David upon the Ammonites, and as he hath ever beene avenged upon them which have obstinately withstand and gainesaid his word.

"But peradventure they wil lay this against me, and say that experience doth shew, how that such men as call themselves followers of the gospell, regardeth not your grace's commandement, neither set by your proclamation, and that was well proved by these persons which of late⁵ were punished in London for keeping of such bookes as your grace had prohibited by proclamation: and so like as they regarded not this, so they will not regard or esteeme other your grace's lawes, statutes and ordinances. But this is but a crafty perswasion. For your grace knoweth that there is no man living, specially that loveth worldly promotion, that is so foolish to set forth, promote, or inhaunce his enemy, whereby he should be let of his worldly pleasures and fleshly desires: but rather hee will seeke all the waies possible that he can, utterly to confound, destroy and put him out of the way. And so as concerning your last proclamation, prohibiting such bookes, the very true cause of it, and chiefe counsellors (as men say, and of likelihoode it should be) were they whose evill living and cloked hypocrisie these books uttered and disclosed. And howbeit that there were three or four that would have had the Scripture to go forth in English, yet it hapned there, as it is evermore seene, that the most part⁶ overcommeth the better; and

⁵ *Persons which of late.*] Probably he alludes to Tewksbury, Freese, &c. Fox's *Acts*, p. 931. The "head and captain" mentioned a little below, no doubt, was Wolsey.

⁶ *The most part.*] "If the children of this worlde be either more in number, or more prudent then the children of light, what then awayeth us to have this convocation? Had it not bene better we had not bene called together at all?" *Sermons*, fol. 10. Before the convocation of the clergy, A.D. 1536. "Ye have had many thinges in deliberation; but what one is put forth, whereby either Christ is more glorified, or els Christes people made more holy? I appeale to your own consciences: how chaunced this? how came this thus? Because there were no children of light, no children of God among you? I thinke not so: certaynely I think not so. God forbidde, that all you, which were gathered together under the pretence of light, should be children of the worlde. Then, why happened this? Why, I pray you? Perchaunce, either because the children of the world, were moe in number in this your congregation, as it oft happeneth, or at the least, of more policy than the children of light in their generation. Whereby it might very soone be broughte to passe, that those were much stronger in gendering the evil, than these in producing the good." Ibid. fol. 11.

so it might bee that these men did not take this proclamation as yours, but as theirs set forth in your name, as they have done many times moe, which hath put this your realme in great hinderance and trouble, and brought it in great penurie, and more would have done if God had not mercifullie provided to bring your grace to knowledge of the falsehoode and privy treason, which their head and captain was about: and be ye sure not without adherents, if the matter be only searched.—For what marvel is it, that they being so nigh of your counsell, and so familiar with your lordes, should provoke both your grace and them to prohibite these bookes, which before by their owne authoritie⁷ have forbidden the New Testament under paine of everlasting damnation: for such is their manner, to send a thousand men to hel, ere they send one to God; and yet the New Testament (and so I thinke by the other) was meekely offered⁸ to every man that would and could, to amend it, if there were any fault.

“Moreover, I will aske them the cause of all insurrections, which have beene in this realme heretofore. And whence is it that there bee so manie extortioners, bribers, murtherers, and theeves, which dailie doe not breake onely your graces lawes, ordinaunces, and statutes, but also the lawes and commaundements of almightie God: I thinke they will not saie these bookes, but rather their pardons, which causeth many a man to sinne in trust of them. For as for those malefactors which I now rehearsed, you shall not find one amongst a hundreth, but that he will crie out both of these bookes, and also of them that have them, yea and will be glad to spend the good which he hath wrongfully gotten, upon fagots to burne both the bookes and them that have them.

“And as touching these men that were lately punished for these bookes, there is no man, I heare say, that can laie any word or deed against them that should sound to the breaking of any of your graces lawes, this onely except, if it bee yours, and not rather theirs. And be it so that there be some that have these bookes, that be evil, unruly, and selfe willed persons, not

⁷ *Their owne authoritie.*] See above, note on p. 464.

⁸ *Meekely offered.*] “When I had translated the New Testament, I added an epistle unto the latter ende, in which I desired them that were learned, to amend if aught were found amisse.” Tyndal’s *Works*, p. 1.

regarding Gods lawes nor mans, yet these bookes bee not the cause thereof, no more than was the bodily presence of Christ and his words the cause that Judas fell, but their own froward minde and carnall wit, which should be amended by the vertuous example of living of their curates, and by the true exposition of the Scripture. If the lay people had such curates that would thus do their office, these bookes nor the divell himselfe could not hurt them, nor make them to go out of frame; so that the lacke of good curates is the destruction and cause of all mischiefe.—Neither doe I write these things because that I will either excuse these men lately punished, or to affirme all to be true written in these bookes, which I have not all read, but to shew that there cannot such inconvenience follow of them, and specially of the Scripture, as they would make men beleieve should follow.

“ And though it be so that your grace may by other bookes, and namely by the Scripture it selfe know and perceive the hypocrite wolves clad in sheepes clothing, yet I thinke my selfe bound in conscience to utter unto your grace such thinges as God put in my minde to write. And this I doe (God so judge me) not for hate of any person or persons living; nor for that I thinke the word of God should goe forth without persecution. if your grace had commanded that every man within your realme should have it in his mothers tongue. For the gospell must needs have persecution unto the time that it bee preached throughout al the world, which is the last signe that Christ shewed to his disciples should come before the daie of judgement: so that if your grace had once commaunded that the Scripture should bee put forth. the divell would set forth some wile or other to persecute the truth. But my purpose is, for the love that I have to God principally, and the glory of his name, which is only knowne by his word, and for the true allegiance that I owe unto your grace, and not to hide in the ground of my heart the talent given me of God, but to chaffer it forth to other, that it may increase to the pleasure of God, to exhorde your grace to avoid and beware of these mischievous flatterers and their abhominable waies and counsels.

“ And take heede whose counsels your grace doth take in this matter: for there be some that for feare of losing of their worldly worship and honor, wil not leave their opinion, which rashly. and

that to please men withall by whom they had great promotion, they tooke upon them to defend by writing⁹, so that now they thinke that all their felicitie which they put in this life, should be marred, and their wisdom not so greatly regarded, if that which they have so slanderously oppressed, should bee now put forth and allowed. But alas, let these men remember St. Paul, how fervent he was against the truth (and that of a good zeale¹) before hee was called: he thought no shame to suffer punishment and great persecutions for that which he before despised and called heresie. And I am sure that their living is not more perfect then St. Paul was, as concerning the outward workes of the lawe, before he was converted.

"Also the king and prophet David was not ashamed to forsake his good intent in building of the temple, after that the prophet Nathan had shewed him that it was not the pleasure of God that hee should build any house for him: and notwithstanding that Nathan had before allowed and praised the purpose of David, yet he was not ashamed to revoke and eate his wordes againe, when he knew that they were not according to God's will and pleasure.

⁹ *To defend by writing.*] I apprehend, that Latimer here alludes particularly to Sir Thomas More, lately made lord chancellor.—Fox, I see, makes the same conjecture. See the *Life of Sir Thomas More*, given above in this collection, p. 83.

¹ *A good zeale.*] "Counterfeit therefore nothing without the worde of God. . . Beware of thy good intent, good mynde, good affection, or zeale, as they call it. Peter of a good minde, and of a good affection or zeale, chidde Christ (Matt. c. xvi.), because he sayde he must go to Jerusalem, and there be slayne. But Christ called him Satan, for his labour; and sayde, that he perceived not godly thinges, but worldly.—Of a good intent and of a fervent affection to Christ, the sonnes of Zebedee would have had fire to come downe from heaven to consume the Samaritanes (Luke, c. ix.) But Christ rebuked them, saying, that they wiste not of what sprite they were: that is, that they understood not how that they were altogether worldly and fleshly mynded. . . . I beare them record (sayth Paule, speakyng of the Jewes), that they have a fervent mynde to godward, but not according to knowledge. It is another thing then to do of a good minde, and to do of knowledge. Labour for knowledge, that thou mayest know Gods wyll, and what he would have thee to do. Our mynde, intent, and affection or zeal, are blinde, and for that cause hath God made a testament between him and us, wherein is conteyned both what he would have us to do, and what he would have us to aske of him." Tindal's *Parable of the Wicked Mammon*, A.D. 1527. Works, p. 87.

The Spirit of God preserve your grace. *Anno Domini* 1530.
1st *die Decembris.*"

In this letter of master Latimer to the king above prefixed, many things we have to consider. First, his good conscience to God, his good will to the king, the duetie of a right pastor unto trueth, his tender care to the common wealth, and specially to the church of Christ. Further, wee have to consider the abuse of princes courts, how kings many times be abused with flatterers and wicked councellers about them, and specially we may note the subtle practises of prelates, in abusing the name and authoritie of kings to set forth their own malignant proceedings. We may see moreover, and rather marvell at in the said letter, the great boldnes and divine stoutnesse in this man, who, as yet being no bishop, so freely and plainly, without all feare of death, adventuring his owne life to discharge his conscience, durst so boldly, to so mighty a prince, in such a dangerous case, against the kings law and proclamation set out in such a terrible time, take upon him to write, and to admonish⁴ that, which no counsellor durst once speake unto him, in defence of Christ's gospell. Whose example if the bishops and prelates of this realme, for their parts likewise in like cases of necessitie would follow (as in deed they should) so many things peradventure would not be so out of frame as they be, and all for lacke that the officers of God's word do not their dutie.

Finally, this moreover in the said letter is to be noted, how blessedly almighty God wrought with his faithfull servaunt, whose bold adventure, and wholesome counsell, though it did not prevaile through the iniquitie of the time; yet notwithstanding God so wrought with his servant in doing his duetie, that no daunger,

⁴ *And to admonish.*] And yet he had been prepared, no doubt, by an adept, with a very different lesson, on his beginning his noviciate in the purlieus of the royal palace. "You that be of the court, and especially yee sworne chaplaynes, beware of a lesson that a *great man* taught me at my first comming to the court. He told me for good wyll; he thought it well; he sayd unto me: you must beware howsoever ye doe, that ye *contrary not the king*. Let him have his sayings; follow him; goe with him. Marry, out with this counsell!—shall I say, as he sayth? *Say your conscience*, or els what a worne shall yee feele gnawing, what a remorse of conscience shall yee have, when ye remember how ye have slacked your duety." Seventh Serm. before king Edward; *Sermons*, fol. 84. b.

Christ our onelie saviour, certaine popish priests, being therewith offended, sought and wrought much trouble against him, drawing out articles and impositions which they untruely, unjustlie, falsly and uncharitably imputed unto him.

First, that he should preach against our Ladie ; for that he reprooved in a sermon the superstitious rudenes of certaine blinde priests, which so held together upon that blessed virgine, as though shee never had any sinne, nor were saved by Christ the onely saviour of the whole world.

Item, that he should say, that saints were not to bee worshipped.

Item, that *Ave Maria* was a salutation onely, and no praier.

Item, that there was no materiall fire in hell.

Item, that there was no purgatory ; in saying, that he had lever be in purgatory then in Lollard's tower.

Touching the whole discourse of which articles, with his replie and answer to the same, hereafter follows,

A Letter of M. Latimer to M. Morice.

" Right worshipfull, and mine owne good master Morice¹, *salutem in Christo Jesu.* And I thanke you for all heartie kindnesse, not onely heretofore shewed unto me, but also that now of late, you would vouchsafe to write unto me so poore a wretch, to my great comfort among all these my troubles. I trust and doubt nothing in it, but God will reward you for me, and supply abundantly mine inability.

" M. Morice, you would wonder to know how I have beene intreated at Bristowe, I meane of some of the priests, which first desired me, welcommed me, made me cheare, heard what I said, allowed my saying in all things whiles I was with them : when I was gone home to my benefice, perceiving that the people favored mee so greatlie, and that the maior had appointed mee to preach at Easter, privily they procured an inhibition for all them that had not the bishops licence, which they knewe well enough I had not, and so craftily defeated M. maior's appointment, pretending that they were sory for it ; procuring also certaine preachers to

¹ *Good master Morice.*] This, as we have mentioned above, is he who was afterwards Cranmer's secretary. Strype's *Eccles. Mem.*, vol. i. p. 162.

"Take saints for inhabitants of heaven, and worshipping of them, for praying to them, I never denied, but that they might be worshipped, and be our mediators, though not by way of redemption (for so Christ alonely is a whole mediator, both for them and for us) yet by the way of intercession".

"Pilgrimage.

"And I never denied pilgrimage.—And yet I have said that much scurfe must be pared away ere ever it can be well done: superstition, idolatry, false faith and trust in the image, unjust estimation of the thing, setting aside God's ordinance for doing of the thing: debts must be paid, restitutions made, wife and children be provided for, duty to our poor neighbours discharged. And when it is at the best, *before it be vowed*, it need not to be done; for it is neither under the bidding of God nor of man to be done. And wives must counsel with husbands, and husbands and wives with curates, before it be vowed to be done, &c.

"Ave Maria.

"As for the *Ave Maria*, who can thinke that I would deny it? —I said it was an heavenly greeting, or saluting of our blessed lady, wherein the angel Gabriell, sent from the Father of heaven, did annunciate and shew unto her the good will of God towards her, what he would with her, and to what he had chosen her. But I said, it was not properly a prayer, as the *Pater noster*, which our saviour Christ himselfe made for a proper prayer, and bad us say it for a prayer, not adding that we should say ten or twenty *Ave Marias* withall: and I denied not but that we may well say *Ave Maria* also, but not so that we shall thinke that the *Pater noster* is not good, a whole and perfect prayer, nor cannot be well said without *Ave Maria*: so that I did not speake against well saying of it, but against superstitious saying of it, and of the

* *Way of intercession.*] "M. Latimer's error in those daies." Fox in margin.

* *Superstitious saying.*] "But our shavelinges teach and command their shavelinges, that they be bound to over-run their service from the beginning

Pater noster too : and yet I put a difference betwixt that, and that which Christ made to be said for a praier.

“ *No Fire in Hell.* ”

“ Who ever could say or thinke so ?—Howbeit good authors doe put a difference betwixt a suffering in the fire with bodies, and without bodies. The soule without the bodie is a spirituall substance, which they say cannot receive a corporall qualitie; and some make it a spirituall fire; and some a corporall fire. And as it is called a fire, so it is called a worme; and it is thought of some not to be a material worm, that is a living beast, but that it is a metaphor:—but that is neither to nor fro. For a fire it is, a worme it is, paine it is, a torment it is, an anguish it is, a greefe, a miserie, a sorrow, a heavinesse inexplicable, intollerable, whose nature and condition in everie point who can tell, but hee that is of Gods privie counsell, saith St. Austen!—God give us grace rather to be diligent to keepe us out of it, than to be curious to discusse the propertie of it: for certaine we bee, that there is little ease, yea none at all, but weeping, wayling, and gnashing of teeth; which be two effects of extreame paine; rather certain tokens *what* paine there is, than *what manner* paine there is.

“ *No Purgatorie.* ”

“ He that sheweth the state and condition of it, doth not denie it.—But I had lever bee in it, than in Lollards tower, the bishops prison, for divers skils and causes.

“ First, in this I might die bodilie for lack of meate and drinke: in that I could not.

to the ende, and then good enough, wheresoever the heart be. But if there lack but one verse onelye unsayde, they have an exceedyng grudge of conscience, and meane that all their labour is lost. For the which cause, I myself, in my dayes, have sayd many tymes two hundred and fifty *Aves* to one *Lady's* Psalter, because I would be sure to say enough. Forsooth this may well be called lip-labour.” *Complaint of Roderick Mors, sometime a Grey Fryer*, signat. G 8.

" Item, in this I might die ghostlie for feare of paine, or lacke of good counsell; there I could not.

" Item, in this I might bee in extreame necessity: in that I could not, if it be perill of perishing.

" Item, in this I might lacke charity: there I could not.

" Item, in this I might lose my patience: in that I could not.

" Item, in this I might be in perill and danger of death: in that I could not.

" Item, in this I might bee without surety of salvation: in that I could not.

" Item, in this I might dishonour God: in that I could not.

" Item, in this I might murmure and grudge against God: in that I could not.

" Item, in this I might displease God: in that I could not.

" Item, in this I might bee displeased with God: in that I could not.

" Item, in this I might be judged to perpetuall prison as they call it: in that I could not.

" Item, in this I might be craftily handled: in that I could not.

" Item, in this I might be brought to beare a fagot: in that I could not.

" Item, in this I might be discontented with God: in that I could not.

" Item, in this I might be separated and dissevered from Christ: in that I could not.

" Item, in this I might be a member of the divell: in that I could not.

" Item, in this I might be an inheritor of hell: in that I could not.

" Item, in this I might pray out of charity, and in vaine: in that I could not.

" Item, in this my lord and his chaplaines might manacle me by night: in that they could not.

" Item, in this they might strangle mee, and say that I had hanged my selfe: in that they could not.

" Item, in this they might have me to the Consistory, and judge me after their fashion: from thence they could not.

" *Ergo*, I had leaver to be there then here. For though the fire bee called never so hot, yet and if the bishops two fingers can shake away a peece, a friers cowle an other part, and *scala*

*cali*¹ altogether, I will never found abbey, colledge, nor chauntrey², for that purpose.

"For, seeing there is no pain that can break my charity, break my patience, cause me to dishonor God, to displease God, to be displeased with God, cause me not to joine in God, nor that can bring me to danger of death, or to danger of desperation, or from suretie of salvation, that can separate me from Christ, or Christ from me, I care the lesse for it.—John Chrysostome saith, that the greatest pain that damned soules have, is to be separate and cut off from Christ for ever: which paine he saith is greater than many helles: which paines, the soules in purgatorie neither have nor can have.

"Consider M. Morice, whether provision for purgatorie hath not brought thousands to hell. Debts have not bin payd: restitution of evill gotten lands and goods hath not bin made: Christian people (whose necessities we see, to whom whatsoever we do, Christ reputeth done to himselfe, to whom we are bounden under paine of damnation to do for, as we would be done for ourselfe) are neglected and suffered to perish: last wils unfulfilled and broken: Gods ordinance set aside: and also for purgatory, foundations have bin taken for sufficient satisfaction: so we have trifled away the ordnance of God, and restitutions. Thus we have gone to hel, with masses, *diriges*, and ringing of many a bel.—And who can pul pilgrimages from idolatry, and purge purgatory from robbery, but he shall be in perill to come in suspicion

¹ *And scala cali.*] "Hys faterhode" (the pope) "sendeth them to heaven with *scala cali*, that is, wyth a ladder to scale the walls. For, by the door Christ, will they not let them come in. That dore they have stopp'd up; and that because ye should buy ladders of them." Tindal's *Obedience of a Christian man*. Works, p. 139. But see also the note at p. 226 of this volume.

² *Abbey, colledge, nor chauntrey.*] "All that they" (the monks, friars, &c.) "have, they have receaved in the name of purgatory, and of saints; and as that foundation be all their bishoppricks, abbeys, colleges, and cathedral churches built." Tindal's *Answer to Sir Thomas More*. A. D. 1530. Works, p. 309.

Again: "All these lyve by purgatory. When others weepe for their frendes, they get frendes. The pope with all his pardons is grounded on purgatory. Priestes, monkes, chanons, friers, with all other swarmes of hypocrites do let empty purgatory and fill hell. Every masse, say they, delivereth one soule out of purgatory." Tindal's *Obedience of a Christian Man*. A. D. 1528. Works, p. 166, 7. Compare also above, Fox, in *Life of Cromwell*, p. 237, 8.

of heresie with them? so that they may pil with pilgrimage, and spoil with purgatory. And verily the abuse of them cannot be taken away, but great luker and vantage shall fall away from them, which had leaver have profite with abuse, than lack the same with use: and that is the waspe that doth sting them, and maketh them to swell. And if purgatory were purged of all that it hath gotten, by setting aside restitution, and robbing of Christ, it would be but a poore purgatorie: so poore that it should not be able to feed so fat, and tricke up so many idle and slothful lubbers.

"I take God to witness I would hurt no man; but it grieveth me to see such abuse continue without remedy. I cannot understand what they meane by the popes pardoning of purgatorie, but by way of suffrage: and as for suffrage, unlesse he doe his duty, and seeke not his owne, but Christs glory, I had leaver have the suffrage of Jack of the skullery which in his calling doth exercise both faith and charity;—but for his masse. And that is as good of an other simple priest as of him. For authority of keies, is to loose from guiltinesse of sinne and eternal paine, due to the same, according to Christs word, and not to his own private will. And as for pilgrimage, you would wonder what juggling there is to get money withal. I dwell within a halfe mile of the fosseway, and you would wonder to see how they come by flocks out of the west country to many images, but chiefly to the blood of Hailes¹. And they beleve verily that it is the very blood that was in Christs body, shedde upon the mount of Calverie for our salvation, and that the sight of it with their bodily eye, doth certifie them and putteth them out of doubt, that they bee in cleane life, and in state of salvation without spot of sinne, which doth bolden them to many things. For you would wonder, if you should common with them both comming and going, what faiths they have. For as for forgiving their enemies, and reconciling their Christian brethren, they cannot away withal: for the sight of that blood doth quite them for the time.

"I read in Scripture of two certifications: one to the Romans: *Wee being justified by faith have peace with God.* If I see the blood of Christ with the eye of my soule, that is, true faith that his blood was shed for me, &c. Another in the epistle of John, *Wee know that wee are translated from death to life, because we love*

¹ *Blood of Hailes.*] See p. 280.

the brethren. But I read not that I have peace with God, or that I am translated from death to life, because I see with my bodily eye the blood of Hailes. It is very probable that all the blood that was in the bodie of Christ, was united and knit to his divinitie, and then no part thereof shall return to his corruption. And I marvell that Christ shall have two resurrections. And if it were that they that did violently and injuriously pluck it out of his body when they scourged him and nailed him to the crosse, did see it with their bodily eie, yet they were not in cleane life. And we see the selfe same blood in forme of wine, when we have consecrate, and may both see it, feel it, and receive it to our damnation as touching bodily receiving. And many do see it at Hailes without confession, as they say. God knoweth all, and the divell in our time is not dead.

“ Christ hath left a doctrine behinde him, wherein we be taught how to beleeve, and what to beleeve. He doth suffer the divell to use his craftie fashion for our triall and probation. It were little thank-worthy to believe well and rightly, if nothing should move us to false faith and to believe superstitiously. It was not in vain that Christ when he had taught truly, by and by bade, beware of false prophets, which would bring in error slilie. But wee bee secure and uncarefull, as though false prophets could not meddle with us, and as though the warning of Christ were no more earnest and effectual, than is the warning of mothers when they trifle with their children, and bid them beware the bugge⁴.

“ Lo sir, how I run at riot beyond measure. When I began, I was minded to have written but halfe a dosen lines: but thus I forget my selfe ever when I write to a trusty friend, which will take in worth my folly, and keep it from mine enemies.

“ As for doctor Wilson, I wote not what I should say: but I pray God endue him with charity. Neither he, nor none of his countrey men did ever love me since I did invey against their factions, and partialitie in Cambridge. Before that, who was more favoured of him then I? That is the boil that may not be touched.

⁴ *Beware the bugge.*] Whence *bug-bear*, &c. “A frightful object; generally now used for a false terrour to frighten babes.” Johnson’s *Dictionary*.—Another kindred word is “fray-bug.” “And be not afraid of *fray-bugges* by the way;” says Lawrence Saunders, *Letters of the Martyrs*, p. 157. Also p. 151.

"A certain friend shewed mee, that doctor Wilson is gone now into his country about Beverley in Holdernes, and from thence he wil go a progresse through Yorkshire, Lancashire, Cheshire, and so from thence to Bristow. What he intendeth by this progresse God knoweth, and not I. If he come to Bristow I shall heare tell.

"As for Hubberdin (no doubt) he is a man of no great learning, nor yet of stable wit. He is here *seruus hominum*: for he will preach whatsoever the bishops will bid him preach. Verily in my minde they are more to be blamed than hee. Hee doth magnifie the pope more than enough. As for our saviour Christ and Christian kings they are little beholding to him. No doubt he did misse the cushion in many things. Howbeit they that did send him, men thinke, will defend him: I pray God amende him, and them both. They would faine make matter against mee, intending so either to deliver him by me, or else to ridde us both together, and so they would thinke him well bestowed.

"As touching doctor Powell, how highly hee tooke upon him in Bristow, and how little hee regarded the sword which representeth the kings person, many can tell you. I think there is never an earle in this realme that knoweth his obedience, by Christs commandement, to his prince, and wotteth what the sword doth signifie, that would have taken upon him so stoutly. Howbeit M. Maior, as he is a profound wise man, did twitt him pretily. It were too long to write all. Our pilgrimages are not a little beholding to him. For to occasion the people to them, he alledged this text, *Whosoever leaveth father, house, wife, &c.* By that you may perceive his hot zeale and crooked judgement.

"Because I am so belied, I could wish that it would please the kings grace to commaund me to preach before his highnesse"

^a *To preach before his highnesse.*] In Cranmer's *Remains*, vol. i. p. 123, is a letter by Cranmer, without superscription, but intended, as professor Jenkyns with good reason infers, for Latimer, in which he says, "These be to certify you of the king's pleasure, how that his grace is contented that ye shall be admitted to preach on all the Wednesdays of this next Lent before him." The archbishop in the remainder of the letter gives Latimer some judicious advice how to conduct himself in the discharge of this duty; not to stand in defence of his own matters lately in controversy, but rather entirely to pass by the accusations and persecution to which he had been exposed; to avoid cautiously "all manner of speech, either apertly or suspiciously sounding against any *special* man's facts, acts, manners, or sayings." Nevertheless, if apt occasion be given by the subject which he is upon, "let none offence

a whole yeare together every Sunday, that he himself might perceive how they bely me, saying, that I have neither learning nor utterance worthy thereunto. I pray you pardon me, I cannot make an end⁶."

A briefe digression touching the rayling of Hubberdin against M. Latimer.

Forasmuch as mention hath bin made in this letter of Hubberdin, an old divine of Oxford, a right painted Pharisey, and a great straier abroad in all quarters of the realme to deface and impeach the springing of Gods holy gospel, somthing would be added more touching that man, whose doings and pageants, if they might be described at large, it were as good as any enterlude for the reader to behold. Who in all his life and in all his actions (in one word to describe him) seemeth nothing else but a right image or counterfait, setting out unto us in lively colours the pattern of perfect hypocrisie. But because the man is now gone, to spare therefore the dead, this shall be enough for examples sake, for all Christian men necessarily to observe; how the saide Hubberdin after his long rayling in all places against Luther, Melanethon, Zuinglius, John Frith, Tindall, Latimer, and all other like professors, riding in his long gowne downe to the horse heeles like a Pharisie, or rather like a sloven, dirted up to the horse belly: after his forged tales and fables, dialogues, dreams, dauncings, hoppings, and leapings, with other like histrionicall toyes and gestures used in the pulpit, and all against heretickes, at last riding by a church side were the youth of the parish were dauncing in the churchyard, sodainly lighting from his horse, by the occasion of their dauncing, he came into the church, and there causing the bell to toll-in the people, thought in stead of a fit of mirth, to give them a sermon of dauncing. In the which sermon after he had patched up certain common texts out of the Scriptures, and then comming to the doctors, first to Augustine, then to Ambrose, so to Hierome,

or superstition be unrephehended, specially if it be *generally* spoken, without affection. Furthermore, I would ye should so study to comprehend your matters, that in any condition you stand no longer in the pulpit than *an hour, or an hour and an half*, at the most "

⁶ *Make an end.*] This letter was written, probably, some time in the summer of the year 1531.

and Gregory, Chrysostome, and other doctors, had made them every one (after his dialogue manner) by name to answer to his call, and to sing after his tune for the probation of the sacrament of the altar against John Frith, Zuinglius, Oecolampadius, Luther, Tindall, Latimer, and other hereticks (as he called them); at last to shew a perfect harmony of all these doctors together, as he had made them before to sing after his tune, so now to make them dance also after his pipe, first he calleth out Christ and his apostles, then the doctors and ancient seniours of the church, as in a round ring all daunce together: with pipe up Hubberdin. Now daunce Peter, Paul; now daunce Augustine, Ambrose, Hierom: and thus old Hubberdin as he was dauncing with his doctours lustilie in the pulpit, against the hereticks, how he stampd and tooke on I cannot tell, but crash quoth the pulpit, downe cometh the dancer, and there lay Hubberdin not dancing, but sprawling in the midst of his audience: where altogether he brake not his necke, yet hee so brake his legge the same time and bruised his old boanes, that he never came in pulpit more, and dyed not long after the same. Whereupon when the churchwardens were called and charged for the pulpit being no stronger, they made answeare again, excusing themselves that they had made their pulpit for preaching, and not for dancing.—But to spend no more paper about this idle matter', now to our purpose againe.

The chief impugnors and molesters of M. Latimer, besides the country priests, were doctor Powel of Salisburie, Dr. Wilson, sometime of Cambridge, M. Hubberdin, and Dr. Sherwood. Of whome some preached against him, some also did write against him: in somuch that by their procurement he was cited up and called to appeare before William Warrham archbishop of Canturburie, and John Stokesley bishop of London, anno 1531^a, Jan. 29.

⁷ *This idle matter.*] "This man once made an oration in the praise of thieves and thievery; which he did at the command of some highwaymen that robbed him. And they liking it so well, returned him his money again, and two shillings more to drink their health. The manuscript whereof is still extant, and was once sold at the auction of Mr. Smith's books." *Strype's Eccles. Memor.*, vol. i. p. 160.

^a *Anno 1531.*] Fox in general uses the *historical* year, which begins on the first of January; but he has not always adhered to this practice; sometimes employing the *civil* or *ecclesiastical* year, which (until the year 1753) commenced on the 25th of March; from which neglect there is not unfre-

in truth, and for the truth, I take God to witnesse which knoweth all.

“ In very deed, maister chancellor did shew me that my lord bishop of London had sent letters to him for me : and I made answer that he was mine ordinarie ; and that both he might and should reforme me as farre as I needed reformation, as well and as soon as my lord of London. And I would be verie loth (now this deep winter) being so weake and so feeble (not onelie exercised with my old disease in my head and side, but also with new, both the colick and the stone) to take such a journey : and though he might so doe, yet hee needed not, for he was not bound so to doe : notwithstanding I said, if he to doe my lord of London pleasure to my great displeasure, woulde needes command me to goe, I woulde obey his commandement ; yea, though it should be never so great a greivance and painfull to me : with the which answere he was content, saying he would certifie my lord of London thereof, trusting his lordship to bee content with the same : but as yet I heare nothing from him. M. chancellor also said that my lord of London maketh as though he were greatly displeased with mee, for that I did contemne his authoritie, at my last being in London. Forsooth I preached in Abbechurch¹ ; not certaine then (as I remember) whether in his dioces or no, intending nothing lesse then to contemne his authoritie : and this I did not of mine own swinge, or by mine owne procuration, but at the request of honest merchant men (as they seemed to me) whose names I do not knowe, for they were not of mine acquaintance before. And I am glad thereof for their sakes, least if I knewe them, I should be compelled to utter them, and so their godly desire to heare godly preaching should returne to their trouble : for they required me very instantly, and to say the truth, even importunately. Whether they were of that parish or no, I was not certaine. But they shewed not onely themselves, but also many other, to be very desirous to heare mee, pretending great hunger, and thirst of the word of God and ghostly doctrine. And upon consideration, and to avoyd all inconveniences, I put them off, and refused them twise or thrise ; till at the last they brought me word that the parson and curate were not onely con-

¹ *I preached in Abbechurch.*] Fox's *Acts*, p. 954. “ He heard M. Hugh Latymer preach at S. Mary Abchurch, that men should leave going on pilgrimage abroad, and doe their pilgrimage to their poore neighbours.”

tent, but also desired mee; notwithstanding that they certified him both of my name plainly, and also that I had not the bishops seale to shew for mee, but onely a licence of the universitie: which curate did receive mee, welcommed me, and when I should go into the pulpit gave me the common benediction: so that I had not beene alonely uncharitable, but also churlishly uncharitable, if I would have sayd nay. Now all this supposed to be truth (as it is), I marvell greatly how my lord of London can alledge any contempt of him in me.

“First, he did never inhibite me in my life: and if he did inhibite his curate to receive mee, what pertaineth that to mee, which neither did knowe thereof, nor yet made any suite to the curate deceitfully; nor did it appeare to me very likelie that the curate would so little have regarded my lords inhibition, which he maintaineth so vigilantly, not knowing my lords minde before. Therefore I conjectured with my selfe, that either the curate was of such acquaintance with my lord, that he might admit whome he would, or els, (and rather) that it was a trayne and a trap layd before me, to the intent that my lord himselfe, or other pertaining to him was appointed to have beene there, and to have taken me if they could in my sermon: which conjecture both occasioned me somewhat to suspect those men which desired me, though they spake never so fayre and friendly, and also rather to go. For I preach nothing, but if it might be so, I would my lord himselfe might heare me every sermon I preach. So certaine I am that it is trueth, that I take in hand to preach. If I had with power of my friends (the curate gainesaying and withstanding) presumed to have gone into the pulpit, there had beene something wherefore to pretend a contempt.—I preached in Kent also, at the instant request of a curate: yet heare I not that his ordinary layeth any contempt to my charge, or yet doth trouble the curate. I marvell not a little, how my lord bishoppe of London, having so broad, wide, and large dioces committed unto his cure, and so peopled as it is, can have leysure, for preaching and teaching the word of God, *opportunè, importunè, tempestivè, intempestivè, privatim, publicè*, to his owne flocke, *instando, arguendo, exhortando, monendo, cum omni lenitate et doctrina*, have leysure (I say) either to trouble me, or to trouble himselfe with me, so poore a wretch, a stranger to him, and nothing pertaining to his cure, but as every man pertayneth to every mans cure; so intermixing and intermeddling himselfe with another mans cure, as

though he had nothing to doe in his owne. If I would do as some men seyn my lord doth, *gather up my joyse*, as we call it, warily and narrowly, and yet neither preach for it in mine owne cure, nor yet otherwhere, peradventure he would nothing deny me.

“ In very deede I did monish judges and ordinaryes to use charitable equitie in their judgements towards such as beene accused, namely of such accusers, which bene as like to heare and bewray, as other beene to say amisse; and to take mens wordes in the meaning thereof, and not to wrast them in an other sense then they were spoken in: for all such accusers and witnesses, bee false before God, as Saint Hierome saith upon the twenty-sixth chapter of Matthew. Nor yet I do not accompt those judges well advised, which wittingly will give sentence after such witnesses, much lesse those which procure such witnesses against anie man: nor I thinke not judges now adayes so deeply confirmed in grace or so impeccable, but that it may behooove and become preachers to admonish them to do well, as well as other kinds of men, both great and small. And this I did, occasioned of the epistle which I declared, Romans, vi. wherein is this sentence, *non estis sub lege, sed sub gratia*, ye Christen men that beleeve in Christ, are not under the law. What a saying is this (quoth I) if it bee not rightly understand, that is, as Saint Paule did understand it? for the words sound as though he would goe about to occasion Christen men to breake the lawe, seeing they be not under the law: and what if the pseudapostles, adversaries to Saint Paule, would so have taken them, and accused Saint Paule of the same to my lord of London? If my sayd lorde woulde have heard Saint Paule declare his owne minde, of his owne wordes, then hee should have escaped, and the false apostles put to rebuke. If he would have rigorously followed *utcumque allegata et probata*, and have given sentence after relation of the accusers, then good Saint Paule must have borne a fagot at Paules crosse, my lord of London being his judge. Oh, it had beene a goodly sight to have seene Saint Paule with a fagot on his backe, even at Paules crosse, my lord of London bishoppe of the same, sitting under the crosse. Nay verily I dare say, my lord should sooner have burned him: for Saint Paule did not meane that Christen men might breake lawe, and doe whatsoever they would, because they were not under the law: but he did meane that Christen men might keepe the law and fulfill the lawe, if they would, because

they were not under the law, but under Christ, by whome they were divided from the tyranny of the law, and above the law; that is to say, able to fulfill the law to pleasure of him that made the law, which they could never do of their owne strength, and without Christ: so that to be under the law, after Saint Pauls meaning, is to be weake to satisfie the lawe: and what could Saint Paule doe withall, though his adversaries would not so take it?

“ But my lord would say peradventure that men will not take the preachers wordes otherwise then they meane therein.—*Bona verba*; as though Saint Pauls words were not otherwise taken. as it appeareth in the third chapter to the Romaines, where he sayeth *quod injustitia nostra Dei justitiam commendat*, that is to say, our unrighteousnesse commendeth and maketh more excellent the righteousnesse of God, which soundeth to many as though **they should be evill**, that good should come of it, and by unrighteousnesse, to make the ~~righteousnesse~~ of God more excellent. So Saint Paule was reported to meane: yet ~~hee did meane~~ nothing so; but shewed the inestimable wisdom of God, which can use our naughtines to the manifestation of his unspeakable goodnes: not that we should do naughtily to that end and purpose. Now my lord will not thinke (I dare say) that Saint Paule was to blame that he spake no more circumspectly, more warily, or more plainly, to avoyde evill offence of the people: but rather he will blame the people, for that they tooke no better heede, and attendaunce to Pauls speaking, to the understanding of the same: yea, he will rather pittie the people which had beene so long nuzled in the doctrine of the Pharisies, and wallowed so long in darknes of mans traditions, superstitions, and trade of living, that they were unapt to receive the bright lightnesse of the truth, and wholesome doctrine of God, uttered by Saint Paule. Nor I thinke not that my lord will require more circumspection, or more convenience to avoyd offences of errours in me, than was in Saint Paule, when he did not escape malevolus corrections, and slaunderous reports of them that were of perverse judgements, which reported him to say whatsoever hee appeared to them to say, or whatsoever seemed to them to followe of his saying.—But what followeth? *sic ajunt nos dicere, sic male loquuntur de nobis*; so they report us to say, sayth Saint Paule, so they speake evill of us; *sed quorum damnatio justa est*, but such, whose damnation is just sayth hee: and I thinke

the damnation of all such that evill reporten preachers now adaies, likewise just: for it is untruth now, and then. Yea Christ himselfe was misreported, and falsely accused, both as touching his words, and also as concerning the meaning of his wordes. First he sayd *destruite*, that is to say, destroy you: they made it *possum destruere*, that is to say, I can destroy: he sayd *templum hoc*, this temple, they added *manu factum*, that is to say, made with hand, to bring it to a contrary sense. So they both inverted his wordes, and also added unto his wordes, to alter his sentence: for he did meane of the temple of his body, and they wrast it to Solomons temple.

"Now I report me whether it be a just fame raysed up, and dispersed after this manner.—Nay verely, for there bee three maner of persons which can make no credible information. First adversaries, enemies: second, ignorant, and without judgement: thirdly, *susurrone*s, that is to saye, whisperers, and blowers in mens eares, which will spew out in hudder mudder, more than they dare avow openly. The first will not, the second cannot, the third dare not: therefore relation of such is not credible, and therefore can make no fame lawfull, nor occasion any indifferent judge to make proceesse against any man.—Nor it maketh no little matter what they be themselves that report of any man, whether well or evill; for it is a great commendation to be evill spoken off, of them that be naught themselves, and to bee commended of the same, is many times no little reproch.—God send us once all grace to wish well one to another, and to speake well one upon an other.

"Mee semes it were more comely for my lorde (if it were comely for mee to say so) to be a preacher himselfe, having so great a cure as hee hath, than to be a disquieter and a troubler of preachers, and to preach nothing at all himselfe. If it would please his lordship to take so great labour and paine at anie time, as to come to preach in my little bishopricke at Westkington, whether I were present or absent my selfe, I would thanke his lordshippe hartily, and thinke my selfe greatly bounden to him, that hee of his charitable goodnes would goe so farre to helpe to discharge me in my cure, or else I were more unnaturall than a beast unreasonable: nor yet I would dispute, contende or demaund by what authoritie or where hee had authoritie so to do, as long as his predication were fruitfull, and to the edification of my parishioners. As for

pertaining both to the edification of Christen soules, and also to the regard and defence of the popish grace, and authority apostolique. To have a booke, of the kinge not inhibited, is to obey the king; and to inhibite a preacher of the king admitted, is it not to disobey the king? Is it not one king that doth inhibit and admit, and hath he not as great authoritie to admit as to inhibit? Hee that resisteth the power, whether admitting, or inhibiting, doth he not resist the ordinaunce of God? We lowe subjects are bound to obey powers, and their ordinances: and are not the highest subjects also, who ought to give us ensample of such obedience?—As for my preaching it selfe, I trust in God, my lord of London cannot rightfully blame it, nor justly reprove it, if it bee taken with the circumstances thereof, and as I spake it, or else it is not my preaching, but his that falsely reporteth it, as the poet Martiall sayd to one that depraved his booke:

‘*Quem recitas meus est, o Fidentine, libellus:
Sed male cum recitas, incipit esse tuus.*’

“But now I heare say, that my lord of London is informed, and upon the sayd information hath informed the king, that I go about to defend Bilney, and his cause, against his ordinaryes and judges, which I ensure you is not so: for I had nothing to do with Bilney, nor yet with his judges, except his judges did him wrong: for I did nothing else but monish all judges indifferently to do right, nor I am not altogether so foolish as to defende the thing which I knewe not. It might have become a preacher to say as I sayd, though Bilney had never beene borne. I have knowne Bilney a great while, I thinke, much better than ever did my lord of London: for I have beene his ghostly father many a time: and to tell you the truth, what I have thought always in him, I have knowne hitherto few such, so prompt and ready to doe everie man good after his power, both friends, and foe, noysome wittingly to no man, and towards his enemy so charitable, so seeking to reconcile them, as hee did, I have knowne yet not many; and to be short, in a summe a very simple good soule, nothing fit nor meete for this wretched world, whose blinde fashion and miserable state (yea, farre from Christes doctrine) he could as evill bear, and would sorrow, lament and bewaile it as much as any man that ever I knewe: as for his singular learning, as well in holy Scripture, as in all other good letters, I will not speake of it. Notwithstanding

if he either now of late, or at any time attempted any thing contrary to the obedience which a Christian man doth owe, either to his prince or to his bishoppe, I neither do nor will allow and approve that, neither in him nor yet in any other man : we be all men, and ready to fall : wherefore he that standeth, let him beware he fall not. How he ordered or misordered himselfe in judgment, I cannot tell, nor I will not meddle withall : God knoweth, whose judgements I will not judge. But I cannot but wonder, if a man living so mercifully, so charitably, so patiently, so continently, so studiously, and vertuously, and killing his olde Adam, that is to say, mortifying his evill affections, and blinde motions of his heart so diligently, should die an evill death. There is no more but *let him that standeth beware that he fall not* : for if such as he shall dye evill, what shall become of me, such a wretch as I am ! But let this goe, as little to the purpose, and come to the point we must rest upon.

“ Either my lord of London will judge my outward man onely, as it is sayd, *Omnes vident quæ foris sunt*, or else he will be my God, and judge mine inward man, as it is said, *Deus autem intuetur cor*. If he will have to doe onely with mine outward man, and meddle with mine outward conversation, how that I have ordered my selfe toward my Christen brethren, the kings liege people. I trust I shall please and content both my Lord God, and also my lord of London : for I have preached and taught but according to holy Scripture, holy fathers, and auncient interpretours of the same, with the which I thinke, my lord of London will be pacified : for I have done nothing els in my preaching, but with all diligence moved my auditours to faith and charitie, to do their duetie, and that that is necessary to be done. As for thinges³ of private devotion, meane thinges, and voluntary thinges, I have reprovèd the abuse, the superstition of them, without condemnation of the thinges themselves, as it becommeth preachers to do : which thing if my lord of London will doe himselfe (as I would to God he would doe) hee should bee reported (no doubt) to condemne the use of such thinges, of covetous men which have dammage, and

³ *As for thinges.*] For an excellent specimen of Latimer's preaching upon these arguments, see Fox's *Acts*, p. 1940. It is the famous “*Card Sermon*,” and ought to be given in any new edition of Latimer's sermons and works : as ought also his letters from Fox and elsewhere, not one of which appears in the collection, *The Letters of the Martyrs*. An extract from this sermon will be cited below.

finde lesse in their boxes by condemnation of the abuse, which abuse they had rather should continue still, than their profite should not continue (so thornie be their hearts).—If my lord will needs coaste and invade my inwarde man, will I nill I, and breake violently into my heart, I feare me I shall either displease my lord of London, which I would be very loath, or els my Lord God, which I will be more loath: not for any infidelity, but for ignorance, for I beleve as a Christen man ought to beleve.—But peradventure my lord knoweth and will knowe manie things certainly, which (perchaunce) I am ignoraunt in; with the which ignoraunce though my lord of London may, if he will, be discontent, yet I trust my Lord God will pardon it as long as I hurt no man withall, and say to him with diligent study, and dayly praier, *paratum cor meum Deus, paratum cor meum*, so studying, preaching, and tarying the pleasure and leysure of God: and in the meane season (Acts viii.) as Apollos did, when hee knewe nothing of Christ but *baptismum Johannis*, teach and preach mine even christen that, and no farther then, I knowe to be true. There be three creedes, one in my masse, an other in my mattyns, the thirde common to them that neither say masse nor mattyns, nor yet knowe what they say when they say the creede, and I beleve all three, with all that God hath left in holy writ, for mee and all other to beleve: yet I am ignoraunt in thinges which I trust heereafter to knowe, as I do now knowe thinges, in which I have beene ignoraunt heeretofore: ever learne and ever to be learned; to profite with learning, with ignorance not to noy.

“ I have thought in times past, that the pope, Christes vicar, hadde been lord of all the world as Christ is, so that if he should have deprived the king of his crowne, or you of the lordshippe of Bromeham⁴, it had beene enough: for hee could do no wrong. Now I might be hyred to thinke otherwise: notwithstanding I have both seene and hearde Scripture drawen to that purpose.— I have thought in times past, that the popes dispensations of

⁴ *Bromeham.*] Bromham, between Calne and Chippenham and Devizes, in Wiltshire, was anciently the seat of the Roches, and afterwards of the Beauchamps, lords St. Amand. At the death of Richard, the last lord St. Amand, in 1508, it was inherited by his cousin John Bayntun, father of the Sir Edward to whom this letter is addressed. Bromham continued to be the seat of the family of Bayntun until the year 1652, when, at the defeat of Sir William Waller by lord Wilmot, their house, situated near the field of battle, was burnt, and they removed to Spye Park in the same neighbourhood.

pluralities of benefices, and absence from the same, had discharged consciences before God: forasmuch as I had heard *ecce vobiscum sum, et qui vos audit, me audit*, bended to corroborate the same. Now I might bee easily intreated to thinke otherwise.—I have thought in times past that the pope could have spoyled purgatorie at his pleasure with a word of his mouth; now learning might perswade me otherwise; or els I would marvelle why hee would suffer so much money^a to bee bestowed that waye, which so needfull is to bee bestowed otherwise; and to deprive us of so many patrones in heaven as hee might deliver out of purgatory.—I have thought in times past, that and if I had beene a fryer and in a cowle, I could not have beene damned, nor afearde of death; and by occasion of the same I have beene minded manie times to have beene a fryer, namely when I was sore sicke and diseased. Now, I abhorre my superstitious foolishnesse.—I have thought in times past, that diverse images of saintes could have holpen mee, and done me much good, and delivered me of my diseases: now I knowe that one can helpe as much as another. And it pityeth mine heart that my lord, and such as my lord is, can suffer the people to bee so craftily deceived.—It were too long to tell you what blindnes I have beene in, and how long it were ere I could forsake such folly, it was so corporate in me: but by continuall prayer, continuall study of Scripture, and oft communing with men of more right judgment, God hath delivered me. Yea, men thinketh that my lord himself hath thought in times past that by Gods lawe a man might marry his brothers wife, which now doth dare thinke and say^b contrarie: and yet this his boldnes might have chaunced in pope

^a *So much money.*] “If the pope with his pardons, for money, may deliver one soul out of purgatory, he may deliver him as well *without* money; if he may deliver one, he may deliver a thousand: if he may deliver a thousand, he may deliver them *all*, and so destroy purgatorie. And then he is a cruel tyrant without all charitie, if he keepe them there in prison and in paine till men will give him money.” *Fish's Supplication of Beggars. Fox's Acts*, p. 926.

^b *Dare thinke and say.*] Stokesly was particularly zealous and effective in promoting Henry's view in his great matter of the divorce. To him the king referred Sir Thomas More, lord chancellor, for satisfaction in that very important point, that his marriage with the widow of prince Arthur, *being directly against the law of nature, could in no wise by the church be dispensable.* *Roper's Life of Sir Thomas More*, p. 54, edit. 1729. See also the life in this collection, p. 128.

Julius dayes, to stand him either in a fire, or else in a fagot. Which thing deeply considered, and pondered of my lorde, might something stirre him to charitable equitie, and to bee something remissable toward men, which labour to do good as their power serveth with knowledge, and do hurt to no man with their ignorancie: for there is no greater distaunce, than betweene Gods lawe, and not Gods lawe: nor it is not so, or so, because any man thinketh it so, or so: but because it is so or so indeede, therefore wee must thinke it so, or so, when God shall give us knowlege thereof: for if it be indeede either so or not, it is so or not so, though all the world had thought otherwise these thousand yeares.

“ And finally as ye say, the matter is weighty and ought substantially to be looked upon; even as weightie as my life is worth: but how to looke substantially upon it, otherwise know not I, than to pray my Lord God day and night, that as hee hath boldned me to preach his truth, so hee will strengthen me to suffer for it, to the edification of them which have taken by the working of him, fruite thereby; and even so I desire you, and all other that favour mee for his sake, likewise to pray: for it is not I, (without his mightie helping hand) that can abide that brunt: but I have trust that God will helpe mee in time of neede; which if I had not, the ocean sea, I thinke, should have divided my lorde of London and mee by this day. For it is a rare thing for a preacher to have favour at his hand which is no preacher himselfe, and yet ought to bee. I pray God that both he and I may both discharge ourselves, he in his great cure, and I in my little, to Gods pleasure, and safety of our soules, amen.

“ I pray you pardon mee that I write no more distinctly, nor more truely: for my head is so out of frame, that it should bee too painefull for me to write it againe: and if I be not prevented, shortly I intende to make merry with my parishioners this Christmas, for all the sorrowe, least perchance I never returne to them againe: and I have heard say, that a doe is as good in winter, as a bucke in sommer.”

A Letter of Sir Edward Baynton knight, answering to the letter of maister Latimer sent to him before.

“ Maister Latimer, after heartie recommendations: I have communicated the effect of your letters to divers of my friends,

hath ensued and followed martyrdom to the preacher, so in Christes congregation, among them that professe Christes name, *Is uno Domino, uno baptismo, et una fide*, they that preache and stirre rather contention, than charitie, though they can defend their saying, yet their teaching is not to bee taken as of God, in that it breaketh the chayne of Christen charitie, and maketh division in the people, congregate and called by God into an unitie of faith and baptisme. But for this point I would pray to God, that not onely in the truth may bee agreement, but also such sobernesse and uniforme behaviour used in teaching and preaching, as men may wholly expresse (as they may) the charitie of God tending onely to the union in love of us all, to the profit and salvation of our soules."

The aunswere of M. Latimer to the letter of Syr Edward Baynton above prefixed.

"Right worshipfull Syr, and my singular good maister, *salutem in Christo Jesu*, with due commendation and also thanks for your great goodnes towards mee, &c. And whereas you have communicate my last letters to certaine of your friendes, which rather desire this or that in me, &c. what I thinke therein I will not now say; not for that there could bee any perill or daunger in the said letters (well taken) as farre as I can judge, but for that they were rashly and unadvisedly scribled, as ye might well knowe both by my excuse, and by themselves also, though none excuse had bene made. And besides that, yee know right well, that where the bee gathereth honey, even there the spinner gathereth venome, not for any diversitie of the flower, but for divers natures in them that sucketh the flower. As in times past, and in the beginning, the verie truth, and one thing in it selfe was to some, offence, to some foolishnesse, to other otherwise disposed, the wisdom of God. Such diversitie was in the redresse of hearers thereof.

"But this notwithstanding, there is no more but either my writing is good, or bad: if it bee good, the communicating thereof to your friends cannot be hurtful to me: if it be otherwise, why should you not communicate it to them, which both could and would instruct you in the trueth, and reforme my error? Let this passe, I will not contend: *had I wist* commeth ever out of season. Truly I were not well advised, if I would

not either be glad of your instruction, or yet refuse mine owne reformation; but yet it is good for a man to looke ere he leape, and God forbid that ye should bee addict and sworne to me so wretched a foole; that you should not rather followe the doctrine of your friendes in truth, so great learned men as they appeare to be, than the opinions of mee, having never so Christen a breast.

“Wherefore doe as you will: for as I would not if I could, as I cannot if I would, bee noysome unto you. But yet I say, I would my letters had been unwritten, if for none other cause, at least way, in asmuch as they cause me to more writing, an occupation nothing meete for my mad head. And as touching pointes which in my foresayde letters mislike your friendes, I have now little leysure to make an aunswere thereto for the great business that I have in my little cure, (I know not what other men have in their great cure) seeing that I am alone, without any priest to serve my cure, without any scholler to reade unto mee, without any booke necessarie to bee looked upon, without learned men to come and counsell withall; all which thinges other have at hand abundantly. But some thing must bee done, howsoever it bee. I pray you take it in good woorth, as long as I temper mine owne judgement, affirming nothing with prejudice of better.

“First ye mislike, that I say I am sure that I preach the truth, saying in reproofe of the same, that God knoweth certaine trueth. In deede alonely God knoweth all certaine truth, and alonely God knoweth it as of himselfe; and none knoweth certaine truth but God, and those which bee taught of God, as sayth Saint Paule; *Deus enim illis patefecit*: and Christ himselfe: *erunt omnes docti a Deo*. And your friendes deny not but that certain truth is communicate to us, as our capacitie may comprehend it by faith; which if it be truth, as it is, then there ought no more to bee required of any man, but according to his capacitie: now certain it is that every man hath not like capacitie, &c.

“But as to my presumption and arrogancie: either I am certaine or uncertaine that it is truth that I preach. If it be truth, why may not I say so, to courage my hearers to receive the same more ardently, and ensue it more studiously? If I be uncertaine, why dare I be so bolde to preach it? And if your friendes in whom ye trust so greatlie, be preachers themselves, after their sermon I pray you aske them, whether they be certaine and

sure that they taught you the truth or no ; and send mee word what they say, that I may learne to speake after them. If they say they bee sure, ye know what followeth : if they say they be unsure, when shall you bee sure, that hath so doubtfull teachers and unsure ? And you your selfe, whether are you certaine or uncertaine, that Christ is your saviour ; and so fourth of other articles that ye be bounden to beleewe ; or whether be ye sure or unsure, that civile ordinances bee the good workes of God ; and that you do God service in doing of them, if ye do them for a good intent ? If ye be uncertaine, take heede hee be your sure friend that heareth you say so : and then with what conscience do you doubt ; *Cum quicquid non est ex fide, peccatum sit ?* But on the contrarie say you, alonely God knoweth certaine truth, and yee have it but *per speculum in enigmate* : and there have beene, *qui zelum Dei habuerunt, sed non secundum scientiam* : and to call this or that trueth, it requireth a deepe knowledge, considering that to you unlearned, that you take for truth may be otherwise, not having *sensus exercitatos* (as Paule saith) *ad discernendum bonum et malum*, as ye reason against me ; and so you doe best to knowe surely nothing for truth at all, but to wander meekely hither and thither, *omni vento doctrinæ, &c.*

“ Our knowledge heere, you say, is but *per speculum in enigmate*. What then ? *Ergo*, it is not certaine and sure.

“ I deny your argument by your leave : yea if it be by faith, as ye say, it is much sure, *quia certitudo fidei est maxima certitudo*, as *Duns* and other schoole doctors say. There is a great discrepance¹ betweene certaine knowledge, and cleare knowledge : for *that* may bee of things absent that appeare not, *this* requireth the presence of the object, I meane of the thing knowne ; so that I certainly and surely know the thing which I perfectly beleewe, though I doe not clearely and evidentialie know it. I know your schoole subtleties, as well as you, which dispute as though *enigmaticall* knowledge, that is to saye, darke and obscure knowledge might not be certaine and sure knowledge, because it is not clear, manifest and evident knowledge.

“ And yet there hath beene (they say) *qui zelum Dei habuerunt*,

¹ A great discrepance.] This part of the letter may be compared with Hooker's Vindication of his Doctrine, preached at the Temple church, against an objection of Walter Travers, of which we shall find some account below in the *Life of Hooker*. See also his truly admirable *Answer to Mr. Travers's Supplication*.

sed non secundum scientiam, which have had a zeale, but not after knowledge.—Trueth it is, there hath beene such, and yet be too many to the great hinderance of Christ's glorie, which nothing doth more obscure, than an hote zeale accompanied with great authoritie without right judgement. There have beene also, *Qui scientiam habuerunt absque zelo Dei; qui veritatem Dei in injustitia detinentes plagis vapulabunt multis, dum voluntatem Domini cognoscentes, nihil minus quam faciunt*, I meane not among Turkes and Saracens that be unchristened, but of them that be christened. And there have beene also that have lost *scientiam Dei, id est, spiritualem divini verbi sensum, quem prius habuerunt*, the spirituall knowledge of God's word which they had before, because they have not ensued after it, nor promoted the same, but rather with their mother wits have impugned the wisdom of the Father, and hindered the knowledge thereof, which therefore hath been taken away from them. And if to call this or that truth, requireth a deepe and profound knowledge, then either every man hath a deepe and profound knowledge, or else no man can call this or that truth. And it behoveth every preacher to have so deepe and profound knowledge, that hee may call this or that truth, which this or that he taketh in hand to preach for the truth; and yet hee may be ignorant and uncertaine in many things, both this and that, as Apollo was; but which things, whether this or that, he will not attempt to preach for the truth. And as for my selfe, I trust in God, I may have *sensus exercitator*, well enough, *ad discernendum bonum et malum*, senses exercised to discern good and evill in those things which, without deepe and profound knowledge in many things, I preach; yet there be many things in Scripture in which I cannot certainly discern *bonum et malum*, I mean *verum et falsum*, not with all the exercise that I have in Scripture, nor yet with the help of all interpreters that I have, to content my selfe and other in all scrupulositie, that may arise: but in such I am wont to wade no further into the streame, than that I may either go over, or else returne backe againe, having ever respect, not to the ostentation of my little wit, but to the edification of them that heare mee, as farre foorth as I can, neither passing mine owne nor yet their capacite.

“ And such manner of arguments might well serve the divell *contra pusillanimes*, to occasion them to wander and waver in the faith, and to be uncertaine in thinges in which they ought to be

certaine: or else it may appeare to make and serve against such preachers which will define great subtleties and high matters in the pulpit, which no man can bee certaine and sure of by Gods word to bee truth, *ne sensus quidem habens ad discernendum bonum et malum exercitatissimos*; as whether, if Adam had not sinned, wee should have had stockfish out of Iseland; how many larkes for a peny, if every starre in the element were a flickering hobby; how many yeares a man shall lie in purgatorie for one sinne, if hee buy not plentie of the oyle that runneth over our lampes to slake the sinne withall, and so forget hell which cannot be slaked, to provide for purgatorie.

“Such argumentation (I say) might appeare to make well against such preachers, not against mee, which simply and plainly utter true faith and the fruites of the same, which be the good workes of God, *which hee hath prepared for us to walke in*, every man to do the thing that pertaineth to his office and duetie in his degree and calling, as the worde of God appointeth, which thing a man may do with sobernesse, having *sensus ad discernendum bonum et malum, vel mediocriter exercitatos*. For it is but foolish humilitie, willingly to continue alwayes an infant still in Christ, and in infirmitie: in reproofe of which it was sayd; *Facti estis opus habentes lacte non solido cibo*. For Saint Paule saith not: *Estote humiles, ut non capiatis*. For though he would not that we should thinke arrogantly of our selfe, and above that that it becommeth us to thinke of our selfe, but so to thinke of our selfe, *ut simus sobrii ac modesti*, yet he biddeth us so to thinke of our selfe, *as God hath distributed to everie one the measure of faith*. For he that may not with meekenesse thinke in himselfe what God hath done for him, and of himselfe as God hath done for him, how shall hee, or when shall hee, give due thanks to God for his gifts? And if your friendes wil not allowe the same, I pray you enquire of them whether they may *cum sobrietate et modestia* bee sure they preach to you the truth; and whether we may *cum sobrietate et modestia* follow S. Pauls bidding, where he saith unto us all: *Be not children in understanding, but in maliciousnesse be infants*.—God give us all grace to keepe the meane, and to thinke of our selfe neither too high nor too lowe, but so that wee may restore unto him, *qui peregre profectus est*, his gifts againe *cum usura*, that is to say, with good use of the same, so that *cedificemus invicem* with the same, *ad gloriam Dei*. Amen.

“For my life, I trust in God, that I neither have, neither

christened men, of high perfection,) but also at Paules crosse, and S. Mary Spittle, besides many that with no small zeale have written against him, but not without aunswere.

“ And I would faine learne of your friendes, whether that Saint Hieromes writing were of God, which caused dissension in a Christian congregation, as it appeareth by his owne wordes in the prologue before the Canonically Epistles, which be these: *Et tu virgo Christi Eustochium, dum a me impensius Scripturæ veritatem inquiris, meam quodam modo senectutem invidorum dentibus vel morsibus corrodendam apponis, qui me falsarium corruptoremque Scripturarum pronunciant; sed ego in tali opere nec illorum invidentiam pertimesco, nec Scripturæ veritatem poscentibus denegabo.* I pray you, what were they that called S. Hierome *falsarium*, and corrupter of Scripture, and for envy would have bitten him with their teeth? unchristen, or Christen? What had the unchristen to do with Christian doctrine? They were worshipful fathers of a Christian congregation, men of much more hotter stomackes than right judgement, of a greater authority than good charity; but Saint Hierome would not cease to doe good for the evill speaking of them that were naught, giving in that an ensample to us of the same:—and if this dissension were in Saint Hieromes time, what may bee in our time? *de malo in pejus scilicet.*

“ And I pray you what meaneth your friendes by a Christian congregation? All those (trow ye) that have been christened? But many of those beene in worse condition, and shal have greater damnation, than many unchristened. For it is not inough to a Christian congregation that is of God, to have been christened: but it is to be considered what we promise when we bee christened; to renounce Sathan, his workes, his pompes: which thing if we busie not our selves to doe, let us not crake that we professe Christes name in a Christian congregation, *in uno baptismo*, in one baptisme.

“ And where they adde *in uno Domino*, in one Lord, I reade in Matth. 17, *Not everie one that saith Lord, Lord, &c.* And in Luke, the Lord himselfe complaineth and rebuketh such professors and confessours, saying to them: *Why call you me Lord, Lord, and do not that I bid you?* even as though it were enough to a Christian man, or to a Christian congregation to say every day, *Domine Dominus noster*, and to salute Christ with a double *Domine*. But I would your friends would take the paines to

made over Chrysostome *super Matthæum. hom. 49. cap. 24.* to learne to know a Christian congregation, if it will please them to learn at him. And where they adde, *in una fide*, in one faith, S. James sayth boldly, *show me thy faith by thy works.* And S. Hierome, *Si nomen credimus, inquit, opere veritatem ostendimus.* And Scripture sayth, *qui credit Deo, attendit mandatis:* and the diuels beleeve to their little comfort. I pray God to save you and your friendies from that beleeving congregation, and from that faithfull company.

Therefore all this toucheth not them that bee unchristened, but them that be christened, and aunswere not unto their Christendome. For S. Hierome sheweth how true preachers should order themselves, when evill priests and false preachers, and the people that be by them deceived, should be angry with them for preaching the truth (*Tom. 5. in Hieremiam, capit. 26*), exhorting them to suffer death for the same of the evill priests and false preachers and the people deceived of them, which evill priests and false preachers with the people deceived, bee christened as well as other: and I feare me that S. Hierome might appeare to some Christen congregations, as they will be called, to write seditiously; to divide the unitie of a great honest number, confessing Christ *in uno baptisinate, uno Domino, una fide*, saying, The people which before were brought asleepe by their maisters, must goe up to the mountaines; not such mountaines which smoke when they are touched, but to the mountaines of the old and new Testament, the prophets, apostles, and evangelists. And when thou art occupied with reading in these mountaines, if then thou finde no instructors, (for the harvest is great and the workmen be few) yet shall the diligent study of the people be fleeing to the mountaines, and the slouthfulnes of the maisters shal be rebuked.

I do marvell why our Christian congregation be so greatly grieved that lay people would reade Scripture, seeing that S. Hierome alloweth and approveth the same, which compareth not heere the unchristened to the christened, but the lay people christened to their curates christened, under the which they have beene rocked and locked asleepe in a subtile trade a great while full soundly, though now of late they have beene waked, but to their paine; at the least way, to the paine of them that have wakened them with the word of God: and it is properly said of Hierome to call them maisters and not servants, meaning that

servants teach not their own doctrine, but the doctrine of their maister Christ, to his glory: maisters teach not Christes doctrine, but their owne, to their owne glory: which maisterly curates cannot be quiet till they have brought the people asleepe againe: but Christ the verie true maister saith: *vigilate, et orate, ne intretis in tentationem. Non cogitationes meas cogitationes vestras, neque vias meas vias vestras, dicit Dominus:* and there have beene, *qui cogitaverunt consilia, quæ non potuerunt stabilire*, which have gone about counsels, which they could not establish. I pray God give our people grace so to wake, *ut studium illorum comprobetur*, and our maisters so to sleepe, *ut non desidia illorum coarguatur*. For who is so blinde that he seeth not how farre our Christian congregation doth gaynesay Saint Hierome, and speaketh after an other fashion? God amend that is amisse: for we bee something wide, I wis.

“ But now your friends have learned of S. John, that, *Every one that confesseth Jesus Christ in flesh, is of God*. And I have learned of Saint Paule, that there have been, not among the heathen, but among the Christen, *qui ore confitentur, factis autem negant*, which confesse Christ with their mouth, and deny him with their actes: so that Saint Paule should appeare to expound Saint John; saving that I will not affirme any thing as of my selfe, but leave it to your friends to shew you *utrum qui factis negant Christum et vita, sint ex Deo necne per solam oris confessionem*: for your friendes knowe well enough by the same Saint John, *qui ex Deo est, non peccat*: and there both have beene and bee now too many, *qui ore tenus confitentur Christum venisse in carne*, which will not effectually heare the word of God by consenting to the same, notwithstanding that Saint John saith, *qui ex Deo est, verbum Dei audit; vos non auditis, quia ex Deo non estis*: and many shall heare *nunquam novi vos*, I never knew you, which shall not alonely be christened, but also shal *prophetare*, and do puissant things *in nomine Christi*: and Saint Paule said there should come *lupi graves qui non parcerent gregi*, ravening wolves which wil not spare the flocke, meaning it of them that should *confiteri Christum in carne* in their lips, and yet usurp by succession the office: which Christ calleth *falsos prophetas*, and biddeth us beware of them, saying, they shall come in *sheepes cloathing*, and yet they may weare both satten, silke, and velvet, called afterwarde *servi nequam, non pascentes sed percutientes conseruos, edentes et bibentes cum ebriis, habituri tandem portionem cum*

hypocritis. They are called *servaunts*, I trowe, *quod ore confitentur Christum in carna; nequam vero, quia factis negant eundem, non dantes cibum in tempore, dominium exercentes in gregem.* And yet your friends reason as though there could none barke and bite at true preachers, but they that be unchristened, notwithstanding that Saint Augustine upon the same epistle of John calleth such confessours of Christ *qui ore confitentur, et factis negant, antichristos*; a strange name for a Christian congregation: and though Saint Augustine could defend his saying, yet his saying might appeare not to be of God, to som mens judgement, in that it breaketh the chayne of Christes charity, so to cause men to hate *antichristianismum*, antichristes; according to the doctrine of Saint Paule, *sitis odio persequentes quod malum est*, hate that is evill: and so making division, not between christened and unchristened, but between Christians and antichristians, when neither penne nor tongue can divide the antichristians from their blinde folly. And I would you would cause your friends to reade over Saint Augustine, upon the epistle of S. John, and tell you the meaning thereof, if they thinke it expedient for you to knowe it: as I remember, it is *Tractatu 3.* but I am not sure nor certaine of that, because I did not see it since I was at Cambridge; and heere have I not Saint Augustines workes to looke for it; but well I wot, that there he teacheth us to knowe the Christians from the antichristians, which both be christened, and both confesse *Jesum esse Christum*, if they be asked the question: and yet the one part denyeth it in very deede: but to knowe whether, let us not stand upon our talkes, but attend to our doings and conversation of life, whether we, not onely do not put our indeavour thereto, but also perswade our selves as though it were not necessary for us to accomplish such things, &c. but that it is inough to beare rule and authority over them, and to bestow ourselves wholly upon secular matters, pleasures, and pompe of this world.

“And yet as long as they minister the word of God or his sacraments, or any thing that God hath ordained to the salvation of mankinde, wherewith God hath promised to be present, to worke with the ministration of the same to the ende of the world, they be to bee heard, to be obeyed, to be honoured for God's ordinance sake, which is effectual^a and fruitfull, whatsoever the

^a Which is effectual.] Art. XXVI. of the Church of England; *Of the unworthiness of the Ministers, which hinders not the effect of the Sacraments.*

minister be, though he be a diuel, and neither church nor member of the same, as Origene sayth, and Chrysostome, so that it is not all one to honour them, and trust in them, Saint Hierome sayth ; but there is required a judgement, to discerne when they minister Gods word, and ordinaunces of the same, and their owne, least peradventure we take chalke for cheese, which will edge our teeth, and hinder digestion. For it is commonly sayde, the blinde eateth many a flye, as they did which were perswaded of the high priests, to aske Barrabas and to crucifie Jesus : and ye knowe that to follow blinde guides is to come into the pit with the same. And will you knowe, saith saint Augustine, how apertly they resist Christ, when men begin to blame them for their misliving, and intolerable secularity, and negligence ? They dare not for shame blaspheme Christ himselfe, but they will blaspheme the ministers and preachers of whome they be blamed.

“ Therefore, whereas yee will pray for agreement both in the truth, and in uttering of the truth ; when shal that be, as long as we will not heare the truth, but disquiet with crafty conveyance the preachers of the truth, because they reprove our evilnesse with the truth ? And to say truth, better it were to have a deformitie in preaching, so that some would preach the truth of God, and that which is to be preached, without cauponation and adulteration of the word, (as Lyranus⁹ saith in his time few did ; what

⁹ *Lyranus.*] Nicholas de Lyra, whose Postills upon the Scriptures were up to the time of the reformation of the greatest note. Luther studied them deeply. He says [*Comment. ad Genes. cap. i. v. 9*] “ Ego Lyranum ideo amo, et inter optimos pono : quod ubique diligenter retinet et persequitur historiam, quanquam auctoritate Patrum se vinci patitur, et nonnunquam eorum exemplo deflectit a proprietate sententiæ ad ineptas allegorias.” In fact, the Romish party charged Luther with drawing much of his knowledge from De Lyra, insinuating that Luther but danced to Lyra's pipe :

“ Si Lyra non lyrasset
Lutherus non saltasset.”

This monkish doggrel was altered thus by Luther's friends :

“ Si Lyra non lyrasset
Totus mundus delirasset.”

See Rosenmüller's *Historia Interpretationis Vet. et Nov. Test.* tom. v. p. 282.

The *postills* are short commentaries on every passage or verse of the Scriptures. The name is as old as the eighth century, and originated in the following circumstances. The Scriptures were read in the churches to the people, or by masters to their scholars, and to each passage as read was added a short explanation of the text, taken often from the writings of some father.

they do now adayes. I report mee to them that can judge) then to have such an uniformitie, that the seely people should be thereby occasioned to continue still in their lamentable ignorance, corrupt judgement, superstition and idolatry, and esteeme things as they doe, all preposterously, doing that, that they neede not for to do, leaving undone that they ought to do. for lacke or want of knowing what is to be done, and so shew their love to God, not as God biddeth (which sayth : *Si diligitis me, præcepta mea servate.* And againe : *Qui habet præcepta mea et facit ea, hic est qui diligit me*) but as they bid *qui quærunt quæ sua sunt, non quæ Jesu Christi*, which seeke their owne thinges, not Christes : as though to tythe mynt, were more then judgement, faith and mercy.

“ And what is to live in state of curates, but that he taught which sayd, *Peter lovest thou me? feede, feede, feede* : which is now set aside, as though to love were to do nothing els, but to wear rings, myters, and rochets, &c. ! And when they erre in right living, how can the people but erre in loving, and all of the new fashion, to his dishonour that suffered his passion, and taught the true kinde of loving which is now turned into piping, playing, and curious singing¹, which will not be reformed (I trow) *nisi per manum Dei validam.* And I have both S. Augustine. and S. Thomas, with divers other, that *lex* is taken not alonely for ceremonies, but also for morals, where it is sayd ; *Non estis sub lege* : though your friends reprove the same. But *they* can make no division in a Christian congregation.—And whereas both you and they would have a soberness in our preaching. I pray God send it unto us, whatsoever ye meane by it. For I see well whosoever will be happy, and busie with *ea vobis*, hee shall shortly after come *coram nobis.*

“ And where your friends thinke that I made a lie, when I said that I have thought in times past that the pope had been lord of the world ; though your friends be much better learned then I, yet am I sure that they know not what either I thinke, or have thought better then I, *juxta illud ; nemo novit quæ sunt hominis, &c.* as though better men then I have not thought so, as

The text was read in sentences, and *after them* (“ post illa verba”) the note. This became a technical term, which was afterwards used in a more extended sense.

¹ Curious singing.] See Index, under *Church Music.*

Bonifacius (as I remember) Octavus², the great learned man John of the Burnt Tower³, presbyter cardinalis, in his booke where he proveth the pope to be above the Councell general and speciall, where he saith that the pope is *rex regum*, and *dominus dominantium*, the king of kings, and lord of lords, and that he is *verus dominus totius orbis, jure licet non facto*, the true lord of the whole world by good right, albeit in fact hee bee not so : and that Constantinus did but restore his owne unto him, when he gave unto him Rome, so that *in propria venit*, as S. John saith Christ did, *et omni eum non receperunt*: and yet I hear not that any of our Christian congregations hath reclaimed against him, until now of late dissention began.—Who be your friends I cannot tell: but I would you would desire them to be my good maisters, and if they will do me no good, at the least way do me no harme; and though they can do you more good then I, yet I am sure I would be as loath to hurt you as they, either with mine opinions, maner of preaching or writing.

“And as for the popes high dominion over all, there is one Raphaell Maruphus⁴ in London, an Italian, and in times past a marchaunt of dispensations⁵, which I suppose would dye in the quarrell, as Gods true knight and true martyr.—As touching purgatory, and worshipping of saints, I shewed to you my minde before my ordinary: and yet I marvelled something, that after private communication had with him, ye would (as it were) abjure

² *Bonifacius Octavus.*] Who in 1298 promulgated the *Sextus liber Decretalium*. See the note at p. 129 of vol. i. of this collection.

³ *Burnt Tower.*] Latimer, or rather Fox, has here translated literally his author's name. The Spaniard, Juan de Torquemada, or in Latin *Joannes de Tarrecremata*, was one of the most celebrated theologians and canonists of the fifteenth century. Pope Eugenius IV. called him to Rome, invested him in 1431 with the dignity of master of the sacred palace, and appointed him his theologian at the council of Basle, where Torquemada delivered a long oration, *De Pontificis Maximi Conciliiq[ue] Generalis Auctoritate*, in reply to the orator of the council. It is this to which Latimer alludes. An edition was printed at Louvain so lately as 1688. Torquemada was afterwards created priest-cardinal of San Sisto, and died in 1468. He must not be confounded with his namesake, Thomas de Torquemada, who has achieved an unhappy celebrity as founder of the Inquisition in Spain. They were members however of the same family, and lived at the same time.

⁴ *Maruphus.*] Or Marulphus. See Strype's *Memorials*, vol. i. pt. i. p. 247. Oxford edition.

⁵ *Marchaunt of dispensations.*] A retailer of the papal indulgences and dispensations. See Fuller's *Church History*, book v. sect. iii. p. 30—43.

Against this citation, although M. Latimer did appeale to his own ordinarie*, requiring by him to be ordered, yet al that notwithstanding, he was had up to London before Warrham, the archbishop of Canturburie, and the bishop of London, where he was greatlie molested, and detained a long space from his cure at home. There he being called thrise everie weeke before the said bishops, to make answeere for his preaching, had certaine articles or propositions drawn out and laide to him, whereunto they required him to subscribe. At length he not onlie perceiving their practicall proceedings, but also much greeved with their troublesome unquietnes, which neither wold preach themselves nor yet suffer him to preach and to do his duty, writeth to the aforesaid archbishop partlie excusing his infirmitie, whereby hee could not appeare at their commandement, partlie expostulating with them for so troubling and detaining him from his dutie doing, and that for no just cause, but onely for preaching the truth against certaine vain abuses crept into religion, much needful to be spoken against. Which all may appeare by his epistle sent to a certaine bishop or archbishop, whose name is not expressed, the copie of which epistle is this :

The Copie¹ of the Epistle written by M. Latimer to the Archbishop of Canterbury.

“ I cannot come to your palace, most reverend prelate, by reason of sickness ; not any new indisposition, but one of old standing, though lately increased by fresh aggravations.—As far as I can see, I say, and conjecture, it will not be in my power to come to you to-day, without great injury to myselfe. And that your lordship may not any longer in vain expect my arrival, lo, I send you this strange sheet, blotted by my own hand, which will be a satisfactory evidence to you of the truth of my excuse. In what I am now about to write, I wish I might be able (but the pressure of the time, and this pain in my head, both forbid it) to expostulate with you, in a manner that I have great reason to do ; for that you so long detaine me against my will, from the care of those souls which are under my charge ; and particularly at this

* *His own ordinarie.*] See above, p. 491.

¹ *The Copie.*] This letter is given by Fox only in the original Latin. † thought it too valuable to be omitted ; and have therefore translated it.

season' of the year, when there is most occasion for pastors to be present with their flocks.

"And why should I not expostulate with you? if indeed it may be permitted at all to me, so vile a slave, to plead with you so great a father. For if Peter thought it was fit, in respect of his office, that he should never cease, so long as he continued in this earthly tabernacle, to teach and admonish the people, and that so much the more urgently, the nearer he approached to death; can it otherwise than appear very unjust, that there are, who neither teach themselves, even at this time of day (to say nothing of their not having taught in former times), nor permit those who wish to teach so to do, except only such persons as are ready to comply with their wishes through, and in every thing?

"In the *first* place then; I had liberty indeed to present myself before your lordship, but to depart, and extricate myself again, seems no longer to be at my own disposal. And seeing that for this long time, one object is pretended in the beginning, and another always aimed at in the progress of my cause, I have much reason to doubt of what kind the issue will be. But the truth, as I hope, will in the end deliver me. The Lord, who is the guardian of truth, will deliver me for ever. And therefore may I never forget the words of Saint Jerome in this behalf. *Nothing can give me pain which I shall suffer in the defence of truth: for God lieth, and he will take care of me.*—*Secondly* I was summoned to appear only before the bishop of London; and yet the whole process is carried on before you, my lord of Canterbury, occasionally surrounded by many other reverend fathers. My affair had some bounds and limits assigned it by him who sent for me up, but is now protracted by intricate and wily examinations, as if it would never find a period; while sometimes one person, sometimes another, asks me questions, which do or do not relate to me, without measure or end. So, I say, it would seem to be, did not I myself (though perhaps somewhat uncourtously, yet I think not indiscreetly) impose some limit to their interrogatories; fearing, as I do, lest while singly I have to answer to so many, something, as it often happens, should un-

At this season. From this passage we may presume that this letter was written in *Lent*. The year was 1531-2. His first citation (see above, p. 491) was in "deep winter." but some time had now elapsed since then.

advisedly fall from me, to injure a cause in other respects unimpeachable.

“ Let them be contented to profess, to assert, to defend their own propositions; but why should the opinions of others be obtruded upon me, and I be compelled, I know not by what right, to make confession of them? This hardship I think is unexampled; and yet I am accounted untractable, for refusing to comply with what I deem unjust importunities. If any man has any fault to object against my preaching, as being obscure or incautiously uttered, I am ready to explain my doctrine by further discourse; for I have never preached any thing contrary to the truth, nor contrary to the decrees of the fathers, nor, as far as I know, contrary to the catholic faith; all which I can prove to be true by the testimonies of my enemies and calumniators. I have desired, I own, and do desire, a reformation in the judgement of the vulgar. I have desired, and still do, that they should distinguish between duties; and that each should maintain among them its proper value, its place and time, its rank and degree. And so that all men should know, that there is a very great difference between those works which God hath prepared for each of us, zealously discharging the duties of our respective callings, to walk in, and those that are *voluntary*, which we undertake by our own strength and pleasure. It is lawful, I own, to make use of images; it is lawful to go on pilgrimage; it is lawful to pray to saints; it is lawful to be mindful of souls abiding in purgatory: but these things, which are voluntary³, are so to be moderated, that God's

³ *Which are voluntary.*] Compare Art. XIV. of the Church of England. “ *Voluntary* works besides, over and above God's commandments, which,” &c.

I here give the promised extract from the “ Card Sermon.”

“ Evermore bestow the greatest part of thy goods in works of mercy, and the lesse parte in *voluntary* workes.—Voluntary workes be called all manner of offerings in the church. Setting up candles, gilding and painting, building of churches, giving of ornaments, going on pilgrimages, making of highways, and such other, be called *voluntary* works;—which works be, of themselves, marvellous good works, and convenient to be done.—*Necessary* works, and works of *mercy* are called the commandements, and such as longeth to the commandements:—and workes of *mercie* consisteth in relieving and visiting thy poore neighbours.—Now then, if men will be so foolish of themselves, that they will bestowe the moste parte of their goodes in *voluntary* works, which they be not bound to keepe, but willinglie and by their devotion, and leave the *necessary* works undone, which they are bound to doe, they and all their voluntary works are like to goe unto everlasting damnation.

recommended to be done ; lest haply by occasion of that commendation, those duties should come to be neglected, which are to be performed on peril of damnation. But what can be more unseemly, than to employ our preaching in that which God would neither command nor counsel, so long at least as those things thereby fall into neglect, which are commanded. I therefore hitherto stand fixed on the side of the commandments of God ; so aiming, not at my own gain, but that of Christ ; so seeking not my own glory, but that of God : and as long as life shall be permitted to me, I will not cease thus to continue, imitating herein all true preachers of the word, that have hitherto lived in the world.

“ There are no doubt, and have long been some intolerable abuses amongst us. Why then should a preacher be called upon to recommend from the pulpit works, which, though they were seldomer performed (not to say never), I do not see that the Christian religion would suffer any loss : unless indeed we be so wretchedly blind as to think that religion consists in our own unworthy lucre, and not in the true worship of God. It cannot be, I own, that the blameable abuse of these observances can be duly censured, but that straightway the use of them shall become less frequent. And yet I had rather that some things were never done at all, than with that sort of confidence in them, which diminishes the regard to real duties. Some things, we know, are to be done, and others are not to be left undone : others again we are under no obligation of doing, and may leave undone.

“ But now, is there one that does not see amongst us many manifest abuses ? Who is there that sees and does not greatly lament them ? Who shall lament and will not endeavour to remove them ? And when can they be removed, if the use be ever extolled, and the abuse passed over in silence ; nay verily it cannot be, but that the abuse must prevail, and bear the sway ? It is one thing to tolerate that which may be permitted on fit occasions, and another to be always extolling it as a necessary matter, and to establish it by a law. *Go ye*, says Christ, *and teach all things*. All what things ? *All*, says he, *which I have commanded you*. He does not say all which you yourselves may chuse to account necessary for preaching.—Well then, for God’s sake, let us so exert ourselves, as with one accord, to preach the

doctrines of God ; lest we become as they who corrupt and make a traffick of preaching, rather than true ministers of the word. Seeing especially, that men are very slow towards heavenly things ; and so swift about their own, as to stand in no need of the spur ; being miserably deceived by false judgment, and innate superstition, contracted even from their youth ; vices which we shall hardly be able to cure by any preaching, how frequent, how vehement, how pure and sincere so ever.—May God therefore provide a remedy that, in these evil days, they whose duty it is rather to preach themselves (for as Peter says, he gave us commandment to preach) do not hinder those that are willing and able to exhort, (contrary to those words, *hinder not him who can do good*), or else compel those to preach, who make traffick of the word, that they may so detain to their destruction, the miserable commonalty, in superstitions, and a confidence that cannot but fail them. Rather, O God ! do thou have mercy on us, that we may learn thy way in the earth : and not be like those, of whom it is said, *Your thoughts are not as my thoughts : nor your ways as my ways, saith the Lord.*

“ For these reasons, I dare not, most reverend father, subscribe the bare propositions which you require of me ; being unwilling, as far as I may, to be the author of any longer continuance of the superstition of the people : and that I may not be also at the same time the author of my own damnation. Could I but be thought worthy, most venerable father, to offer unto you one piece of counsel !—But I restrain myself. It is not hard to conjecture, how depraved and insufferable the heart of man is. But no man knows the things of a man, save the spirit of man that is in him. It is not any pride that withholds me from that subscription, which has been so often asked of me by your lordship to my great uneasiness. It cannot but be blame worthy, not to obey the fathers and leaders of the church. But it is their duty in the mean time to take care what, and to whom, they give commandment ; since there are occasions in which we must obey God, rather than man. My head is so out of frame, and my whole body so weak, that I am neither able to come to you, nor to write over again, and correct this letter. Your lordship however, I hope, will approve, if not the judgment, at least the affection with which it is written. Farewell.”

In this epistle foresaid, as ye heare, he maketh mention of

certaine articles or propositions, whereunto hee was required by the bishops to subscribe. The copie and effect of those articles be these.

Articles devised⁴ by the bishops, for M. Latimer to subscribe unto.

“ I beleeeve that there is a purgatorie to purge the soules of the dead after this life.

“ That the soules in purgatorie are holpen with the masses, prayers, and almes of the living.

“ That the saints do praie as mediators now for us in heaven.

“ That they are to be honoured of us in heaven.

“ That it is profitable for Christians to cal upon the saints, that they may pray as mediators for us unto God.

“ That pilgrimages and oblations done to the sepulchres, and reliques of saints are meritorious.

“ That they which have vowed perpetual chastity, may not marry, nor break their vow, without the dispensation of the pope.

“ That the keies of binding and loosing delivered to Peter, do still remaine with the bishops of Rome his successors, although they live wickedly; and are by no means, nor at anie time committed to lay men.

“ That men may merit and deserve at Gods hand by fasting, praier, and other good works of pietie.

“ That they which are forbidden of the bishop to preach, as suspect persons, ought to cease untill they have purged themselves before the said bishops, or their superiors, and be restored againe.

“ That the fast which is used in Lent, and other fasts prescribed by the canons, and by custome received of the Christians (except necessitie otherwise require) are to be observed and kept.

“ That God in every one of the seaven sacraments giveth grace to a man, rightly receiving the same.

⁴ *Articles devised.*] In reference to these articles, the curious reader may find it well worth his while to consult the large declaration of Latimer's friend Dr. Crome upon certain like propositions objected to him by the bishops, at this same time, March 11, 1530-1. Strype's *Eccles. Memor.*, Appendix, vol. iii. p. 19—27.

"That consecrations, sanctifyings, and blessings by use and custome received in the church, are laudable and profitable.

"That it is laudable and profitable, that the venerable images of the crucifix and other saints should bee had in the church as a remembrance, and to the honor and worship of Jesus Christ and his saints.

That it is laudable and profitable, to deck and to clothe those images, and set up burning lightes, before them, to the honor of the said saints."

"To these articles whether he did subscribe or no, it is uncertaine⁵. It appeareth by his epistle above written to the bishop,

⁵ *It is uncertaine.*] Latimer's biographers are by no means agreed as to the fact, and the extent of his recantation. It may not therefore be amiss to state briefly, how the matter appears to have stood. In the first place, the title is Stokeley's (not *Tonstall's*) register does not necessarily prove that he subscribed. For in the case of Dr. Crome, which was very similar to that of Latimer, (May 11, 1530,) we find a memorandum subjoined to the entry (in which it is said, that "he did acknowledge and confess his faith as following,") to this effect "Nota, that these were not subscribed, but only registered." Strype's *Eccles. Memor.*, vol. iii. p. 102.

Latimer's first trouble before the convocation was on the 3d and 10th of March, 1530-1. Wilkins's *Concil.* vol. iii. p. 725. But this matter came to nothing, "Uterior deliberatio, in aliud tempus dilata est." The minutes of convocation mention nothing of the particular subjects of complaint against him. But in one of his own sermons, he tells the clergy, that they would gladly have raked in the coals of one "who never hurt any of you, because he would not subscribe to certayne articles, that tooke away the supremacy of the king." *Sermons*, fol. 11. On such a subject, it is plain his enemies would not dare to exert the whole of their strength. And therefore for that time we hear no more of him. And he was suffered to go on in his ministerial labours in the west, till he received the citation to appear before the bishop of London, of which so much has already been said. We now approach to the day of the submission recorded in *Stokeley's Register*. On March 11th, (1531-2,) it appears by the minutes of convocation, that being required three several times to subscribe to certain articles (probably the same which are given in this page), and having as often refused, he was pronounced contumacious by the archbishop, then excommunicated, and delivered up to Warham to be kept in safe custody at Lambeth. On the 21st, the day specified in the *London Register*, after a long debate, the archbishop not being then present, it was resolved, that if Latimer would subscribe to the eleventh and fourteenth lordships, he should be absolved from the sentence of excommunication. He at least was commanded to make his personal appearance at the next sitting;

In this he appeared accordingly; and kneeling down he submitted himself, and acknowledged that he had erred in preaching

him, and with his meere power sometimes rescued and delivered him out of the crooked clawes of his enemies. Moreover, at length also, through the procurement, partly of Doctor Buttes,¹ partly of good Cromwell, (whose storie ye heard before) hee advanced him to the degree and dignitie of a bishop, making him the bishop of Worcester², which so continued a few years instructing his diocese, according to the duty of a diligent and vigilant pastor, with wholesome doctrine, and example of perfect conversation duely agreeing to the same.

It were a long matter to stand particularly upon such things as might here be brought to the commendation of his paines; as studie, readinesse and continuall carefulnesse in teaching, preaching, exhorting, visiting, correcting and reforming, either as he ability could serve, or else the time would beare. But the times then were so dangerous and variable, that he could not in all things doe that he would. Yet what he might doe, that hee performed to the uttermost of his strength, so that although he could not utterly extinguish all the sparkling reliicks of old superstition, yet he so wrought, that though they could not be taken awaie, yet they should be used with as little hurt, and with as much profit as might be. As (for example) in this thing, as in divers other it did appeare, that when it could not be avoyded, but holy water and holy bread must needes bee received, yet hee so prepared and instructed them of his dioces, with such informations and lessons, that in receiving thereof superstition shoulde bee excluded, and some remembrance taken thereby, teaching and charging the ministers of his dioces, in delivering the holie water and holie bread, to say these words following:

Words spoken¹ to the people in giving them holy water.

“Remember your promise in baptism,
Christ his mercy and bloudshedding,
By whose most holy sprinkling,
Of all your sinnes you have free pardoning.”

wavering reede, or to deceave his prince.”—Augustine Bernher’s *Dedication to Latimer’s Sermons*.

¹ *Doctor Buttes.*] Sir William Buttes, the king’s physician. See vol. i. p. 582.

² *Bishop of Worcester.*] He was consecrated in the month of September, A. D. 1535.—*Le Neve’s Fasti*, p. 298.

¹ *Words spoken.*] Similar interpretations of this and other ceremonies were at this time publicly adopted, and taught in the *Articles* of 1536, and the

What to say in giving holy bread.

"Of Christs body this is a token,
Which on the crosse for our sinnes was broken.
Wherefore of your sinnes you must be forsakers,
If of Christ's death ye will be partakers."

By this it may be considered what the diligent care of this bishop was in doing the duty of a faithful pastor among his

Institution of a Christian Man in the following year. Compare also Burnet, vol. ii. p. 117. Appendix. How much was gained even by these modifications, we might better appreciate, if we were fully in possession of all the superstitions to which these observances, in their unmodified state, were made instrumental. Let us take one example. In archbishop Cranmer's *Visitation*, A. D. 1543, "Sir William Kemp, vicar of Northgate, was presented, because he had not read the Bible since Pentecost. He doth not declare to his parishioners the right use of holy water, holy bread, bearing of candles upon Candle-mas day, giving of ashes, bearing of palms, creeping to the cross. For lack whereof the most part of the said parish be as ignorant in such things, as ever they were: and many of them do abuse holy water, inasomuch that against tempests of thunder and lightning, many run to the church for holy water to cast about their houses, to drive away evil spirits and devils, notwithstanding the king's proclamations."—*Strype's Memor. of Cranmer*, p. 101, 102. These interpretations, however, did not satisfy the more ardent and hasty tempers of some of the friends of the Reformation, who did not scruple to condemn them with much severity as half and half temporizing measures. A curious passage to this effect may be seen in Turner's *Hunting of the Romish Fox*. Signat. C 6. D 1. impr. at Basil. 1543. There is a judicious and temperate discussion on this subject, in Tindal's *Works*, well worth perusing, in connexion with Latimer's practice and policy, and that of the church in general, at this period. See *Works*, p. 275—9. edit. 1572. *How ceremonies sprang among us*.

I subjoin here a portion of the passage from Turner. It insists forcibly upon the serious incongruities and inconsistencies which followed upon the modern practice, between the doctrine of the old Latin service still retained, and the expository qualification and comment in English.

"Is the conjuring of salt and water to drive devils away, and to heal all sicknesses, and to take away synnes agreeing with the word of God?—Ye will answer me *is English*, that ye make not your holy water for any such intent, but only to be a remembrance of Christes blood; but on *Sunday* ye will answer me *is Latin*, that ye make it to dryve away devils, to hele all sycknesses, and to purchase forgyvenness of synnes. Your answer is prynted, and it is said every Sunday in every parish church of England, in these wordes: '*Immensam tuam clementiam, omnipotens eterne Deus, humiliter imploramus,*' &c. 'Almighty, everlasting God, we humbly beseech Thee that Thou wouldest vouchsafe with Thy holiness to bless and make holy thys Thy creature of salt,

nothing as concerning a king in the kings sermon? have you anie commission to appoint me what I shall preach?' besides this, I asked him divers other questions, and he would make no answers to any of them all: he had nothing to say.

"Then I turned me to the king and submitted my selfe to his grace, and said, 'I never thought myself worthy, nor I never sued to be a preacher before your grace, but I was called to it, and would be willing (if you mislike me) to give place to my betters: for I grant there be a great many, more worthy of the room than I am. And if it be your graces pleasure so to allow them for preachers, I could be content to beare their bookes after them. But if your grace allow me for a preacher, I would desire your grace to give me leave to discharge my conscience; give me leave to frame my doctrine according to my audience. I had bin a very dolt to have preached so at the borders of your realme, as I preach before your grace.'

"And I thank almightie God (which hath alwaies been my remedie) that my sayings were well accepted of the king; for like a gracious lord he turned into an other communication. It is even as the Scripture sayth; *Cor regis in manu Domini*. The Lord directeth the kings hart. Certaine of my friends came to me with teares in their eies, and told mee they looked I should have been in the tower the same night."

Besides this, diverse other conflicts and combates this godlie bishop sustained in his owne country and dioces, in taking the cause of right and equitie against oppression and wrong. As for another example, there was at that tyme not far from the dioces of Worcester a certaine justice of peace, whome here I will not name, being a good man afterward, and now deceased. This justice in purchasing of certaine land for his brother, or for himselfe, went about to wrong or damnifie a poore man, who made his complaint to M. Latimer. He first hearing, then tendring his rightfull cause, wrote his letter to the gentleman; exhorting him to remember himselfe, to consider the cause and to abstain from injury. The justice of peace not content withall, (as the fashion of men is when they are told of their fault) sendeth word againe, in great displeasure, that he would not so take it at his hands, with such threatning words, &c. M. Latimer hearing this, answered againe by writing, the copy whereof hereafter followeth:

heard that any of them have said in their displeasure, that they wil not beare it at my hand. Are you yet to be taught, what is the office, libertie, and privilege of a preacher? What is it else, but even to rebuke the world of sinne, without respect of persons; which thing undoubtedly is the peculiar office of the Holie Ghost in the church of God, so that it be practised by lawful preachers. You could but ill beare (belike) to heare your fault openlie re-proved in the pulpit, which cannot beare the same in a secret sealed up letter, written both friendly, charitable, and truly, unlesse perhaps to rebuke sinne sharply, be now to lack all charitie, friendship and truth. But maister N. if you will give me leave to be plaine with you, I feare me you be so plunged in worldly purchasings, and so drowned in the manifold dregges of this deceivable world, that I weene you have forgotten your catechisme. Reade therefore againe the opening of the first commandment, and then tell mee whether you of me, or I of you, have just cause to complaine.

“ Item, you said further that I am wonderfully abused by my neighbour, &c. How so, good maister N.? Wherein? or how will you prove it to be true, and when? So you said that he had abused you, and given you wrong information; but the contrary is found true by good testimony of M. Chamber, which heard as wel as you, what my neighbour said, and hath testified the same, both to you, and against you, full like himselfe.— Master N. to forge and faine (which argueth an ill cause) that is one thing: but to prove what a man doth say, that is another thing. As though you were privileged to outface poore men and beare them in hand what you list, as may seem to make some maintenance for your naughty cause. Trust mee master N. I was but very little acquainted with my neighbour when this matter began: but now I have found him so conformable to honesty, upright in his dealings, and so true in his talk, that I esteeme him better, than I do some other whom I have perceived and found otherwaies. For I will flatter no man, nor yet claw his back in his folly, but esteeme all men as I find them, allowing what is good, and disallowing what is bad, among al men either friends or enemies, according to Pauls precept not esteemed of the children of this world: *hate you. saith he, that which is evil, and cleave to that which is good.* And let us not any time for the favour of men, call good evil, and evil good, as the children of this world are commonly wont to do, as it is every where to be

wel, that sir Thomas Cokin with a letter of his own hand writing, hath witnessed unto your brothers agreement, which letter he sent to me unsealed, and I shewed the same to my neighbour and other mo ere I sealed it, and perchance have a copy of the same yet to shew. With what conscience then can you say that I shall never be able to prove it? Shall not three men upon their othes make a sufficient prooffe, trow you? The Lord himselfe saying: *in the mouth of two or three, &c.* Yea, you thinke it true I dare saie, in your conscience, if you have any conscience, though I were in my grave, and so unable to prove any thing. And as for the two tenants, they be as they be, and I trust to see them handled according as they be: for there be three men alive that dare sweare upon a booke, that they both did agree. But what should we looke for at such mens hands, when you your selfe plaie the part you do. But God is yet alive, which seeth all, and judgeth justly.

“ Item sir, you said yet further, that the justices of peace in the countrey, thinke you very unnaturall, in taking part with me before your brother. Ah maister N. what a sentence is this to come out of your mouth? For partaking is one thing, and ministering of justice is another thing: and a worthie minister of justice will bee no partaker, but one indifferent betweene partie and partie. And did I require you to take my part, I pray you? No: I required you to minister justice betweene your brother and mine neighbour without any partaking with either other. But what maner of justices bee they I pray you, which would so faine have you to take part naturally with your brother, when you ought and should reforme and amend your brother? as you yourselfe know, no man better. What? Justices? no, jugglers you might more worthilie cal such as they be, than justices. Bee they those justices which call you unnaturall, for that you will not take your brothers part against all right and conscience, whome you had picked out and appointed to have the finall hearing and determining of my neighbors cause after your substantiall and final award making? Verely I think no lesse. Forsooth hee is much beholding to you, and I also for his sake. Is that the wholsome counsell that you have to give your poore neighbors in their neede? In deede you shew your selfe a worthy jugler, oh, I would have said a justicer, among other of your jugling and partaking justices. *Deum bonum*, what is this world? Mary sir, my neighbour had spun a faire thred, if your partaking

gether?—*Summa Summarum*, maister N. if you will not come off shortly, and apply yourself thereunto more effectually heerafter then you have done heretofore, be you wel assured thereof, I shal detect you to al the friends that I have in England, both hie and lowe, as well his crabbednesse and frowardnesse, as your colourable supportation of the same, that I trust I shall be able thereby, either to bring you both to some goodnesse, or at least way I shall so warne my friends and all honest hearts to beware of your ilnesse, that they shall take either no hurt at all, or at least way, lesse harme by you through mine advertisement; in that, knowing you perfectly, they may the better avoide and shunne your company. You shall not stay mee maister N. no though you would give mee all the lands and goods you have, as rich as you are noted to be. I wil not forsake such a just cause, neither will I communicate with other mens sins. For whether it be by detestable pride, whether by abominable avarice, or by both two linked together, it is no small iniquity to keepe any poore man so long from his right and duty so stifneckedly and obstinately, or whether ye wil crabbedly and frowardly. And what is it then any manner of waies to consent to the same? You know I trow, maister N. what theft is, that is, *to take or detein by any maner of way, an other mans good against his will that is the owner*, as some define it. If he be a theefe that so doth openly, what shall hee be that approveth him which is the doer, defendeth, maintaineth and supporteth him by any manner of colour? Consider with your self good maister N. what it is to oppresse and to defraud your brother in his businesse, and what followeth thereof. It is truly said, the sin is not forgiven, except the thing bee restored againe that is taken away. No restitution, no salvation: which is as wel to be understood, of things gotten by fraude, guile, and deceite, as of things gotten by open theft and robbery. Wherefore let not your brother maister N. by cavillation continue in the divels possession. I will doe the best I can, and wrastle with the divel, *omnibus viribus*, to deliver you both from him. I will leave no one stone unmoved to have both you and your brother saved. There is neither archbishop nor bishop, nor yet any learned man either in universities or elsewhere, that I am acquainted withall that shall not write unto you, and in their writing by their learning confute you. There is no godly man of lawe in this realme that I am acquainted withall, but they shall write unto you, and confute you by the lawe. There is neither

resigned likewise with him his bishoprick. And so these two remained a great space unbishopped, keeping silence till the time of king Edward of blessed memorie.—At what time he first put off his rochet in his chamber among his friends, sodainly he gave a skip in the floor for joy, feeling his shoulders so light, and being discharged (as he said) of such an heavy burden. Howbeit neither was he so lightned, but that troubles and labors followed him whersoever he went. For a little after he had renounced his bishoprick, first he was almost slain, but sore brused with the fall of a tree. Then comming up to London for remedy, he was molested and troubled of the bishops, whereby he was againe in so little danger, and at length was cast into the Tower⁴, where he continually remained prisoner, till the time that blessed king Edward entred his crowne, by meanes whereof the golden mouth of this preacher, long shut up before, was now opened again. And so he beginning afresh to set forth his plough againe, continued all the time of the said king, laboring in the Lords harvest most fruitfullie, discharging his talent, as well in divers other places of this realm, as in Stamforde, and before the dutches of Suffolke⁵ (whose sermons be extant and set forth in print) as also at Lon-

⁴ *Into the Tower.*] “He was contented rather to be cast into the Tower, and there to looke dayly for death, than to be found a wavering reed, or to deceive his prince. ‘For they’ (said he) ‘that do allow any thing disagreeyng from God’s word, in respect to fulfill the appetites of princes, are betrayers and murderers of their princes, because they provoke the wrath of God to destroy such princes: and these flaterers become guiltie of the blood of their princes, and are the chief causes of their destruction.’”—Dedication prefixed to Latimer’s *Sermons*, by August. Bernher, his faithful servant. It is probably to this time, and to these six articles, that Latimer himself refers in one of his sermons before king Edward. “I wyll tell you what a byasshop of this realme sayd once to me. He sent for me, and marvelled that I would not consent to such traditions, as were then sette out. And I answered him, that I would be ruled by God’s booke; and rather than I would dissent one jotte from it, I would be torne with wilde horses, &c.” Fol. 37, b. edit. 1584.

⁵ *Dutches of Suffolke.*] The mother of lady Jane Grey. At Grimsthorpe, in Lincolnshire.—Bernher’s *Dedication*. “Now I entend, at the request of my most gracious lady, to expound to you, her household servantes, and other that be willing to hear, the right understanding and meaning of this most perfect prayer (the Lord’s Prayer).” *Sermons*, fol. 120, b. They appear to have been preached in the hall of the mansion.—*Ibid.* fol. 174, b. As we see, in the paragraph before us, he preached also at court “in the same place of the inward (*privy*) garden, which was before, &c.”

don in the convocation house⁶: and especiallie before the king at the court, in the same place of the inward garden which was

⁶ *In the convocation house.*] He preached the *Concio ad Clerum*, at the opening of the convocation, June 9, 1536, about nine months after he had been made bishop, appointed to preach, as he tells us, "by commandment of our primate," (archbishop Cranmer). In this discourse he expresses himself, with the freedom which might be expected from him. One passage, as it regards his own history, will be proper for insertion in this place.

"What have you done hitherto, I pray you, these seven yeares and more? What have brought forth? What fruite is come of your long and great assembly? What one thinge, that the people of England hath been the better for an hair? Or, you yourselves, either accepted before God, or better discharged toward the people, committed unto your cure? For that the people is better learned and taught nowe, then they were in time past, to whether of these ought we to attribute it, to your industry, or to the providence of God, and the foreseeing of the king's grace? Ought we to thank you; or the king's highness? Whether stirred other first; you, the king, that you might preach; or he you, by his letters, that yee should preach after? Is it unknowne, thinke you, how both yee and your curates were in a manner by vyolence enforced to let bookes, not made by you, but by prophane and lay persons, to let them, I saye, be solde abroad, and read for the instruction of the people.—I am bolde with you, but I speake Latine, and not Englishe:" (We are in possession only of the English copy; by whom translated, I think, does not appear); "to the clergy, not to the laity. I speake to you being present, and not behind your backes. God is my witnes, I speake whatsoever is spoken, of the good will that I beare you: God is my witnes, whiche knoweth my hart, and compelleth me to say, that I say.

"Now I pray you, in God's name, what did you, so great fathers, so many, so long a season, so oft assembled together? What went you about? What would you have brought to pass, two things excepted? The one that ye (whiche I heard) burned a dead man:" (this was William Tracy, Esq. of Toddington, Gloucestershire. Fox's *Acts*, p. 951.) the other, that ye (which I felt,) went about to burne one" himself "being alive. Him, because he did, I cannot tell how, in his Testament, withstand your profit: in other pointes, as I have heard, a very good man: reported to be of an honest life, while he lived: full of good workes, good both to the clergy, and also to the laity. This other, whiche truly never hurt any of you, ye would have raked in the coales, because he would not subscribe to certeyne articles, that tooke away the supremacy of the king. Take away these two noble actes, and there is nothing els left, that ye went about that I know: sayng that I now remember, that somewhat ye attempted agaynst Erasmus, albeit as yet nothing is come to light." *Fruitful Sermons, preached by the right rev. father, M. Hugh Latimer*, fol. 10, 11. 4to. 1584.

Towards the close he addresses them in the following extraordinary compound of keen irony, and affectionate impressive sympathy.

"If there be nothing to be amended abroad concerning the whole, let every one of us make *one* better. If there be neyther abroad nor at home

before applied to lascivious and courtlie pastimes, there hee dispensed the fruitfull word of the glorious gospell of Jesus Christ, preaching there before the king and his whole court, to the edification of manie'.

any thing to be amended, my lords be ye of good cheare, be merry : and at the least because we have nothing els to do, let us reason the matter how we may become richer. Let us fall to some pleasant communication : after, let us go home, even as good as we came hyther ; that is, right-begotten *children of the world*, and utterlye worldlinges. And while we live here, let us all make *bon chere*. For after this life, there is small pleasure, little mirth for us to hope for ; if now there be nothing to be changed in our actions. Let us say, not as S. Peter did, *Our ende approacheth nigh* ; this is an heavy hearing : but let us saye, as the evil servant sayd, *It will be long ere my master come*. This is pleasaunt. Let us beate our fellowes : let us eate and drinke with dronkardes.—But God will come : God will come, he will not tarry long away. He will come upon such a day, as we nothing look for him ; and at such an hour as we knowe not. He will come and cut us in peeces. He will reward us as he doth the hypocrites. He will set us where wayling shall bee, my brethren ; where gnashing of teeth shall be, my brethren.—And let here be the end of our tragedy, if ye will." Ibid. fol. 16.

[*The edification of manie.*] Among the effects of his preaching may be mentioned the case of John Bradford, the martyr, as it is related by Dr. Thomas Sampson, in the preface to Bradford's *Sermon on Repentance*.

"Even in this mean time he heard a sermon, which the notable preacher, Mr. Latimer, made before k. Edward VI., in which he did earnestly speak of *restitution* to be made of things falsely gotten : which did so strike Bradford to the heart, for one dash with a pen which he had made without the knowledge of his master, (as full often I have heard him tell with plenty of tears) being clerk to the treasurer of the king's camp beyond the seas, which was to the deceiving of the king, that he could never be quiet, till by the advice of the same Mr. Latimer, a restitution was made. Which thing to bring to pass, he did willingly forbear and forego all that private and sorry patrimony which he had upon earth."

Latimer himself mentions several cases of a similar nature.

"I have now preached three Lents.—The first time I preached restitution. *Restitution* (quoth some), what should he preach of restitution ? Let him preach contrition (quoth they), and let restitution alone At my first preaching of restitution, one man tooke remorse of conscience, and acknowledged himselfe to me, that he had deceived the king, and willing he was to make restitution : and so the first Lent came to my hands twenty pounds to be restored to the king's use. I was promised twenty pounds more the same Lent, but it could not be made ; so that it came not. Well : the next Lent came 320*l.* more. I received it myselfe and paid it to the kings council. So I was asked, what he was that made this restitution. But should I have named him ? Nay, they should as soon have this wesaunt of mine. Well : now this Lent came 180*l.* ten shillings, which I have paid and delivered this present day to the kings council. If every man that hath beguiled the king

gave unto him his spirit plentiouslie and comfortably to preach his word¹ unto his church, but also by the same spirit he did so

¹ *To preach his word.*] Latimer has related two or three agreeable incidents referring to his connexion with Cranmer and Lambeth; which seem to deserve insertion in any narrative of his life; and I give them therefore a place in mutual juxta-position here.

"I cannot goe to my booke for poore folkes coming unto me, and desiring that I will speake that their matters may be heard; I trouble my lord of Canterbury; and, being at his house, I now and then walke in the garden looking in my book, yet so as I can do but little good at it: but something I must needes do to satisfy this place. No sooner am I in the garden, and have read a while, but by and by cometh there some one or other knocking at the gate. Anon cometh my man and sayth, syr, there is one at the gate would speake with you. When I come there, then it is some one or other that desireth me that I will speak that his matter might be heard, and that he hath layne thus long at great costs and charges, and cannot once have his matter come to the hearing . . . It is a great pity that such things should so be." Second sermon before k. Edward; *Sermons*, fol. 40.

"O there is a writer hath a jolly text here, and his name is Dionysius. I chaunced to meete with his booke in my lorde of Canterburys library. He was a monke of the Charter-house. I marvell to finde such a sentence in that author. What, he asks, taught Christ in this sermon? Marry, sayth he, *it is not written*. And he addeth more unto it, thus: Evangelistæ *tantum* scripserunt de sermonibus et miraculis Christi, *quantum* cognoverunt, inspirante Deo, *sufficere* ad ædificationem ecclesiæ, ad confirmationem fidei, et ad salutem animarum. It is true, it is not written. All his miracles were not written; so neither were all his sermons written: yet, for all that, the evangelistes did write *so much as was necessary*." Sixth sermon before k. Edward. *Sermons*, fol. 74 b.

"What should be the cause, that our Saviour Christ went into the boate? What should be the cause, why he would not stand on the bancke and preach there, but he desired Peter to drawe the boate somewhat from the shore into the middest of the water: what should be the cause?—One cause was, for that he might sit there more commodiously than on the bancke. Another cause was, for that he was like to be thrust into the pond by the people that came unto him.—Why, our Saviour Christ might have withstood them; he was strong enough to have kept himselfe from thrusting into the water? He was stronger than they all; and, if he had listed, he might have *stoode* on the water, as well as he *walked* on the water?—Truth it is, so he might have done indeed. But as it was sometimes his pleasure to shew the power of his godhead, so he declared nowe the infirmity and imbecility of his manhood.

"Here he giveth us an example what we shall doe; we must not tempt God by any miracles, so long as we may walke by ordinary wayes. As our Saviour Christ, when the devil had him on the top of the temple, and would have had him cast himselfe downe, he made him this answer, Thou shalt not tempt thy Lord God. It is no time now to shew any myracles; there is another way to go down, by gresings (*steps*). Thus he did to shew us an

evidentlie foreshew and prophecie of all those kindes of plagues afore, which afterward ensued, that if England ever had a prophet he might seeme to be one. And as touching himselfe, he ever affirmed that the preaching of the gospell would cost him his life, to the which he no lesse cheerefullie prepared himself, then certainly was perswaded that Winchester was kept in the Tower for the same purpose, as the event did too truelie proove the same. For after the death of the said blessed k. Edward, not long after queene Marie was proclaimed, a pursivant was sent downe (by the meanes no doubt of Winchester) into the countrey, to call him up, of whose comming although M. Latimer lacked no forewarning, being premonished about sixe houres before by one John Careles, yet so far off was it that he thought to escape, that he prepared himselfe towards his journey before the said pursivant came to his house.

At the which thing when the pursivant marvelled, seeing him so prepared towards his journey, he said unto him: "My friend, you be a welcome messenger to mee. And bee it knowne unto you, and to the whole world, that I goe as willingly to London at this present, being called by my prince to render a reckoning of my doctrine, as ever I was at any place in the worlde. I doubt not but that God, as hee hath made mee worthy to preach his word before two excellent princes, so hee will able me to witness the same unto the third, either to her comfort or discomfort eternallie." At the which time the pursivant, when he had delivered

example, that we must not tempt God, except it be in extreme necessity. We must leave it all to God, and not tempt the majesty of his deity.

"Well; he comes to Symons boate; and why rather to Symons boate than another?—I will aunswere, as I finde by experience in my selfe. I came hither to-day from Lambeth in a wherry: and when I came to take boate, the watermen came about, as the manner is, and he would have me, and he would have me. I tooke one of them. Now ye will aske me why I came in that boate, rather than in another? Because I would go into that, that I saw stand next me: it stode more commodiously for me. And so did Christ by Simons boate. It stode nearer for him; he saw a better seate in it. A good natural reason.

"Now come the papistes, and they will make a mysterye of it: they will picke out the supremacye of the byshop of Rome in Peters boate. We may make allegoryes enough of every place in Scripture: but surely it must needes be a simple matter that standeth on so weake a ground. . . . I beseeche God to open their eyes, that they may see the truthe." Sixth sermon before king Edward; *Sermons*, fol. 72.

his letters, departed, affirming that hee had commandement not to tary for him. By whose sodaine departure it was manifest that they would not have him appeare, but rather to have fled out of the realme. They knew that his constancie should deface them in their poperie, and confirme the godlie in their truth.

Thus master Latimer being sent for, and comming up to London, through Smithfield (where merily he said that Smithfield had long groned for him) was brought before the councel, where he patiently bearing all the mockes and taunts given him by the scornfull papists, was cast again into the Tower², where he being assisted with the heavenlie grace of Christ, sustained most patient imprisonment a long time, notwithstanding the cruell and unmercifull handling of the lordly papists, which thought then their kingdome would never fall. Yet hee shewed himselfe not onelie patient, but also cheerefull in and above all that which they could or would worke against him: yea such a valiant spirit the Lord gave him, that hee was able not onelie to despise the terriblesse of prisons and torments, but also to deride and laugh to scorn the doings of his enemies. As it is not unknowne to the eares of many, what he answered to the lieutenant being then in the Tower. For when the lieutenants man upon a time came to him, the aged father kept without fier in the frostie winter, and well nigh starved for colde, merilie bad the man tell his master, "that if hee did not looke the better to him, perchance he would deceive him." The lieutenant hearing this, bethought himselfe of these words, and fearing least that indeed he thought to make some escape, began to look more straitlie to his prisoner, and so comming to him, beginneth to charge him with his words, reciting the same unto him which his man had told him before; how that if he were not better looked unto, perchance he would deceive him. "Yea master lieutenant, so I saide," quoth hee, "for you looke I thinke that I should burne: but except you let me have some fire, I am like to deceive your expectation, for I am like heere to starve for colde."

Many such like answers and reasons, merrie, but savorie, comming not from a vaine minde, but from a constant and quiet rea-

² *Into the Tower.*] "This day," Sept. 13, 1553, "Hugh Latymer clerke, appeared before the lordes, and for his sedycious demeanor was comytted to the Towre, there to remaine as close prisoner, having attending upon him Ansteyn his servaunte."—Minutes of Privy Council, in *Haynes's Burghley State Papers*, p. 183.

son, proceeded from that man, declaring a firme and stable hat, little passing for all this great blustering of their terrible threats, but rather deriding the same.

Thus master Latimer passing a long time³ in the Tower, with as much patience as a man in his case could do, from thence was transported to Oxford with doctor Cranmer archbishop of Canturbury, and master Ridley bishop of London, there to dispute upon articles sent downe from Gardiner bishop at Winchester; the maner and order of which disputations betweene them and the universitie doctours, is hereafter sufficiently expressed. What also is declared, how and by whom the said Latimer with his other fellowe prisoners, were condemned after the disputations, and so committed againe to the prison, and there they continued from the moneth of Aprill, to the moneth of October: where they was most godlie occupied, either with brotherlie conference, or with fervent praier, or with fruitfull writing.

How Thomas Cranmer archbishop, bishop Ridley, and M. Latimer were sent downe to Oxford to dispute, with the order and maner, and all other circumstances unto the said disputation, and also to their condemnation, appertaining.

About the tenth of Aprill, 1554, Cranmer archbishop of Canturburie, Ridley bishop of London, and Hugh Latimer, bishop also sometime⁴ of Worcester, were conveyed as prisoners from the

³ *A long time.*] This procrastination in his case and that of Cranmer and Ridley, was contrary to what had been at first expected, as we learn from a letter of Ridley to John Bradford, who intimates also the supposed policy upon which the delay was grounded.

"What God will do with us, He knoweth. In the mean time wonderful it is to behold how the wisdom of God hath infatuated the policy of the world, and scattered the crafty devices of the worldly wise. For when the state of religion was once altered, and persecution began to wax hot, no man doubted but Cranmer, Latimer and Ridley should have been the first to have been called to the stake. But the subtle policy of the world, setting us apart, first assaulted *them* by whose *infirmity* they thought to have more advantage: but God disappointed their subtle purpose. For whom the world esteemed weakest, praised be God! they have found most strong, sound and valiant, in Christ's cause, unto the death; to give such an onset as, I dare say, all the angels in heaven do no less rejoyce to behold in them, than they did in the victoriously constancy of Peter, Paul, Essay, Elias, or Jeremy."—Coverdale's *Letters of the Martyrs*, p. 48.

⁴ *Bishop also sometime.*] See above, p. 528.

Tower to Windsore; and after from thence to the university of Oxford, there to dispute with the divines and learned men of both the universities, Oxford and Cambridge, about the presence, substance and sacrifice of the sacrament^s. The names of the univer-

^s *Of the sacrament.*] It will be satisfactory and useful to the reader to see all the main points of this grand controversy enumerated and placed before him in one view, as they are stated with great care, distinctness and ability, by Ridley, in his valuable *Treatise on the Lord's Supper*, written in prison, and a very short time before his martyrdom.

"The controversie, no doubt, which at this day troubleth the church (wherein any meane learned man, either olde or newe, doth stande), is not, whether the holy sacrament of the body and bloud of Christ is no better than a peece of common bread or no; or whether the Lord's table is no more to be regarded, than the table of any earthly man, or no; or whether it is but a bare signe or figure of Christ and nothing else, or no. For, all do graunt, that S. Pauls words do require, that the bread which we break is the partaking of the body of Christ; and also do graunt, hym that eateth of that bread, or drinketh of that cup unworthelye, to be guiltie of the Lordes death, and to eate and drinke his owne damnation, because he esteemeth not the Lordes body; all do graunt that these wordes of S. Paule, when he sayth, 'If we eate, it avantageth us nothing: or if we eate not, we want nothing thereby' (1 Cor. viii. 8.): are not spoken of the Lords table, but of other common meates.

"Thus then hetherto yet we all agree.—But now let us see wherein the dissension doth stande. The understanding of that wherein it doth chieflie stande is a step to the true searching forth of the truth: for who can seeke well a remedye, if he knowe not before the disease?

"It is neyther to be denied nor dissembled, that in the matter of this sacrament there be divers pointes, wherein men counted to be learned, cannot agree:—as, Whether there be any transubstantiation of the bread, or no? Any corporall and carnal presence of Christes substance, or no? Whether adoration, onely due unto God, is to be done to the sacrament, or no? And whether Christes body be there offered indeede unto the heavenly Father by the priest, or no? Or whether the evyll man receyveth the natural body of Christ, or no?—Yet nevertheless, as in a man diseased in divers partes, commonly the original cause of such divers diseases, which is spread abroad in the body, do come from one chiefe member, as from the stomacke, or from the head: even so all those fyve aforesaid poyntes doo chieflie hang upon this one question, which is, what is the *matter* of the sacrament? whether it is the natural substaunce of bread, or the natural substaunce of Christes owne bodye?—The truth of this question truly tried out and agreed upon, no doubt shall cease the controversy in all the rest. For if it bee Christes owne natural body, borne of the Virgin, then assuredly (seeing that al learned men in England, so far as I knowe, both new and old, graunt there is but *one* substance), then, I say, they must nedes graunt transubstantiation; that is, a change of the substaunce of bread into the substance of Christes body:—then also they must graunt the carnal and corporall presence of Christes

were these ; of Oxford, doctor Weston ⁶ prolocutor, D. Tresham⁷, D. Cole⁸, D. Oglethorpe⁹, D. Pie¹, M. Harpsfield², M. Fecknam³,

be unto the later day, when he shall come agayne in glory, accompanied with the angels of heaven, to judge both the quicke and the dead. And the same natural substance of the very body and bloud of Christ, because it is united unto the divine nature in Christ, the second person of the Trinitie, therefore it hath not onely life in itselfe, but is also able to geve and doth geve lyfe unto so many as be or shal be partakers thereof ; that is, to all that do beleve in hys name, whyche are not borne of bloud, as S. John sayth, or of the wyll of the flesh, or of the wyl of man, but are borne of God ; though the selfe same substaunce abide stil in heaven, and they for the time of theyr pilgrimage dwell here upon earth. By grace, I say, that is, by the gyft of thys lyfe, mencioned in S. John, and the properties of the same, mete for our pilgrimage here upon earth, the same body of Christ is here present with us. Even as for example, we saye, the same sunne, which in substance never remooveth his place out of the heavens, is yet present here by his beames, light, and natural influence, where it shineth upon the earth : for Gods word and his sacramentes be, as it were, the beames of Christ, which is *sol justitiæ*, the sunne of righteousness.

" Thus hast thou heard, of what sort or sect soever thou be, wherein doth stand the principal state and chiefe point of all the controversies which do properly pertain unto the *nature* of the sacrament. As for the *use* thereof, I graunt there be many other things whereof here I have spoken nothing at all." Signat. F 6.—G 2. edit. 1574. 12mo.

The treatise is given entire in the Oxford *Enchiridion Theologicum*.

⁶ *Doctor Weston.*] Hugh Weston, rector of Lincoln College, afterwards dean of Westminster, and, at a later time, of Windsor. Tanner's *Bibliotheca*, p. 758.

⁷ *D. Tresham.*] William Tresham, canon of Ch. Ch. and rector of Bugbrook, in Northamptonshire. Tanner's *Bibl.*, p. 720.

⁸ *D. Cole.*] Henry Cole, who had been warden of New College and afterwards was provost of Eton, and dean of St. Paul's. Tanner's *Bibl.*, p. 189.

⁹ *D. Oglethorpe.*] Owen Oglethorpe, president of Magdalen College, and dean of Windsor, afterwards bishop of Carlisle. Godwin, *De Præsulibus Angliæ*.

¹ *D. Pie.*] William Pye, archdeacon of Berks, and dean of Chichester. Tanner's *Bibl.*, p. 609.

² *M. Harpsfield.*] John Harpsfield, archdeacon of London, afterwards dean of Norwich. Wood's account of Harpsfield's presence at these proceedings is so far incorrect, calling them, "Disputations for the Degree of Doctor of Divinity, 19 Apr. 1554,"—"in which disputation archb. Cranmer bore a part," in that he omits all mention of the judicial disputations of the 16th, 17th, and 18th, and leaves his readers to suppose that Cranmer merely took a part in an academical exercise.—*Athenæ Oxonienses*, Bliss's edit. vol. i. col. 440. See also Tanner's *Bibl.*, p. 380.

³ *M. Fecknam.*] John de Feckenham, whose real name was Howman, afterwards dean of St. Paul's, and abbot of Westminster. Tanner's *Bibl.*, p. 274.

Of Cambridge, doctor Yong⁴ vice-chancellor, D. Glin⁵, D. Seaton⁶, D. Watson⁷, D. Sedgewike⁸, D. Atkinson⁹, &c. The articles or questions whereupon they should dispute were these :

1. Whether the natural body of Christ be really in the sacrament, after the words spoken by the priest, or no.

2. Whether in the sacrament, after the words of consecration, any other substance doe remaine, than the substance of the body and blood of Christ.

3. Whether in the masse be a sacrifice propitiatory for the sinnes of the quicke and the dead.

Touching the order and manner of all things there done, with the notes, arguments, and circumstances thereunto pertaining, to deduce the matter from the beginning, first heere is to be understood, that upon Saturday the seaventh day of April, the heades of the colleges in Cambridge being congregate together, letters comming downe from Steven Gardiner, lord chancellor, were read with articles therewith annexed, that should bee disputed upon at Oxford; the contents of the which three articles are sufficiently expressed before. Wherupon in the said congregation of the aforesaid universitie of Cambridge, there was granted first a grace in this forme proposed by the senior proctor: *Placeat vobis ut instrumentum fiat, quod horum iam prælectorum articulorum doctrina sana sit et catholica, atque cum veritate orthodoxæ fidei consentiens et vestro consensu et suffragiis comprobetur!* That is, ' may it please you to have an instrument made that the doctrine of these foresaid articles may be sound and catholike, and consonant with the veritie of the right-meaning faith, and that the same may be approved by your consent and voices.' Secondly, in the said congregation, another grace was given and granted, that D. Yong, being vice-chancellor, D. Glin, D. At-

⁴ Doctor Yong.] John Young, master of Pembroke College. Tanner's *Bibl.*, p. 787.

⁵ D. Glin.] William Glynn, master of Queen's College. He was one of the first fellows of Trinity College, and had been lady Margaret's professor of divinity until 1549. He was vice-chancellor of Cambridge for the first part of 1554 and, in 1555, was made bishop of Bangor. Cole's *Athene Cantab.*

⁶ D. Seaton.] John Seaton, fellow of St. John's College. Tanner's *Bibl.*, v. 664.

⁷ Watson.] Thomas Watson, afterwards bishop of Lincoln.

⁸ Sedgewike.] Thomas Sedgewicke, fellow of Trinity College, lady Margaret's professor of divinity, and afterwards regius professor.

⁹ Atkinson.] Richard Atkinson.

kinson, D. Scot¹, and M. Sedgewicke should goe to Oxford to defend the said articles against Canturburie, London and Latimer: also to have letters to the Oxford men, sealed with their common seale. Item, another grace was granted to M. Sedgewicke, to be actual doctor, being thereupon immediately admitted. The foresaid letters being then drawne out, the third day after (which was the eleventh day of Aprill) were read in the foresaid congregation house, and there sealed.

Whereupon the next day after (the twelfth of the said moneth) the foresaid doctors, with the full grace of that universitie, set forward to Oxford: and comming thither the next day after, (being Friday, the thirteenth of Aprill) were lodged all at the Crosse inne, with one Wakecline, being sometime servant to bishop Boner.

Anon after their comming, D. Croke² presented them with wine for their welcome, and shortlie after, two of the bedles came from the vice-chancellor of Oxford, and presented the vice-chancellor of Cambridge with a dish of apples and a gallon of wine. After whom, next came M. Pie, and Fecknam to welcome them. Then after consultation concerning the deliverie of their letters and instrument of grace (which was in doctor Seton and doctor Watsons keeping), they went all to Lincolne colledge to doctor Weston the prolocutor, and to the vice-chancellor doctor Tresham; and there they delivered their letters, and declared what they had done touching the articles, letters and graces. Halfe an houre after eight they returned to their inne againe: but first they concluded of a procession, sermon and convocation to be had the morow following; and that the doctors of Cambridge should be incorporate in the universitie of Oxford, and likewise that the doctors of Oxford should be incorporate in the universitie of Cambridge. The same day the forenamed prisoners were dis-severed, doctor Ridley to alderman Irishes house, maister Latymer to another, and doctor Cranmer remained still in Bocardo.

On Saturday, being the 14. of Aprill, at eight of the clock, the foresaid vice-chancellor of Cambridge with the other doctors

¹ D. Scot.] Cuthbert Scot, master of Christ's College, afterwards bishop of Chester. Tanner's *Bibl.*, p. 656, and Cole's *Athenæ Cantab.*

² D. Croke.] The famous Dr. Richard Croke, who had been Greek professor and public orator at Cambridge, but who was in 1554 a sojourner at Exeter College upon a yearly stipend. The best life of him is in Sir Alexander Croke's *Memoirs of the Croke Family*, vol. i. p. 438.

of the same universitie repaired to Lincolne college againe, and found the prolocutour above in a chappell, with the company of the house, singing *Requiem* masse, and tarried there untill the end. Then they consulting all together in the maisters lodging, about nine of the clock came all to the universitie church called S. Maries : and there, after short consultation in a chappell, the vice chauncellor, the prolocutor, &c. of Oxford, caused the vice-chauncellor of Cambridge and the rest of the doctors of that universitie, to sende for their skarlet robes, brought from Cambridge, save that doctor Seton and Watson borrowed of the Oxford men. And in this time, the regents in the congregation house, had graunted all the Cambridge doctors their graces, to be incorporate there, and so they went up and were admitted immediately, D. Oglethorpe presenting them, and the proctour reading the statute, and giving them their othes.

That done, they came all into the quier, and there helde the convocation of the universitie. They had masse of the Holy Ghost solemnly sung in pricksong, by the quier men of Christ church. But first the cause of the convocation was opened in English, partly by the vice-chancellor, and partly by the prolocutor, declaring that they were sent by the queene, and wherefore they were sent : and caused master Say the register, openly to read the commission. That done, the vice-chancellor read the Cambridge letters openly, and then concluded, that three notaries, master Say for the convocation, a bedle of Cambridge for that university, and one maister White for Oxford, should testifie of their doing ; and then willed the said notaries to provide parchment, that the whole assembly might subscribe to the articles, save those that had subscribed before in the convocation house at London and Cambridge ; and so the vice-chancellor began first, after him the rest of the Oxford men as many as could in the masse time.

The masse being done, they went in procession. First the quier in their surplices followed the crosse : then the first yeer regents and proctours : then the doctours of lawe, and their bedle before them : then the doctors of divinitie of both universities intermingled, the divinitie and arte bedles going before them, the vice-chauncellour and prolocutour going together. After them bachelers of divinitie, regents, and non regents, in their array : and last of al, the bachelers of law and art. After whom followed a great companie of schollers and students not graduate. And

thus they proceeded through the streete to Christs church, and there the quier sang a psalme, and after that a collect was read. This done, departed the commissioners, doctors, and many other to Lincolne colledge, where they dined with the maior of the towne, one alderman, foure bedles, maister Say, and the Cambridge notary. After dinner they went all again to S. Maries church: and there after a short consultation in the chappell, all the commissioners came into the quier, and sate all on seates before the aultar, to the number of thirty three persons.—And first, they sent to the maior, that he should bring in doctor Cranmer, which within a while was brought to them with a number of rustie bilmen.

Thus the reverend archbishop when he was brought before the commissioners, revered them with much humility, and stood with his staffe in his hand: who notwithstanding having a stoole offered him, refused to sit. Then the prolocutor sitting in the middest in a skarlet gowne, began with a short preface or oration, in praise of unity, and especially in the church of Christ: declaring withall Cranmer's bringing up, and taking degrees in Cambridge, and also how he was promoted by king Henry, and had beene his counsellor and a catholicke man, one of the same unitie, and a member thereof in times past; but of late yeares did separate and cut off himselfe from it, by teaching and setting forth of erroneous doctrine, making every year a new faith: and therefore it pleased the queenes grace, to send them of the convocation and other learned men to bring him to this unitie againe, if it might be. Then shewed he him how they of the convocation house had agreed upon certaine articles, wherunto they willed him to subscribe.

The archbishop answered to the preface verie wittily, modestly and learnedly, shewing that hee was verie glad of an unitie, forasmuch as it was *conservatrix omnium rerum publicarum, tam ethnicorum quam Christianorum*, the preserver of al commonwealths, as wel of the heathen, as of the christians: and so he dilated the matter with one or two stories of the Romanes commonwealth. Which thing when he had done, he said, that he was verie glad to come to an unitie; so that it were in Christ, and agreeable to his holy word.

When he had thus spoken his ful mind, the prolocutor caused the articles to bee read unto him, and asked if he would grant and subscribe unto them. Then the bishop of Canturburie did read

truth : but he required time and bookes. They said he could not ; and that he should dispute on Tuesday, and till that time he should have bookes. He said it was not reason that he might not have his owne bookes, and time also to looke for his disputations. Then gave they him the articles, and bad him write his minde of them that night, and so did they command the maior to have him from whence he came.

Last of all came in M. Latimer in like sort, with a kerchief, and two or three cappes on his head, his spectacles hanging by a string at his breast, and a staffe in his hand, and was set in a chayre : for so was hee suffered by the prolocutor. And after his deniall of the articles, when he had Wednesdaie appointed for disputation, he alledged age, sicknesse, disuse, and lacke of bookes, saying that he was almost as meete to dispute as to be a captaine of Calice. But he would, he sayd, declare his mynde eyther by writing or by word, and would stand to all that they could lay upon his backe ; complayning moreover that hee was permitted to have neither penne nor inke, nor yet anie booke but onely the New Testament there in his hand, which hee said hee had read over seven times deliberately, and yet could not finde the masse in it, neither the marowbones nor sinewes of the same. At which wordes the commissioners were not a little offended, and D. Weston said, that he would make him graunt that it had both marowbones and sinewes in the New Testament. To whom M. Latimer sayd againe ; that you will never do M. doctor ; and so forthwith they put him to silence, so that where hee was desirous to tell what hee meant by those termes, he could not be suffered. There was a very great prease and throng of people : and one of the bedles swounded by reason thereof, and was caryed into the vestrie. After this, bringing home the prolocutour first, the Cambridge men, doctor Yong vice-chancellour, Seton, Glin, Atkinson, Scotte, Watson, and Sedgewicke, went to the Crosse inne to supper. And this was on Saterdaie beeing the fourteenth day of Aprill.

On Sunday after, M. Harpsfield preached at S. Maries, the universitie church, at nine of the clocke, where were divers of the doctors of their universitie in their robes, and placed accordingly. After the sermon they went all to dinner to Magdalen colledge, and there had a great dinner. They supped at Lincolne colledge with the prolocutor ; whither doctor Cranmer sent answere of his minde upon the articles in writing.

On Munday beeing the sixteenth of Aprill, maister Say, and M. White notaries, went about in the morning to the college, to get subscriptions to the articles. And about eight of the clocke the prolocutour with all the doctours and the vice-chancellour met together at Exceter college, and so they went into the schooles: and when the vice-chauncellour, the prolocutor, and doctours were placed, and foure appointed to be *exceptores argumentorum*, set at a table in the middest, and foure notaries sitting with them, D. Cranmer came to the answerers place, the maior and aldermen sitting by him; and so the disputation began to be set a worke by the prolocutor, with a short *prælium*.—Doctor Chedsey^s began to argue first: and ere hee left, the prolocutor divers times, doctor Tresham, Oglethorpe, Marshall, vice-chancellour, Pye, Cole, and Harpsfield did interrupt and presse Cranmer with their arguments, so that every man sayde somewhat, as the prolocutour would suffer, disorderly, sometime in Latine, sometime in English, so that three houres of the time was spent, ere the vice-chancellour of Cambridge began; who also was interrupted as before. He began with three or foure questions subtly.—Here the bodies had provided drinke, and offered the aunswerer: but he refused with thanks. Thus the disputation continued untill almost two of the clocke, with this applausion *audientium*; *vicit veritas*.—Then were all the arguments written by the foure appointed, delivered into the hand of maister Saie, register. And as for the prisoner, he was had away by the maior: and the doctors dined together at the Universitie college.

And thus much concerning the generall order and maner of these disputations, with such circumstances as there happened, and things there done, as well before the disputation, and in the preparation thereof, as also in the time of their disputing. Now followeth to inferre and declare the orations, arguments, and answers, used and brought forth in the said disputations on both parts.

The arguments, reasons, and allegations used in this disputation.

On Monday, D. Weston, with all the residue of the visitours, censors, and opponents, repaying to the divinitie schoole, each

^s Doctor Chedsey] William Chedsey, canon of Windsor, afterwards canon of Ch. Ch., and president of C. C. College, Oxon. Tanner's *Bibl.*, p. 171.

one enstalled themselves in their places. D. Cranmer with a route of rustie bills was brought thither, and set in the answerers place, with the maior and aldermen sitting by him. Where D. Weston prolocutor, apparelled in a scarlet gowne, after the custome of the universitie, began the disputation, with this oration. His words in Latin as hee spake them were these.

“*Convenistis hodie fratres profligaturi detestandam illam hæresin de veritate corporis Christi in Sacramento, &c.* that is: Yee are assembled hither brèthren this day, to confound the detestable heresie of the veritie of the body of Christ in the sacrament, &c.” At which words thus pronounced of the prolocutor unwares, divers of the learned men there present, considering and well weying the words by him uttered, burst out into a great laughter, as though even in the entrance of the disputations hee had betrayed himselfe * and his religion, that termed the opinion of the veritie of Christs bodie in the sacrament a detestable heresie. The rest of his oration tended all to this effect, that it was not lawfull by Gods word to call these questions into controversie: for such as doubted of the wordes of Christ, might well bee thought to doubt both of the truth and power of God.—Whereunto doctor Cranmer desiring licence, answered in this wise.

“Wee are assembled,” saythe he, “to discusse these doubtful controversies, and to laie them open before the eyes of the world: whereof yee thinke it unlawfull to dispute. It is indeede no reason, sayth hee, that we should dispute of that which is determined upon, before the truth is tried. But if these questions be not called in controversie, surelie mine answer then is looked for in vaine.” This was the summe and effect of his aunswere: and this done he prepared himself to disputations.

* *Betrayed himselfe.*] Bishop Jewel, who was present at this disputation, in the capacity of notary to Cranmer, &c., gives the following account of this blunder of Weston's, in his controversy with Dr. Cole. “This I believe passed you unawares, and not of purpose.—As your proloquutor in the disputation at Oxford, gave out one truth by chance unadvisedly, as he gave knowledge to the audience in the divinitie schoole of what matters they would dispute. For thus he said, *and that in your owne hearing* ‘*Viri fratres, convenimus huc hodie, &c.* Brethren, said hee, we come hither this day to dispute against that horrible heresie, of the veritie of Christes bodie and bloud in the sacrament.’ God would have him utter some truth then, as you do now, because he was *Pontifex illius anni.*” Jewel's *Works*, p. 17.

Then Chedsey the first opponent began in this wise to dispute.

"Reverend M. doctour, these three conclusions are put forth unto us at this present to dispute upon.

"1. In the sacrament of the aultar is the natural body of Christ, conceived of the Virgine Mary, and also his bloud present really under the forms of bread and wine, by vertue of Gods word pronounced by the priest.

"2. There remaineth no substance of bread and wine after the consecration, nor any other substance, but the substance of God and man.

"3. The lively sacrifice of the church is in the masse, propitiatory as well for the quicke as the dead."

"These be the conclusions propounded, whereupon this our present controversie doth rest. Now to the end wee might not doubt how you take the same, you have already given up unto us your opinion thereof. I tearm it your opinion, in that it disagreeeth from the catholicke. Wherefore thus I argue.

"Your opinion differeth from the Scripture.

"Ergo, You are deceived."

Cranmer. "I denie the antecedent."

Ched. "Christ when he instituted his last supper, spake to his disciples: *Take, eate, this is my bodie, which shall be given for you.*

"But his true bodie was given for us.

"Ergo, His true bodie is in the sacrament.

"The right form of this argument is thus to be framed:

"The same which was given for us is in the sacrament.

"But his true bodie was given for us.

"Ergo, His true bodie is in the sacrament."

Cran. "His true bodie is truly present to them that truly receive him: but spiritually. And so it is taken after a spirituall sort. For when he said, *This is my body*, it is all one as if hee had said, this is the breaking of my bodie, this is the sheading of my bloud. As oft as you shall do this, it shall put you in remembrance of the breaking of my bodie, and the sheading of my bloud: that as truly as you receive this sacrament, so truly shall you receive the benefite promised by receiving the same worthily."

Ched. "Your opinion differeth from the church, which sayth, that the true bodie is in the sacrament.

"Ergo, Your opinion therein is false."

Cran. "I say and agree with the church, that the bodie of Christ is in the sacrament effectually, because the passion of Christ is effectuell."

Ched. "Christ when hee spake these words, *This is my bodie*, spake of the substance, but not of the effect."

Cran. "I grant he spake of the substance and not of the effect after a sort: and yet it is most true that the bodie of Christ is effectually in the sacrament. But I denie that hee is there truly present in bread, or that under the bread is his organically body." And because it should be too tedious (he said) to make discourse of the whole, hee delivered up there his opinion thereof to D. Weston, written at large, with answers to everie one of their three propositions; which hee desired D. Weston, sitting there on high, to read openly to the people; which he promised to doe. But it was not the first promise that such papists have broken.

The copy of this writing although it were not there read, yet the contents thereof we have drawne out as followeth.

An explication of Cranmer upon the foresayd conclusions exhibited in writing.

"In the assertions of the church and of religion, trifling and new fangled novelties of words, so much as may be, are to be eschewed, whereof riseth nothing but contention and brawling about words, and we must follow, so much as we may, the maner of speaking of the Scripture.

"In the first conclusion if ye understand by this word (*really*) *reipsa*, in verie deede and effectually, so Christ by the grace and efficacie of his passion is in deed and truely present to all his true and holy members.

"But if ye understand by this word (*really*) *corporaliter*, corporally, so that by the bodie of Christ is understood a naturall bodie and organically; so the first proposition dooth varie, not onely from the usuall speech and phrase of Scripture, but also is cleane contrary to the holy word of God, and Christian profession: when as both the Scripture dooth testifie by these words, and also the catholicke church hath professed from the beginning,

Christ to have left the world, and to sit at the right hand of the Father till he come to judgement.

“ And in like wise I answere to the second question: that is, that it swarveth from the accustomed manner and speech of Scripture.

“ The third conclusion, as it is intricate and wrapped in all doubtfull and ambiguous words, and differing also much from the true speech of the Scripture, so as the words thereof seeme to import in open sense, it is most contumelious against our onely lord and saviour Christ Jesus, and a violating of his precious bloud, which upon the altar of the crosse is the onely sacrifice and oblation for the sinnes of all mankind.

Ched. “ By this your interpretation which you have made upon the first conclusion, this I understand, the bodie of Christ to be in the sacrament onely by way of participation: in so much as wee communicating thereof, doe participate the grace of Christ, so that you meane hereby onely the effect thereof. But our conclusion standeth upon the substance, and not the efficacy only, which shall appeare by the testimony both of Scriptures, and of all the fathers a thousand yeares after Christ.

“ And first to begin with the Scripture, let us consider what is written in Math. 26. Marke 14. Luke 22. first to the Corinthians. 11. Matthew sayth, *As they sate at supper, Jesus tooke bread, &c.* In Marke there is the same sense, although not the same words: who also for one part of the sacrament speaketh more plainly, *Jesus taking bread, &c.* After the same sense also writeth Luke 22. *And when Jesus had taken bread, &c.* In the mouth of two or three witnesses saith the Scripture standeth all truth. Here we have three witnesses together, that Christ said that to be his bodie which was given for manie: and that to be his bloud which should be shed for manie: whereby is declared the substance and not only the efficacie alone thereof. *Ergo*, it is not true that you say there to be not the substance of his bodie, but the efficacie alone thereof.”

Gran. “ Thus you gather upon mine answere, as though I did meane of the efficacie, and not of the substance of the bodie: but I meane of them both, as well of the efficacie as the substance. And for so much as all things come not readilie to memorie, to a man that shall speake *extempore*, therefore for the more ample and fuller answer in this matter, this writing here I will exhibit.”

An explication exhibited by Cranmer.

" Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, at the time of his Maundy¹, preparing himself to die for our cause, that he might redeeme us from eternall death, to forgive us all our sinnes, and to cancell out the handwriting that was against us: that we through ingratefull oblivion should not forget his death, therefore he at the time of his holie supper did institute a perpetual memory of this his death, to be celebrated among Christians in bread and wine, according as it is sayd, *Do this in remembrance of mee.* And so often as you shall eat this bread and drink this cup, you shall shew forth the Lords death till he come. And this remembrance or sacrament of his holy passion, that is, of his body slaine, and blood shed, he would all Christians to frequent and celebrate in bread and wine, according as he said: *Take, eat: and drinke ye all of this.* Therefore, whosoever for mans tradition denieth the cup of Christes blood to lay men, they manifestly repugne against Christ, forbidding that which Christ commaundeth to be done, and be like to those Scribes and Pharises of whom the Lord spake: *Ye hypocrites, ye have rejected the commandments of God for your traditions.* Well did Esay prophecy of you, saying: *This people honoureth me with their lips, but their heart is farre from me. Without cause do they worship me, teaching the doctrines and precepts of men.* The sacrament and mysticall bread, being broken and distributed after the institution of Christ, and the mysticall wine being likewise taken and received, be not onely² sacraments of the flesh of Christ wounded for us, and of his blodshedding, but also be most certaine sacraments to us, and (as a man would say) seales of Gods promises and giftes, and also of that holy fellowship which we have with Christ and all his members. Moreover, they be to us memorials of that heavenly foode and nourishment wherewith we are nourished unto eternall life, and the thirst of our boyling conscience quenched; and finally whereby the hearts of the faithful be replenishd with unspeakable joy, and be corroborated and strengthened unto all works of godlinesse. *Wee are many (saythe S. Paul) one bread*

¹ *Of his Maundy.*] A copy of this paper, in the original Latin, is preserved in Collier's *Ecclasiast. History*, vol. ii. p. 82. Records. For the word *Maundy*, see the *Glossarial Index*.

² *Be not onely.*] Compare Arts. XXV. and XXVIII. of the Church of England. "*Of the Sacraments,*" and "*Of the Lord's Supper.*"

and one body, all we which do participate of one bread, and one cup. And Christ saith, Eate ye, this is my body. And drinke yee, this is my blood. And I am the living bread which came downe from heaven. He that eateth me, shall also live for me. Not as your fathers did eate manna in the desert and are dead: He that eateth me, shall also live for me.

“ Thus therfore true bread and true wine remaine still in the Eucharist, untill they be consumed of the faithfull, to be as signes and seales unto us annexed unto Gods promises, making us certaine of Gods gifts towards us. Also Christ remaineth in them, and they in Christ, whiche eate his flesh, and drinke his blood, as Christ himself hath promised; *They that eate my flesh and drinke my blood abide in me, and I in them.* Moreover, he abideth also in them which worthilie receive the outward sacrament, neither doth he depart so soone as the sacrament is consumed, but continually abideth, feeding and nourishing us so long as we remaine bodies of that head, and members of the same. I acknowledge not here the naturall bodie of Christ, which is only spirituall, intelligible, and unsensible, having no distinction of members and parts in it: but that bodie onely I acknowledge and worship, which was born of the Virgin, which suffered for us, which is visible, palpable, and hath all the forme and shape and parts of the true naturall bodie of man. Christ spake not these words of any uncertaine substance, but of the certaine substance of bread, which hee then held in his hands, and shewed his disciples, when he said: *Eate ye, this is my bodie:* and likewise of the cup, when he said: *Drinke ye, this is my blood:* meaning verily of that bread which by nature is usual and common with us, which is taken of the fruit of the ground, compacted by the uniting of manie grains together, made by man, and by mans hand brought to that visible shape, beeing of round compasse, and without all sense or life, which nourisheth the bodie, and strengtheneth the heart of man. Of this same bread (I say) and not of anie uncertaine and wandring substance the olde fathers say that Christ spake these words. *Eate yee, this is my bodie.* And likewise also of the wine, which is the creature and fruite of the vine pressed out of many clusters of grapes, and maketh mans hart merry, of the very same wine, (I say) Christ spake, *drinke yee, this is my blood.* And so the olde doctors doe call this speaking of Christ tropicall, figurative, anagogicall, allegoricall: which they do interpret after this sort, that although the substance of bread and

wine doe remaine and be received of the faithfull, yet notwithstanding Christ changed the appellation thereof, and called the bread by the name of his flesh, and the wine by the name of his bloud, not that it is so in very deede, but signified in a mysterie. So that we should consider, not what they be in their owne nature, but what they import to us and signifie; and should understand the sacrament not carnally, but spiritually, and should attend not to the visible nature of the sacraments neither have respect onelie to the outward bread, and cup, thinking to see there with our eyes, no other things but onely bread and wine, but that, lifting up our mindes, wee should looke up to the bloud of Christ with our faith, should touche him with our minde, and receive him with our inward man, and that beeing like eagles in this life, we should flie up into heaven in our hearts, where that Lambe is resident at the right hand of his Father, which taketh away the sinnes of the world, by whose stripes wee are made whole, by whose passion we are filled at his table, and whose bloud we receiving out of his holie side do live for ever, being made the ghests of Christ, having him dwelling in us through the grace of his true nature, and through the vertue and efficacie of his whole passion, being no lesse assured and certified that wee are fed spiritually unto eternall life by Christs flesh crucified, and by his bloud shed, the true foode of our mindes, then that our bodies be fed with meat and drink in this life: and hereof this sayd mysticall bread on the table of Christ, and the mysticall wine, being administered and received after the institution of Christ, be to us a memoriall, a pledge, a token, a sacrament, and a seale.

“ And thereof is it that Christ saith not thus; *This is my body, eate ye*: but after he had bidden them eate, then he said; *This is my body which shall be given for you*. Which is to meane, as though he should say: in eating of this bread, consider you that this bread is no common thing, but a mysticall matter, neither doe you attend that which is set before your bodily eyes, but what feedeth you within. Consider and beholde my body crucified for you; that eate and digest in your mindes. Chawe you upon my passion, bee fed with my death. This is the true meate, this is the drinke that moisteneth, wherewith you being truly fed, and inebriate, shall live for ever. The bread and the wine which be set before your eies are only declarations of me, but I my selfe am the eternall food. Wherefore whensoever at this my table you shall behold the sacraments, have not regard so much to them, as con-

sider ye what I promise to you by them, which is my selfe to be meate for you of eternall life.

"The onely oblation" of Christ (wherewith he offered himselfe to God the Father once to death upon the aulter of the crosse for our redemption) was of such efficacie, that there is no more need of any sacrifice for the redemption of the whole world, but all the sacrifices of the olde lawe he took away, performing that in very deede, which they did signifie and promise. Whosoever therefore shall fixe the hope of his salvation in any other sacrifice, he falleth from the grace of Christ, and is contumelious against the blood of Christ. *For he was wounded for our transgressions, and was broken for our iniquities. All we like sheepe have wandered astray. Every man hath turned after his owne waie, and the Lord hath laid all our iniquities upon him. For hee hath entred once for all into the holy place by the blood, not of goates or calves, but by his owne blood, finding eternall redemption: And hath entred into heauen to appeare now in the sight of God for us, not to offer himselfe oftentimes (for so should he have suffered many times) but now hath he appeared once to put away sinne, through his owne oblation. And as it is appointed to all men once to die, so also Christ once was offered: Who offering up one oblation for sinnes, sitteth now for ever on the right hand of God. For by one oblation hath he made perfect for ever those that be sanctified. For where is remission of sinnes, there is now no more oblation for sinne, but this onelie sacrifice of Christ.*—Whosoever shall seeke any other sacrifice propitiatory for sinne, maketh the sacrifice of Christ of no validitie, force or efficacie. For if it bee sufficient to remit sinnes, what neede is there of any other? For the necessitie of another, argueth and declareth this to be insufficient. Almighty God grant that we may truly leane to this one sacrifice of Christ, and that wee to him againe may repay our sacrifices of thanksgiving, of prayse, of confessing his name, of true amendment, of repentance, of mercifulnesse towards our neighbors, and of all other good works of charitie. For by such sacrifices wee shall declare our selves neither ingratefull to God, nor altogether unworthy of this holy sacrifice of Christ.

"And thus you have out of the testimonies of holie Scripture, and of the ancient doctors of the church, the true and sincere use

* *The onely oblation.*] Compare Art. XXXI. of the Church of England; "Of the one oblation of Christ finished upon the crosse."

of the Lords holy supper, and the fruite of the true sacrifice of Christ. Which whosoever through captious or wrested interpretations, or by mens traditions, shall goe about otherwise than Christ ordained them, to alter or transubstantiate, he shall answer to Christ in the latter day, when he shall understand (but then too late) that he hath no participation with the bodie and bloud of Christ, but that out of the supper of eternall life hee hath eaten and drunken eternal damnation to himselfe.

West. "Because wee will not consume and spende the time in waste, this your writing which you exhibite, hereafter shall bee read in his place. In the meane season let us now fall to the argument."

This disordered disputation sometime in Latine, sometime in English, continued almost till two of the clocke. Which being finished, with the words of Weston the prolocutor, "Thus you see brethren the trueth stedfast and invincible: you see also the craft and deceit of heretickes: the trueth may be pressed, but it cannot be oppressed: therefore cry altogether, *Vincit veritas*, The truth overcommeth." And the arguments written and delivered to the hands of M. Say, the prisoner was hadde away by the Maior, and the doctors dined together at the Universitie college.

Disputation at Oxford betwene doctor Smith, with his other colleagues, and doctors, and bishop Ridley.

The next day following, which was the 17th of Aprill, was brought forth doctor Ridley to dispute, against whome was set doctor Smith¹ to be principal opponent.—Touching which doctor Smith, forsomuch as mention heere happeneth of his name, first the reader is to be advertised what is to be attributed to his judgement in religion, which so oftentimes before had turned and returned to and fro, grounded (as it seemeth) upon no firme conscience of doctrine, as both by his articles by him recanted² may

¹ *Doctor Smith.*] Richard Smith, master of Whittington College, London, and Regius professor of divinity at Oxford. Tanner's *Bibl.*, p. 679.

² *Articles by him recanted.*] See "A playne Declaration, made at Oxforde, the 24th of July, by mayster Richard Smith, D.D., upon his retractation made and published at Pauls Crosse in London, May 15, 1547." 12mo. Compare Strype's *Cranmer*, p. 171. *Eccles. Memor.*, vol. ii. p. 35.

appeare, and also by his owne letter sent a litle before in king Edwards dayes to the archbishop of Cantuarbie from Scotland. Which letter I thought here to exhibite as a certayne p[ro]ofe before his owne arguments, or rather as a testimonie against himselfe, whereby the reader may understand how devoutly he magnified them, and their doctrine a litle before, against what he now disputeth so busily. Reade, I beseech thee, his epistle, and judge.

"Most honourable, I commend me unto your lordship, doing the same to understand, that I wrote letters to your grace in Januarie last, and the tenth day of February, declaring the cause of my sodaine and unadvised departing from your grace over the sea, and desiring your good lordship of your charitie toward them that repent of their ill acts, to forgive me your selfe all the way I did towards your grace, and to obtaine in writing the high majesties pardon for mee in all pointes concerning his leave: upon the receite whereof I would returne againe home, and within halfe a yeare (at the uttermost) afterward write, *de Sacram[en]ti connubii, &c.* a Latine booke that should be a just satisfaction for any that I have written against the same. *Reliquaque omnia dogmata vestra tum demum libenter amplexurum, ubi Deus mentem meam, ut ea citra conscientie lassionem agnoscam, doceamque.* . . . I wrote not this that I want any good living heere; but because mine absence out of the realme is dishonour to the kings highnesse and realme, and because I must needes (if I tarry heere a quarter of a yeere longer) write an answer to your graces booke of the sacrament, and also a booke of Common Places against all the doctrine set forth by the kings majestie, which I cannot doe with a good conscience. Wherefore I beseech your grace helpe me home, as soone as yee may conveniently for Gods sake, and yee shall never I trust in God, repent that fact.

"*Ex urbe divi Andreae 14 Feb.*

"RICHARDUS SMITHEUS."

And thus much touching the forenamed doctor Richard Smith, being set here (as is said) to dispute against bishop Ridley, who was brought now the next day after the archbishop, to aunswere in the divinitie schoole. Against whom also besides doctor Smith, disputed D. Weston, D. Tresham, D. Oglethorp, D. Glin, D. Seton, and D. Cole, M. Warde, M. Harpesfield, D. Watson, M. Pie, M. Harding, M. Curtop, M. Fecknam. To all them he

answered verie learnedly. Hee made a preface to these questions, but they would not let him go forth in it, but caused him to make an ende of the same, and sayde it was blasphemie, and some said he drave off the time in ambiguous things, nothing to the purpose, and so they woulde not suffer him to say his minde. D. Smith could get nothing at his hand : insomuch that others did take his arguments and prosecuted them. He shewed himselfe to be learned, and a great clearke. They could bring nothing, but he knewe it as well as they.

The Disputation beginneth.

West. Prolocutor. " Good Christian people and brethren, wee have begunne this day our schoole, by Gods good speed I trust, and are entering into a controversie, whereof no question ought to be moved, concerning the veritie of the bodie of our Lord Jesu Christ in the eucharist. Christ is true, which sayd the wordes. The words are true which hee spake, yea truth it self that cannot faile. Let us therefore pray unto God to send downe unto us his holy Spirite, which is the true interpreter of his word ; which may purge away errours, and give light, that verite may appeare. Let us also aske leave and libertie of the church to permit the truth received, to be called this day in question, without any prejudice to the same. Your partes therefore shall be to implore the assistance of almightie God, to pray for the prosperitie of the queenes majesty, and to give us quiet and attentive eares.—Now go to your question."

Doct. Smith. " This day (right learned M. doctor) three questions are propounded, whereof no controversie among Christians ought to be mooved, to wit :

" 1. Whether the natural body of Christ our saviour, conceived of the virgine Marie, and offered for mans redemption upon the crosse, is verily and really in the sacrament by virtue of Gods word spoken by the priest, &c.

" 2. Whether in the sacrament, after the words of consecration, be any other substance, &c.

" 3. Whether in the masse be a sacrifice propitiatorie, &c.

" Touching the which questions, although you have publicly and partly professed your judgement and opinion on Saturday last,

yet being not satisfied with that your answer, I will anniswage to demand your sentence in the first question: *Whether the true body of Christ, after the words pronounced, be really in the eucharist, or els only the figure.* In which matter I stand here now to hear your answer."

The Preface or Protestation of D. Ridley, before his Disputation.

"I received of you the other day right worshipfull M. Prebutor, and ye my reverend maisters, commissioners from the queenes majestie, and her honourable counsaile, three propositions: whereunto ye commanded me to prepare against this day, what I thought good to aunswere concerning the same.

"Now whilst I weied with my selfe, how great a charge of the Lords flocke was of late committed unto me, for the which I am certain I must once render an accompt to my Lord God, (and that how soone, hee knoweth) and that moreover by the commandement of the apostle Peter, I ought to be ready alway to give a reason of the hope that is in me with meekenesse and reverence, unto everie one that shall demanda the same: besides this, considering my duetie to the church of Christ, and to your worships being commissioners by publike authoritie: I determined with myselfe to obey your commaundement, and so openly to declare unto you my mind touching the foresaid propositions. And albeit plainly to confesse unto you the truth in these things which ye now demanda of me, I have thought otherwise³ in times past than now I do, yet (God I call to record unto my soule, I lie not) I have not altered my judgement, as now it is, either by constraint of any man, or lawes, either for the dread of any dangers of this world, either for any hope of commodity; but only for the love of the truth, revealed unto me by the grace of God (as I am undoubtedly perswaded) in his holy word, and in the reading of the antient fathers.

"These thinges I doe the rather recite at this present, because it may happen to some of you hereafter, as in times past it hath

³ *I have thought otherwise.*] So below, we shall see, that Latimer was asked by Weston, "How long have you been of this opinion?" To which he replied, "It is not long, Sir:" and Weston proceeding, "The time hath been when you have said masse full devoutly." "Yea," says Latimer, "I crie God mercie heartily for it . . . I have long sought for the truth in this matter of the sacrament, and have not beene of this mind past seven yeeres. My lord of Canterburies book hath especially confirmed my judgment herein."

done to mee: I meane, if yee thinke otherwise of the matters propounded in these propositions, than I now doe, God may open them unto you in time to come.

“ But howsoever it shall bee, I will in fewe wordes doe that which I thinke ye all looke I should doe: that is, as plainly as I can, I will declare my judgement herein. Howbeit of this I would yee were not ignorant: and I will not indeede wittingly and willingly speake in any point against Gods word, or dissent in any one jote from the same, or from the rules of faith, and Christian religion: which rules the same most sacred word of God prescribeth to the church of Christ, whereunto I now and for ever submit my selfe, and all my doings. And because the matter I have now taken in hand is waighty, and ye all well know how unreadie I am to handle it accordingly, as well for lacke of time, as also lacke of bookes: therefore here I protest that I will publickly this day require of you, that it may be lawfull for me concerning all mine answeres, explications, and confirmations, to adde or diminish whatsoever shall seeme hereafter more convenient and meet for the purpose, thorough more sound judgement, better deliberation, and more exact triall of everie particular thing.—Having now by the way of preface and protestation, spoken these fewe words, I will come to the aunswering of the propositions propounded unto me, and so to the most brief explication and confirmation of mine answeres.”

West. “ Reverend maister doctor, concerning the lacke of bookes, there is no cause why you should complaine. What bookes soever you will name, ye shall have them: and as concerning the judgement of your answeres to be had of your self with farther deliberation, it shall, (I say) be lawfull for you untill Sunday next to adde unto them what you shall thinke good your selfe. My minde is that wee should use short arguments, least we should make an infinite processe of the thing.”

Rid. “ There is another thing besides, which I would gladly obtaine at your handes. I perceive that you have writers and notaries here present. By all likelihood our disputations shall be published⁴, I beseech you for God’s sake let mee have libertie to

⁴ *Shall be published.*] However this might be intended by the Romish party, yet the design was never executed; for reasons which it requires no Œdipus to conjecture. They were challenged by the protestants to make.

that in everie part almost, it is so plaine and evident to any that is but meanly exercised in holy writ, that I need not now (especially in this company of learned men) to spend any time therein, except the same shall be required of mee hereafter.

“First. There is a double sense in these wordes (*by the vertue of Gods word.*) For it is doubtfull what word of God this is: whether it be that which is read in the evangelists, or in Paule, or any other. And if it be that which is in the evangelists or in S. Paule what that is. If it be in none of them, then how it may be knowne to be Gods word, and of such vertue, that it should be able to worke so great a matter.

“Againe, There is a doubt in these words (*of the priest*) whether no man may be called a priest, but hee which hath authority to make propitiatorie sacrifice for the quick and the dead: and how it may be proved that this authoritie was committed of God to any man, but to Christ alone.

“It is likewise doubted, after what order the sacrificing priest shall be, whether after the order of Aaron, or else after the order of Melchisedech. For as farre as I know, the holy Scripture doth allow no mo.”

West. “Let this be sufficient.”

Rid. “If we lacke time at this present, there is time enough hereafter.”

West. “These are but evasions or starting holes: you consume the time in vaine.”

Rid. “I cannot start far from you, I am captive and bound.”

West. “Fall to it my maisters.”

Smith. “That which you have spoken, may suffice at this present.”

Rid. “Let me alone I pray you, for I have not much to say behinde.”

West. “Goe forward.”

Rid. “Moreover, there is ambiguities in this word *really*, whether it be to be taken as the logicians tearme it, *transcender*, that is, most generally (and so it may signifie any maner of thing which belongeth to the bodie of Christ, by any meanes: after which sort we also graunt Christs bodie to be really in the sacrament of the Lords Supper, as in disputation, if occasion be given, shall be declared) or whether it be taken to signifie the verie same thing, having body, life and soule, which was assumed and taken of the word of God, into the unitie of person. In

“ The major or first part of my argument is plaine, and the minor or second part is proved thus.

“ This doctrine maintaineth a reall, corporall, and carnall presence of Christes flesh, assumed and taken of the word, to be in the sacrament of the Lords supper, and that not by vertue and grace onely, but also by the whole essence and substance of the body and flesh of Christ.

“ But such a presence disagreeeth from Gods word, from the rule of faith, and cannot but draw with it many absurdities.

“ *Ergo*, the second part is true.

“ The first part of this argument is manifest, and the second may yet further be confirmed thus.”

West. “ Thus you consume time, which might bee better bestowed on other matters. Maister opponent, I pray you to your arguments.”

Smith. “ I will here reason with you upon transubstantiation, which you say is contrarie to the rule and analogy of faith. The contrarie whereof I proove by the Scriptures and the doctors.— But before I enter argumentation with you, I demaund first whether in the sixth chapter of John, there be any mention made of the sacrament, or of the reall presence of Christ in the sacrament ?”

Rid. “ It is against reason that I should be impeached to prosecute that which I have to speake in this assembly, being not so long, but that it may be comprehended in few words.”

West. “ Let him read on.”

Rid. “ First of all, this presence is contrary to many places of the holy Scripture.

“ Secondly, it varieth from the articles of the faith.

“ Thirdly, it destroyeth and taketh away the institution of the Lords supper.

“ Fourthly, it maketh pretious thinges common to prophane and ungodly persons : for it casteth that which is holy unto dogs, and pearles unto swine.

“ Fifthly, it forceth men to maintaine many monstrous miracles, without necessitie, and authoritie of God's word.

“ Sixthly, it giveth occasion to the heretickes which erred concerning the two natures in Christ, to defende their heresies thereby.

“ Seventhly, it falsifieth the sayinges of the godly fathers : it falsifieth also the catholicke faith of the church, which the

apostles taught, the martyrs confirmed, and the faithful (as one of the fathers saith) do retaine and keepe untill this day. Wherefore the second part of mine argument is true."

The Probation of the antecedent or former part of this argument by the parts thereof.

"This carnall presence is contrarie to the word of God, as appeareth, (John 16.) *I tell you the truth: It is profitable to you that I go away, for if I go not away, the Comforter shall not come unto you.* (Acts 3.) *Whom the heavens must receive until the time of restoring of all things which God hath spoken.* (Matth. 9.) *The children of the bridegrooms cannot mourne so long as the bridegrome is with them: but now is the time of mourning.* (John 16.) *But I will see you againe, and your hearts shall rejoyce.* (John 14.) *I will come againe and take you to my selfe.* (Matth. 24.) *If they shall say unto you, Behold, here is Christ, or there is Christ, beleve them not: for wheresoever the dead carcase is, thither the eagles will resort.*

"It varieth from the articles of the faith: *Hee ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of God the Father. From whence* (and not from any other place, saith S. Augustine), *he shall come to judge both the quicke and the dead.*

"It destroyeth and taketh away the institution of the Lords supper, which was commanded only to be used and continued untill the Lord himselfe should come. If therefore he bee now really present in the bodie of his flesh, then must the supper cease: for a remembrance is not of a thing present, but of a thing past and absent. And there is a difference betweene remembrance and presence, and (as one of the fathers saith) A figure is in vaine where the thing figured is present.

"It maketh pretious things common to prophane and ungodly persons, and constraineth men to confesse many absurdities. For it affirmeth that whoremongers and murtherers, yea, and (as some of them hold opinion) the wicked and faithlesse, miserrantes, and dogges also may receive the verie reall and corporall bodie of the Lord, wherein the fulnesse of the spirite of light and grace dwelleth: contrarie to the manifest words of Christ in sixe places and sentences of the sixt chapter of S. John.

"It confirmeth also and maintaineth that beastly kinde of crueltie of the Anthropophagi, that is, the devourers of mans

flesh : for it is a more cruell thing to devoure a quicke man than to slay him."

Pie. " He requireth time to speake blasphemies. Leave your blasphemies."

Rid. " I had little thought to have had such reproachfull words at your hands."

West. " All is quiet. Go to the arguments M. Doctor."

Rid. " I have not many mo things to say."

West. " You utter blasphemies with a most impudent face : leave off (I say) and get you to the argument."

Rid. " It forceth men to maintaine many monstrous miracles, without all necessitie and authoritie of Gods word. For at the comming of this presence of the bodie and flesh of Christ, they thrust away the substance of bread, and affirme that the accidentes remaine without any subject, and in the stead thereof, they place Christes bodie without his qualities and the true maner of a body. And if the sacrament be reserved so long untill it mould, and wormes breede, some say that the substance of bread myraculously returneth againe, and some denie it. Other some affirme that the reall bodie of Christ goeth downe into the stomacke of the receivers, and doth there abide so long onely as they shall continue to be good : but another sorte holde that the body of Christ is carried into heaven, so soone as the formes of bread be brused with the teeth. O works of miracles ! Truly and most truly I see that fulfilled in these men, wherof, S. Paul prophesied (2 Thess. 2.) *Because they have not received the love of the truth, that they might be saved, God shall send them strong delusions, that they should beleve lies, and be all damned which have not beleevved the truth.* This gross presence hath brought forth that fond phantasie of concomitance*, whereby is broken at this daie and abrogated the commandement of the Lord, for the distributing of the Lordes cup to the laitie.

" It giveth occasion to heretickes to maintaine and defende their errors : as to Marcion, which saide that Christ had but a phantasticall bodie ; and to Eutiches, which wickedly confounded the two natures in Christ.

" Finally, it falsifieth the sayings of the godly fathers and the catholick faith of the church, which Vigilius a martyr, and grave writer saith was taught of the apostles, confirmed with the bloud

* *Of concomitance.*] See *Index* in v.

of martyrs and was continually maintained by the faithfull, untill his time. By the sayings of the fathers, I mean of Justine, Irenæus, Tertullian, Origene, Eusebius, Emisene, Athanasius, Cyrill, Vicodanius, Hierome, Chrysostome, Augustine, Vigilius, Magisterius, Bertram, and others most ancient fathers. All those books as I am sure I have read, making for my purpose, so am I well assured that I could shew the same, if I might have the use of mine owne bookes¹, which I will take on mee to doe, even at the peril of my life, and losse of all that I may lose in this matter.

But now my brethren thinke not, because I disallow that doctrine which this first proposition maintaineth as a presence which cannot be forged, fantasticall, and besides the authoritie of such perniciously brought into the church by the Romanes that I therefore go about to take away the true presence of Christes body in his supper rightly and duely ministered, which is grounded upon the word of God and made more plaine by the commentaries of the faithfull fathers. They that think so of me, the Lord knoweth how farre they are deceived.—And to make the same evident unto you, I will in fewe words declare what true presence of Christes body in the sacrament of the Lords supper I hold and affirme, with the word of God and the aunient fathers.

“ I say and confesse with the evangelist Luke, and with the apostle Paule, that the bread on the which thanks are given, is

¹ *Mine owne bookes.*] The books which Ridley here, and in the beginning of this disputation, complains of being in want of, were his own manuscript collections, and common place books; of which he thus speaks more at large in his conferences with master Latimer. “ All my notes, which I have written and gathered out of such authors as I have read in this matter,” (of the church), “ and such like, are come into the handes of such, as will not let me have the least of all my written bookes: wherein I am enforced to complayne of them unto God, for they spoile me of all my labours, which I have taken in my studye these many yeares. My memorie was never good; for helpe whereof, I have used for the most part, to gather out notes of my reading, and so to place them, that thereby I might have had the use of them, when the time required. But who knoweth whether this be Gods will, that I should be thus ordered, and spoiled of the poore learning I had (as me thought) in store, to the intent that I now, destitute of that, should from henceforth learne onely to knowe with Paul, Christ and him crucified.” *Conferences of Ridley and Latimer*, signat. C 8, edit. 1574, or Fox's *Acts*, p. 1561. given below in the *Life of Ridley*.

the body of Christ in the remembrance of him and of his death, to be set forth perpetually of the faithfull untill his comming.

“ I say and confesse the bread which we breake to be the communion and partaking of Christes bodie, with the auncient faithfull fathers.

“ I say and beleve that there is not onely a signification of Christes bodie set forth by the sacrament, but also that therewith is given to the godly and faithfull, the grace of Christes body, that is, the foode of life and immortalitie. And this I hold with Cyprian.

“ I say also with S. Augustine, that we eate life, and we drinke life: with Emisene, that we feele the Lord to be present in grace: with Athanasius, that we receive celestiall foode, which commith from above: the propertie of naturall communion, with Hillarius: the nature of flesh and the benediction which giveth life in bread and wine, with Cyrill: and with the same Cyrill, the vertue of the verie flesh of Christ, life and grace of his body, the propertie of the onely begotten, that is to say, life, as he himself in plaine words expoundeth it.

“ I confess also with Basil, that we receive the mystical advent and comming of Christ, grace, and the vertue of his verie nature: the sacrament of his verie flesh, with Ambrose: the body by grace, with Epiphanius: spiritual flesh, but not that which was erucified, with Hierome: grace flowing into a sacrifice, and the grace of the spirit, with Chrysostome; grace and invisible veritie, grace and societie of the members of Christes body, with Augustine.

“ Finally, with Bertram (which was the last of all these) I confesse that Christes bodie is in the sacrament in this respect; namely (as hee writeth) because there is in it the spirite of Christ, that is, the power of the word of God, which not onely feedeth the soule, but also cleanseth it.—Out of these I suppose it may clearely appeare unto all men, how farre we are from that opinion, whereof some go about falsly to slander us to the world, saying wee teach that the godly and faithfull should receive nothing els, at the Lords table, but a figure of the body of Christ.

“ *The second Proposition.*

“ After the consecration there remaineth no substance of bread and wine, neither any other substance, then the substance of God and man.

" The Answers.

" The second conclusion is manifestly false, directly against the word of God, the nature of the sacrament, and the most evident testimonies of the godly fathers : and it is the rotten foundation of the other two conclusions propounded by you, both of the first, and of the third. I will not therefore now tarry upon any further explication of this answer, being contented with that which is already added afore to the answer of the first proposition.

" The first argument for the confirmation of this answer.

" It is verie plaine by the worde of God, that Christ did give bread unto his disciples, and called it his body.

" But the substance of bread is another manner of substance, than is the substance of Christs body, God and man :

" Therefore the conclusion is false,

" The second part of mine argument is plaine, and the first is proved thus :

" The second argument.

" That which Christ did take, on the which he gave thanks, and the which he did brake, he gave to his disciples, and called it his bodie :

" But he tooke bread, gave thanks on bread, and brake bread :

Ergo, The first part is true. And it is confirmed with the authorities of the fathers, Irene, Tertullian, Origene, Cyprian, Epiphanius, Hierome, Augustine, Theodoret, Cyrill, Rabanus, and Bede. Whose places I will take upon me to show most manifest in this behalfe, if I may be suffered to have my bookes, as my request is.

" The third argument.

" As the bread of the Lords table is Christes naturall bodie, so it is his mysticall body.

" But it is not Christes mysticall body by transubstantiation.

" *Ergo*, It is not his naturall body by transubstantiation.

" The second part of my argument is plaine, and the first is proved thus : As Christ who is the veritie, spake of the bread,

This is my body which shal be betrayed for you, speaking there of his natural body ; even so Paule mooved with the same spirit of truth, said, Wee though we be many, yet are wee all one bread, and one body, which be partakers of one bread.

“ The fourth argument.

“ We may no more beleewe bread to be transubstantiate into the body of Christ, than the wine into his bloud.

“ But the wine is not transubstantiate into his bloud :

“ *Ergo*, neither is that bread therefore transubstantiate into his bodie.

“ The first part of this argument is manifest, and the second part is prooved out of the authoritie of Gods word in Mathew and Marke : *I will not drink of the fruite of the vine, &c.* Now the fruit of the vine was wine, which Christ drank and gave to his disciples to drinke. With this sentence agreeth plainly the place of Chrysostome on the xx chapter of Mathew. As Cyprian doth also, affirming that there is no bloud, if wine be not in the cup.

“ The fift argument.

“ The words of Christ spoken upon the cup and upon the bread, have like effect and working.

“ But the words spoken upon the cup have not vertue to transubstantiate :

“ *Ergo*, it followeth that the words spoken upon the bread, have no such vertue.

“ The second part of the argument is prooved, because they should then transubstantiate the cup, or that which is in the cup into the New Testament : but neither of these things can bee done, and very absurde it is to confesse the same.

“ The sixth argument.

“ The circumstances of the Scripture, the analogie and proportion of the sacraments, and the testimonie of the faithfull fathers ought to rule us in taking the meaning of the holy Scriptures touching the sacrament.

“ But the words of the Lords supper, the circumstances of the Scripture, the analogie of the sacraments, and the saying of the

fathers doe most effectually and plainly proove a figurative speech in the wordes of the Lords supper.

“*Ergo*, a figurative sense and meaning is specially to bee received in these words: *This is my bodie*.

“The circumstances of the Scripture: *Doe this in the remembrance of mee. As oft as yee shall eate of this bread and drinke of this cup, yee shall shewe forth the Lordes death. Let a man prove himselfe, and so eate of this breade, and drinke of this cup. They came together to breake bread: and they continued in breaking of bread. The bread which we break, &c. For we being many, are all one bread, and one bodie, &c.*

“The analogie of the sacraments is necessarie: for if the sacramentes had not some similitude or likenesse of the things whered they be sacraments, they coulede in no wise bee sacraments. And this similitude in the sacrament of the Lords supper, is taken three maner of wayes.

“1. The first consisteth in nourishing, as ye shall read in Rabane, Cyprian, Augustine, Irenee, and most plainly in Isidore out of Bertram.

“2. The second, in the uniting and joining of many into one, as Cyprian teacheth.

“3. The third is a similitude of unlike thinges, where, like as the bread is turned into one bodie, so we, by the right use of this sacrament, are turned through faith into the body of Christ.

“The sayinges of the fathers declare it to be a figurative speech, as it appeareth in Origen, Tertullian, Chrysostome in *opere imperfecto*^{*}, Augustine, Ambrose, Basill, Gregorie Nazianzene, Hilary, and most plainly of all, in Bertram. Moreover, the sayinges and places of all the fathers, whose names I have before recited against the assertion of the first proposition, doe quite overthrow transubstantiation. But of all other, most evidently and plainly, Irenee, Origen, Cyprian, Chrysostome to *Cesarius the Monke*, Augustine against *Adamantus*, Gelasius, Cyrill, Epiphanius, Chrysostome againe on the xx. of Mathew, Rabane, Damascene, and Bertram.

“Here right worshipfull M. prolocutor, and ye the rest of the commissioners it may please you to understand, that I do not

^{*} In *opere imperfecto*.] A commentary upon St. Matthew, falsely attributed to St. Chrysostom, and known by the name of the *Opus Imperfectum*. See Fabricius *Bibl. Græcæ*, tom. iii. p. 646.

keane to these thinges onely, which I have written in my former answeres and confirmations, but that I have also for the proove of that I have spoken, whatsoever Bertram, a man learned, of sound and upright judgement, and ever counted a catholicke for these seven hundreth yeares untill this our age, hath written. His treatise whosoever shall reade and wey, considering the time of the writer, his learning, godlinesse of life, the allegations of the auncient fathers, and his manifolde and most grounded arguments, I cannot (doubtlesse) but much marvell, if he have any feare of God at all, how hee can with good conscience speake against him in this matter of the sacrament. This Bertram was the first^{*}

^{*} *This Bertram was the first.*] See Ridley's *Life of Bishop Ridley*, p. 165. 173. Strype's *Cranmer*, p. 257. It is supposed, that Ridley first met with this book in the year 1545, or 1546. Dr. Gloucester Ridley, after giving a description of its contents, proceeds to make the following very just and valuable observations. "Few books have drawn after them such salutary consequences as this has done. This first opened Ridley's eyes, and determined him more accurately to search the Scriptures in this article, and the doctrine of the primitive fathers, who lived before the time of this controversy betwixt Bertram and Paschasius. And how zealous soever Cranmer might be for transubstantiation, and how dangerous soever it might be to doubt of that article, yet Ridley very honestly communicated his discoveries and scruples to his good friend and patron the archbishop; who knowing the sincerity of the man, and his cool judgment, gave a more open ear to him, than he had formerly done to Joachum Vadianus, when he wrote to him on this subject from Germany, and was prevailed upon to examine this doctrine with the utmost care. The event was the conviction of both of them. *This was the great and important point of the reformation in doctrine. This was laying the axe to the root of the tree*; for, as Cranmer expresses himself, 'the taking away of beads, pilgrimages, pardons, and such like popery, was but lopping off a few branches; which would soon spring up again, unless the roots of the tree, which were transubstantiation and the sacrifice of the mass, were pulled up.' And this he acknowledges was owing to conference with Dr. Ridley, who by sundry persuasions, and authorities of doctors, drew him quite from his old opinion. And in the following year, by Cranmer's means, old Latimer was brought to a conviction of the same truth." P. 169. 'The progress of the reformation, as to a considerable part of it, is thus described by a zealous and eloquent adversary. "The Arians, to be short, and not the Arians only, but all other kinde of miscreaunts, misbelevers, and heretiques (for the moste parte) intendyng to induce and bring in, the highest heresie of all, they used commonly to make induction thereunto by other meaner matiers.—And hath not the like practise been used of late years here with us also? Have not our new Christians, intending at lengthe to shoote at the highest marke of all, shotte first at the lower markes? Yes certainly. For first buttied they at holie water, at holie bread, at ashes, at palme, at tene-

that pulled mee by the eare, and that first brought me from the common error of the Romish church, and caused me to search more diligently and exactly, both the Scriptures and the writings of the old ecclesiasticall fathers in this matter. And this I pretest before the face of God, who knoweth I lie not in the things I now speake.

"The third Proposition.

In the masse is the lively sacrifice of the church, propitiab and available for the sins, as well of the quicke as of the dead.

"The answers to this Proposition.

"I answer to this third proposition, as I did to the first. And moreover I say, that being taken in such sense as the words seeme to import, it is not onely erroneous, but withall so much to the derogation and defacing of the death and passion of Christ, that I judge it may and ought most worthily to be counted wicked and blasphemous¹ against the most precious blood of our saviour Christ.

"The Explication.

"Concerning the Romish masse which is used at this day, or the lively sacrifice thereof, propitiatory and available for the sinnes of the quicke and the dead, the holy Scripture hath not so much as one syllable.

bringe, at knockynge, at knelyng, and other lyke lytle ceremonies. Then roaved they abrode at verities unwrytten, at doctoures expositions, at man's traditions, at prescripte meates, at fastyng dayes, at holie dayes, at praying dayes, at bodilie service, and at such other meane matiers, as uncerteine markes. Afterwarde pricked they full, and whollye, most blasphemously at the crosse of Christ, at the image of Christ, at the saintes of Christ, at the mother of Christ, at the spouse of Christe, at the sacrifice of Christ, at the sacramentes of Christ; and therein at last at the most precious body and blood of Christ, as the highest marke of al, the chiefeest mistery of our faith, and the greatest comfort man hath in al this mortal life." *Sermon at Pauls Cross*, Novemb. 12. (1553) by James Brokes, D.D. and master of Balliol College. Signat. E 4.

¹ *Wicked and blasphemous.*] "The sacrifices of masses, in the which it was commonly said, that the priest did offer Christ for the quick and the dead, to have remission of pain and guilt were blasphemous fables and dangerous deceits." Art. XXXI. of the Church of England; *Of the one oblation of Christ, finished upon the cross.*

" There is ambiguitie also in the name of masse, what it signifieth, and whether at this day there bee any such indeed as the auncient fathers used; seeing that now there be neither *Catechistes* nor *pœnitentes* to be sent away.

" Againe touching these wordes (*the lively sacrifice of the church*), there is doubt whether they are to be understood figuratively and sacramentally, for the sacrament of the lively sacrifice (after which sort we denie it not to bee in the Lords supper) or properly and without any figure: of the which manner there was but one only sacrifice, and that once offered, namely upon the aultar of the crosse.

" Moreover, in these words (*as well as*) it may bee doubted whether they be spoken in mockage, as men are wont to say in sport, of a foolish and ignorant person, that he is apt as well in conditions as in knowledge: being apt indeede in neither of them both.

" There is also a doubt in the worde (*propitiabile*) whether it signifie here, that which taketh away sinne, or that which may be made availeable² for the taking away of sin: that is to say, whether it is to be taken in the active or in the passive signification.

" Now the falsenes of the proposition, after the meaning of the schoolemen and the Romish church, and impietie in that sense which the words seeme to importe, is this: that they leaning to the foundation and their fond transubstantiation, would make the quicke and lively bodie of Christs flesh (united and knit to the divinitie) to lie hid under the accidents, and outward shewes of bread and wine. Which is verie false, as I have sayd afore: and they building upon this foundation, do hold that the same body is offered unto God by the priest in his daily massings to put away the sins of the quick and the dead, whereas by the apostle to the Hebrewes it is evident, that there is but one oblation, and one true and lively sacrifice, of the church offered upon the aultar of the crosse, which was, is and shall be for ever the propitiation for the sinnes of the whole world: and where there is remis-

² *Made availeable.*] The wordes in Latin are, "an quod potest reddi propitium;" and therefore, the translation does not reach the sense of the original. The meaning of the clause is, "whether it signify here, that which propitiates, or that which may be propitiated; that is to say, *whether it is to be taken in the active, &c.*"

sion of the same, there is (saith the apostle) no more offering for sinne.

“ Arguments confirming his Answers.

“ No sacrifice ought to be done but where the priest is meet to offer the same.

“ All other priests be unmeete to offer sacrifice propitiatorie for sinne, save onely Christ :

“ *Ergo*, no other priests ought to sacrifice for sinne, but Christ alone.

“ The second part of my argument is thus proved.

“ No honour in Gods church ought to be taken, whereunto a man is not called, as Aaron.

“ It is a great honour in Gods church to sacrifice for sinne :

“ *Ergo*, No man ought to sacrifice for sinne, but onely they which are called.

“ But only Christ is called to that honour.

“ *Ergo*, no other priest but Christ ought to sacrifice for sinne. That no man is called to this degree of honour but Christ alone, it is evident : for there are but two only orders of priesthood allowed in the word of God : namely, the order of Aaron, and the order of Melchisedech. But now the order of Aaron is come to an end by reason that it was unprofitable, and weak, and of the order of Melchisedech there is but one priest alone, even Christ the Lord, which hath a priesthood that cannot passe to any other.

“ An Argument.

“ That thing is in vain and to no effect, where no necessitie is wherefore it is done.

“ To offer up any more sacrifice propitiatorie for the quick and the dead, there is no necessitie, for Christ our saviour did that fully and perfectly once for all.

“ *Ergo*, to doe the same in the masse, it is in vaine.

“ Another Argument.

“ After that eternal redemption is found and obtained, there needeth no more daily offering for the same :

“ But Christ comming an high bishop, &c. found and obtayned for us eternall redemption :

“ *Ergo*, there needeth now no more daily oblation for the sinnes of the quicke and the dead.

“ *Another Argument.*

“ All remission of sinnes commeth onely by shedding of bloud.

“ In the masse, there is no shedding of bloud.

“ *Ergo*, in the masse there is no remission of sinnes : and so it followeth also that there is no propitiatorie sacrifice.

“ *Another Argument.*

“ In the masse the passion of Christ is not in veritie, but in a mystery, representing the same : yea even there where the Lords supper is duely ministered.

“ But where Christ suffereth not, there is he not offered in veritie : for the apostle saith, *Not that he might offer up himselfe oftentimes (for then must he have suffered oftentimes sith the beginning of the world)* now where Christ is not offered, there is no propitiatorie sacrifice.

“ *Ergo*, in the masse there is no propitiatorie sacrifice : *For Christ appeared once in the latter end of the world, to put sin to flight by the offering up of himself. And as it is appointed to all men that they shall once die, and then commeth the judgement ; even so Christ was once offered to take away the sinnes of many. And unto them that looke for him, shall hee appeare again without sinne, unto salcation..*”

“ *Another Argument.*

“ Where there is any sacrifice that can make the commers thereunto perfect, there ought men to cease from offering any mo expiatorie and propitiatorie sacrifices.

“ But in the New Testament there is one onely sacrifice now alreadie long since offered, which is able to make the commers thereto perfect for ever.

“ *Ergo*, in the New Testament they ought to cease from offering any moe propitiatorie sacrifices.”

" Sentences of the Scripture tending to the same ends and purposes, out of which also may be gathered other manifest arguments, for more confirmation thereof.

" By the which will (saith the apostle) we are sanctified, by the offering up of the body of Jesus Christ, once for all. And in the same place ; But this man after that he had offered one sacrifice for sin, sitteth for ever at the right hand of God, &c. For with one offering hath he made perfect for ever them that are sanctified, and by himselfe hath he purged our sinnes. I beseech you to marke these words (by himselfe) the which well wayed, will without doubt cease all controversie.

" The apostle plainly denyeth any other sacrifice to remaine for him that treadeth under his feete the bloud of the testament by the which he was made holie. Christ will not be crucified againe, he will not his death to be had in derision.

" He hath reconciled us in the body of his flesh. Marke I beseech you, he saith not, in the mysterie of his bodie ; but in the body of his flesh,

" If any man sinne, we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous, and he is the propitiation for our sinnes, not for ours only, but for the sinnes of the whole world.

" I knowe that all these places of the Scripture are avoyded by two maner of subtile shiftes : the one is by the distinction of the bloudie and unbloudie sacrifice³, as though our unbloudy sacrifice of the church were any other than the sacrifice of praise and thankesgiving, than a commemoration, a shewing forth, and a sacramentall representation of that one only bloody sacrifice offered up once for all.

" The other is by depraving and wresting the sayings of the auncient fathers unto such a strange kinde of sense, as the fathers themselves indeede never meant. For what the meaning of the fathers was it is evident by that which Saint Augustine writeth in his epistle to Boniface, and in the eighty-third chapter of his ninth booke against Faustus, the Manichee, besides many other places ; likewise by Eusebius, Emisene, Cyprian, Chrysostome, Fulgentius, Bertram, and others, which do wholly concord and agree together in this unitie in the Lord, that the redemp-

³ *Unbloudie sacrifice.*] See Index, under *Sacrifice bloody*, &c.

tion once made in veritie for the salvation of man, continueth in full effect for ever, and worketh without ceasing unto the end of the world ; that the sacrifice once offered cannot be consumed ; that the Lords death and passion is as effectuell, the vertue of that bloud, once shed, as fresh at this day for the washing away of sinnes, as it was even the same day that it flowed out of the blessed side of our Saviour : and finally, that the whole substance of our sacrifice which is frequented of the church, in the Lords supper, consisteth in prayers, praise, and giving of thanks, and in remembring and shewing forth of that sacrifice once offered upon the aultar of the crosse ; that the same might continually be had in reverence by mysterie, which once onely, and no more, was offered for the price of our redemption.

“ These are the things (right worshipfull M. prolocutor, and ye the rest of the commissioners) which I could presently prepare to the answering of your three foresaid propositions ; being destitute of all helpe in this shortnesse of time, sodaine warning, and want of bookes. Wherefore I appeale to my first protestation, most humbly desiring the helpe of the same (as much as may be) to be graunted unto me. And because ye have lately given most unjust and cruell sentence against me, I do here appeale (so far forth as I may) to a more indifferent and just censure and judgement of some other superiour, competent, and lawfull judge, and that according to the approved state of the church of England. Howbeit, I confesse that I am ignorant what that is at this present, through the trouble and alteration of the state of the realme.— But if this appeale may not be granted to me upon earth, then do I flie (even as to my only refuge and alone haven of health) to the sentence of the eternall judge, that is, of the almightie God, to whose most mercifull justice towards his, and most just mercifulnes, I do wholly commit my selfe and all my cause, nothing at all despayring of the defence of mine advocate and alone saviour, Jesus Christ, to whom, with the everlasting Father, and the holy Spirit, the sanctifier of us all, be now, and for ever, all honour and glorie, Amen.”

Albeit this learned bishop was not suffered to read all that is above prefixed before the disputations, yet because he had it then readie, and offered it up to the prolocutor after the disputations and sentence pronounced ; I thought heere the place not unmeete to annexe the same together with the rest.—Now let us

heare the arguments⁴ and aunsweres betweene doctour Smith and him.

The Disputation had at Oxford the 18th Day of Aprill, 1554, betweene M. Hugh Latimer answerer, and M. Smith and other opposers.

After these disputations of bishop Ridley ended, next was brought out master Hugh Latimer to dispute, upon Wednesday, which was the eighteenth day of Aprill. Which disputation began at eight of the clock, in such form as before; but it was most in English. For master Latimer the answerer alleged that he was out of use with the Latine, and unfit for that place.

There replied unto him M. Smith of Oriall college: doctur Cartwright, M. Harpsfield, and divers other had snatches at him, and gave him bitter taunts. He escaped no hissings, and scornfull laughings, no more than they that went before him. He was very faint, and desired that hee might not long tarrie. He durst not drinke for feare of vomiting. The disputation ended before eleven of the clocke. M. Latimer was not suffered to read that he had (as he said) painefully written; but it was exhibited up, and the prolocutor read part thereof, and so proceeded unto the disputation.

The Preface of Weston unto the Disputation following.

“Men and brethren, we are come together this day (by the helpe of God) to vanquish the strength of the arguments, and dispersed opinions of adversaries, against the truth of the real presence of the Lords bodie in the sacrament. And therefore, you father, if you have any thing to answere, I doe admonish that you answere in short and few words.”

Lat. “I pray you, good M. prolocutor, doe not exact that of mee, which is not in mee; I have not these twenty yeeres much used the Latine tongue.”

West. “Take your ease, father.”

Lat. “I thanke you sir, I am well.—Let me here protest

⁴ *Let us heare the arguments.*] These arguments, extending from p. 1314 to p. 1322 are omitted in this edition.

my faith for I am not able to dispute: and afterwards doe your pleasure with me."

The Protestation of M. Hugh Latimer, given up in writing to Doctor Weston.

"The conclusions whereunto I must aunswere are these.

"1. The first is, that in the sacrament of the altar, by the vertue of Gods word pronounced by the priest, there is really present the naturall body of Christ, conceived of the virgine Marie, under the kindes of the appearances of bread and wine: and in like manner his bloud.

"2. The second is, that after consecration, there remaineth no substance of bread and wine, nor none other substance, but the substance of God and man.

"3. The third is, that in the masse there is the lively sacrifice of the church, which is propitiable, as well for the sinnes of the quicke, as of the dead.

"Concerning the first conclusion, mee thinketh it is set forth with certaine new found termes, that be obscure, and doe not sound according to the speech of the Scripture. Howbeit, howsoever I understand it, this I doe answere plainly, though not without perill. I answere, I say, that to the right celebration of the Lords supper, there is no other presence of Christ required, than a spirituall presence: and this presence is sufficient for a Christian man, as a presence by which we abide in Christ, and Christ abideth in us, to the obtaining of eternall life, if we persever. And this same presence may be called most fitly, a reall presence, that is, a presence not fained, but a true and a faithful presence. Which thing I here rehearse lest some sycophant or scorner should suppose mee with the Anabaptistes, to make nothing else of the sacrament but a naked and a bare signe. As for that which is fained of many concerning their corporall presence, I for my part take it but for a papisticall invention, therefore thinke it utterly to be rejected.

"Concerning the second conclusion, I dare bee bolde to say, that it hath no stay or ground, in Gods word, but is a thing invented and found out by man; and therefore to bee taken as fond and false: and I had almost sayd, as the mother and nurse of the other errors. It were good for my lords and maisters of

the transubstantiation, to take heed lest they conspire with the Nestorians; for I do not see how they can avoid it.

“ The third conclusion (as I doe understand it) seemeth subtilly to sowe sedition against the offering which Christ himselfe offered for us in his owne proper person, according to that pithie place of Paule, when he sayth, *That Christ his owne selfe had made purgation of our sinnes.* And afterward, *That hee might* (saith he) *be a mercifull and a faithfull bishop, concerning those things which are to bee done with God, for the taking away of our sinnes.* So that the expiation or taking away of our sinnes, may be thought rather to depend on this, that Christ was an offering bishop, than that he was offered, were it not that he was offered of himselfe: and therefore it is needlesse that he should be offered of any other. I will speake nothing of the wonderful presumption of man, to dare to attempt this thing without a manifest vocation, specially in that it tendeth to the overthrowing and making fruitles (if not wholly, yet partly) of the crosse of Christ: for truly it is no base or meane thing, to offer Christ. And therefore woorthily a man may say to my lords and masters the offerers: By what authoritie do ye this? and who gave you this authority? Where? when? *A man cannot* (sayth the Baptist) *take anie thing, except it be given him from above:* much less then may any man presume to usurpe any honor before he be thereto called.—Againe, *If any man sinne* saith S. John, *we have* (saith he) not a masser or offerer at home, which can sacrifice for us at masse, but *we have* (saith he) *an advocate Jesus Christ,* which once offered himself along agoe: of which offering, the efficacie and effect is perdurable for every, so that it is needlesse to have such offerers.

“ What meaneth Paule, when he saith: *They that serve at the altar, are partakers of the altar?* and so addeth: *So the Lord hath ordeined that they that preach the gospel, shal live of the gospel.* Whereas he should have said: The Lord hath ordeined, that they that sacrifice at masse, should live of their sacrificing, that there might be a living assigned to our sacrifices now, as was before Christes comming, to the Jewish priests. For now they have nothing to alledge for their living, as they that be preachers have. So that it appeareth that the sacrificing priesthood is changed by Gods ordinance, into a preaching priesthood, and the sacrificing priesthood should cease utterlie, saving in as much as all Christian men are sacrificing priests.

"The supper of the Lord was instituted to provoke us to thanksgiving, for the offering which the Lord himselfe did offer for us, much rather then that our offerers should doe there as they do. *Feede* (sayth Peter) *as much as ye may the flocke of Christ*: nay rather let us sacrifice as much as wee may, for the flocke of Christ. If so be the matter be as now men make it, I can never wonder enough, that Peter would or could forget this office of sacrificing, which at this day is in such a price and estimation, that to feede is almost nothing with many. If thou cease from feeding the flocke, how shalt thou be taken? truly catholike enough. But if thou cease from sacrificing and massing, how will that be taken? at the least I warrant thee, thou shalt be called an heretike.—And whence, I pray you, come these papisticall judgements? Except perchance they thinke a man feedeth the flocke, in sacrificing for them: and then what needeth there anie learned pastours? For no man is so foolish, but soone may he learne to sacrifice and masse it."

"Thus loe, I have taken the more paine to write, because I refused to dispute, in consideration of my debilitie thereunto: that all men may know, how that I have so done, not without great paines, having not any man to helpe me, as I have never before beene debarred to have.—O sir, you may chance to live till you come to this age and weaknesse that I am of. I have spoken in my time before two kings, more than once, two or three houres together^s, without interruption: but now, that I may speake the truth (by your leave), I could not be suffered to declare my minde before you, no, not by the space of a quarter

^s *Houres together.*] This, or even more, he mentions elsewhere to have been the length of his sermons; and of that of others, occasionally at least, of that day. "And what if I should say nothing els, these *three or foure houres*, (for I know it will be so long, if I be not commanded to the contrary) but these wordes; *Take heede and beware of covetousness.*" *Sermons*, fol. 100. b. "I let passe to speake of muche other suche like counterfeite doctrine, which hath bene blasted and blowne out by some for the space of *three houres together.*" Ibid. fol. 6 b. And yet Cranmer had long before given him a hint to stand no longer in the pulpit, on any condition, than an hour or an hour and an half at the most; "for by long expense of time, the king and the queen shall peradventure wax so weary at the beginning (i. e. of his appointed course of Lent sermons), that they shall have small delight to continue throughout with you to the end." *Cranmer's Works*, vol. i. p. 124. This was in the reign of king Henry VIII., about the year 1535, and the queen was Anne Boleyn.

as I am thorowly perswaded, although in disputation I could now nothing doe, to perswade the same to others, being both unapt to studie, and also to make a shew of my former studie, in such readinesse as should be requisite to the same.

"I have heard much talke of maister doctor Weston to and fro, in my time: but I never knewe your person to my knowledge, till I came before you, as the queenes majesties commissioner. I pray God send you so right judgement, as I perceive you have a great wit, great learning, with many other qualities. God give you grace ever well to use them, and ever to have in remembrance that he that dwelleth on high, looketh on the lowe things on the earth: and that there is no counsell against the Lord: and also that this world hath beene, and yet is a tottering world. And yet againe⁷, that though wee must obey the princes, yet that hath this limitation, namely, in the Lord⁸. For whoso doth obey them

that God the heavenly Father did require none other, nor that never ageyne to be done." P. 92.

⁷ *And yet againe.*] In the copy mentioned in the preceding note, this passage stands as follows: "And yet ageyne, that though we must obey the princes, yet are we lymyted, howe farre; that ys, so long as they do not commaund things ageynst the manifest truth. But nowe they doe. Therefore we must say with Peter and John, *We must obey God, before man.*—I meane none other resistaunce, but to offer our lives to the death, rather than to commytt any evill ageynst the majestie of God, and his most holy and true worde. But this I say unto you, if the quene have any pernicious enemy within her realme, those they be that do cause her to maynteyn idolatry, and to wet her sword of justice in the blood of her people." P. 93.

⁸ *In the Lord.*] "Looke, what lawe and ordinaunces are made by the magistrates we ought to obey them. Therefore let us consider ever in all our doynges what be the lawes of the realme, and according unto the same wee must live. And this is to be understand as well in spiritual matters as temporal, so farre forth as their lawes be not agaynst God, and his word. When they will have us to do any thing against God, then we shall say, *Oportet magis obedire Deo quam hominibus*: We must more be obedient unto God, then unto man. Yet wee may not withstand them with stoutnes, or rise upp against them; but suffer whatsoever they shall doe unto us: for wee may for nothings in the worlde rebell agaynst the office of God, that is to say, agaynst the magistrate." *Sermons*, fol. 293.

In another place, he lays down well the distinction between the claims of the pope, and of the constitutional monarchy of England, in speaking of the subject's obligation to obedience.

"I heare say, ye take upon you to judge the judgements of judges.

"I will not make the king a pope: for the pope will have all things that he doth, taken for an article of our fayth.

"I will

with probability and perswasions of words.—But what mean you, smith one, by this talke so farre from the matter? Well, I hope, good masters you wil suffer an olde man a little to play the child, and to speake one thing twise.—O Lord God, you have changed the most holy communion into a private action: and you denie to the laitie the Lords cuppe, contrary to Christes commandement; and you do blemish the annunciation of the Lords death till hee come: for you have changed the Common Prayer called the divine service, with the administration of the sacraments, from the vulgar and knowne language, into a strange tongue, contrary to the will of the Lord revealed in his word. God open the doore of your heart, to see the thinges you should see herein!—I would as faine obey my soveraigne as anie in this realme: but in these things I can never doe it with an upright conscience. God be merciful unto us. Amen.”

Weston. “Then refuse you to dispute? Will you heere then subscribe?”

Lat. “No good maister, I pray you be good to an olde man. You may, if it please God, be once olde, as I am: yee may come to this age, and to this debilitie.”

West. “Ye said upon Saturday last, that yee could not finde the masse, nor the marrowbones thereof in your booke: but we will finde a masse in that booke.”

Lat. “No good M. doctor ye cannot.”

West. “What finde you then there?”

Lat. “Forsooth a communion I finde there?”

West. “Which communion, the first or the last?”

Lat. “I finde no great diversity in them: they are one supper of the Lord, but I like the last very well.”

West. “Then the first was naught belike.”

Lat. “I do not well remember wherein they differ.”

West. “Then cake bread¹ and loafe bread are all one with

¹ *The first or the last.*] “By this first and second communion, he meaneth the two books of publicke order set for in k. Edwardes dayes, the one in the beginning, the other in the latter end of his reign.”—Fox’s Margin. The Romish party were never weary of objecting against these alterations and improvements, as arguments of the necessity for returning again into the quiet bosom of the church, &c. See Hoggard’s *Displaying of the Protestantes*, 1556. fol. 72—6; Brokes’s *Sermon*, 1554, signat. D 7; Strype’s *Eccles. Memor.*, vol. ii. p. 215, 16.

¹ *Then cake bread.*] “Then touchyng the ministracion, whether it should be leavened or unleavened bread, Oh what a doe there was! First, it must

Weston. "Will you have all things done that Christ did then? Why then must the priest bee hanged on the morrow. And where finde you, I pray you, that a woman should receive the sacrament?"

Lat. "Will you give me leave to turne my booke? I finde it in the eleventh chapter to the Corinthians, I trowe these be his wordes: *Probet autem seipsum homo, &c.*

"I pray you good maister, what gender is *homo*?"

West. "Marrie the common gender."

Cole. "It is in the Greeke, *ὁ ἄνθρωπος*."

Harps. "It is *ἀνὴρ*, that is, *vir*."

Lat. "It is in my booke of Erasmus translation, *Probet seipsum homo*."

Feck. "It is *Probet seipsum* indeede, and therefore it importeth the masculine gender."

Lat. "What then? I trow when the woman touched Christ, hee said: *Quis tetigit me? Scio quod aliquis me tetigit*. That is, Who touched me? I know that some man touched me."

West. "I will be at host with you anon. When Christ was at his supper, none were with him, but his apostles onely.

"*Ergo*, he meant no woman, if you will have his institution kept."

Lat. "In the twelve apostles was represented the whole church, in which you will grant both men and women to be."

West. "So through the whole hereticall translated bible, ye never make mention of priest¹, till yee come to the putting of

strictness of the letter; as even the words, uttered in the same breath, shew. Moreover, upon one occasion, in his sermons, and that in one preached not quite two years before the present disputation, he says, "My translation hath, *hec mando vobis*, the plural number. The English goeth as though it singularly were but one. I examined the Greek, where it is in the plural number."—*Sermons*, fol. 266.

¹ That is, *vir*.] See Strype's *Eccles. Memor.*, vol. iii. p. 118.

² Mention of priest.] Tindal has fully vindicated himself on this head, in his Answer to the *Dialogue* of Sir Thomas More. See *Works*, p. 251—3. But Weston and his friends had very little care about listening to reason and argument. They had the sword in their hands; and that emboldened them to set both reason and truth at defiance. One of the most learned of the party, in relation to the names of priest and minister, and to the changes which had been made under king Edward, in the habits of the clergy, speaks as follows: "Then was the holy order of priesthode utterly disannulled, so that the name of a priest should not be any longer used; but such as should

West. "Where learned you this new fanglenesse?"

Lat. "I have long sought for the truth in this matter of the sacrament, and have not beene of this minde past seven yeeres: and my lord of Canturburies booke hath. especially confirmed my judgement heerein. If I could remember all therein contained, I would not feare to answere any man in this matter."

Tres. "There are in that booke sixe hundred errors."

West. "You were once a Lutheran."

Lat. "No, I was a papist: for I never could perceive how Luther could defend his opinion without transubstantiation. The Tigurines once did write a booke⁷ against Luther, and I oft desired God that hee might live so long to make them answere."

West. "Luther in his booke *De privata missa*, said, that the divell reasoned with him, and perswaded him that the mass was not good. Whereof it may appeare, that Luther said masse, and the divell dissuaded him from it."

Lat. "I doe not take in hand here to defend Luthers sayings or doings. If he were here, he would defend himselfe well enough, I trow. I tolde you before that I am not meete for disputations. I pray you read mine answere, wherein I have declared my faith."

West. "Doe you believe this, as you have written?"

Lat. "Yea, sir."

West. "Then have you no faith."

Lat. "Then would I be sorie, sir."

Tres. "It is written (John vi.) *Except ye shall eat the flesh of the sonne of man, and drinke his bloud, ye shal have no life in you.* Which when the Capernaïtes and many of Christes disciples heard, they said, *This is a hard saying*, &c. Now that the trueth may the better appeare, heer I aske of you, whether Christ speaking these words, did meane of his flesh to bee eaten with the mouth, or of the spirituall eating of the same?"

Lat. "I answer (as Augustine understandeth) that Christ meant of the spirituall eating of his flesh."

Tresham. "I my selfe have heard you preaching at Greenwich, before king Henrie the eight, where you did openly affirme, that no Christian man ought to doubt of the true and reall presence of Christes bodie in the sacrament, forasmuch as he had the word of Scripture on his side, (*videlicet*) *Hoc est corpus*

⁷ *Did write a booke.*] See Lavateri *Historia Sacramentaria*, fol. 32, 3.

" If the true bodie of Christ be not really in the sacrament, all the whole church hath erred from the apostles time.

" But Christ would not suffer his church to erre :

" Ergo, it is the true bodie of Christ."

Lat. " The popish church hath erred*, and doth erre. I

and catholike writers, that ever wrote these fifteen hundred yeares and more, even from the apostles' time hitherto, you muste make us beleve, I saie, that these, in this moste highe and weightie matier of our faieth, were al most shamefully blinded ; al most shamefully deceived ; yea al moste undoubtedlye dampned. For, hadde not they all, as it appereth by their workes wel construed, and wel understande the selfe same faith in the blessed sacramente, that the catholikes have at this present ?" Signat. F 3. b.

* *Hath erred.*] Art. XIX. of the Church of England. " As the church of Jerusalem, Alexandria, and Antioch have erred ; so also the church of Rome hath erred, not only in their living and manner of ceremonies, but also in matters of faith."

Several of the most considerable incidents connected with this tenet, *the infallibility of the church*, so far as respected the condition of England in these times, and understanding the term " church," as it must always be understood by the Romanists, as " the church of Rome," are excellently well stated in a letter by Cranmer to his royal master, written in or about the year 1536.

" But in mine opinion, if he had spoken nothing else, yet whosoever sayeth, that *the church never erred*, maintaineth the bishop of Rome's power. For if that were not erroneous that was taught of his power, that he is Christ's vicar in earth, and by God's law head of all the world, spiritual and temporal ; and that all people must believe this *de necessitate salutis* ; and that whosoever doeth any thing against the see of Rome is *an heretic* ; and that he hath authority also in purgatory ; with such other many false things, which were taught in times past *to be articles of our faith* : if these things were not *erroneous*, yea, and *errors in the faith*, than must needs your grace's laws be erroneous, which pronounce the bishop of Rome to be of no more power by God's law than other bishops ; and them to be traitors that defend the contrary. This is certain, that whosoever saith that *the church never erred*, must either deny that the church ever taught any such errors of the bishop of Rome's power, and then they speak against that which all the world knoweth, and all books written of that matter, these three or four hundred years, do testify ; or else they must say, that the said errors be no errors, but truths. And then it is *both treason and heresy*." Cranmer's *Remains*, vol. i. p. 171.

The origin, progress, and ultimate abuse and bigotry to which this tenet at length extended itself, is well described in the following passage from Sir Roger Twisden.

" Before these laws, it is not to be wondered if every one desired to be joined in communion with some one of those sees, whose bishops were so recommended, for conserving the apostolic faith, for the sanctity of their manners, and for keeping schism out of the church ; which, being usually joined with sedition in the common-wealth, princes seem to have had an especial eye

mediatour is offered for them. Where he proveth the
of Christes body, and praying for the dead. And it is said,
the same Augustine said masse for his mother."

Lat. "But that masse was not like yours, which thing doth
mostly appeare in his writings, which are against it in everie

And Augustine is a reasonable man, hee requireth to be
proved no further, then he bringeth Scripture for his prooffe,
agreeth with God's word."

West. "In the same place he proveth a propitiatorie sacri-
fice, and that upon an altar, and no oister boord."

Lat. "It is the Lord's table, and no oister boord. It may
be called an altar¹, and so the doctors call it in many places:

there is no propitiatorie sacrifice, but onely Christ. The
doctors might be deceived in some points, though not in all things.
Believe them when they say well."

West. "Is it not a shame for an olde man to lie? You say,
we are of the olde fathers faith, where they say well, and yet yee
do not."

Lat. "I am of their faith when they say well. I referre my
faith to my L. of Canturburies booke wholly herein."

Smith. "Then are you not of Chrysostomes faith, nor of S.
Augustines faith."

Lat. "I have saide, when they say well, and bring Scripture
for them, I am of their faith; and further Augustine requireth
it to be beleaved."

West. "Fortie yere agoe, whither could you have gone to
have found your doctrine?"

Lat. "The more cause wee have to thanke God, that hath
now sent the light into the world."

West. "The light? Nay light and lewd preachers: for you
could not tell what you might have. Ye altered and changed so
often² your communions and altars, and all for this one end, to
spoil and rob the church."

Lat. "These things pertaine nothing to me. I must not
answere for other mens deeds, but onely for mine owne."

West. "Well, M. Latimer, this is our intent, to will you

¹ *May be called an altar.*] See Index, under *Altar*.

² *Altered and changed so often.*] A frequent reproach from the Romish
party. Compare Hoggard's *Displaying of Protestants*, fol. 72—6. A.D. 1556;
and Brokes's *Sermon*, signat. D 7. b. A.D. 1554.

well, and to exhort you to come to your selfe, and remember that without Noes arke, there is no health. Remember what they have beene that were the beginners of your doctrine, none but a few flying apostates, running out of Germanie for feare of the fagot. Remember what they have beene which have set forth the same in this realme: a sort of flingbraines and light heads, which were never constant in any one thing, as it was to be seene in the turning of the table, where like a sort of apes, they could not tell which way to turne their tailes, looking one day west, and another day east, one that way, and another this way. They will be like (they say) to the apostles, they will have no churches. A hovell is good enough for them. They come to the communion with no reverence. They get them a tankard, and one saith, 'I drinke, and I am thankfull.' 'The more joy of thee,' saith another. And in them was it true Hillarie saith; *Annus et menstruas de Deo fides facimus*, that is, We make everie yeere and everie moneth a faith. A runnagate Scot^a did take away the adoration or worshipping of Christ in the sacrament: by whose procurement that heresie was put into the last communion booke: so much prevailed that one mans authoritie at that time. You never agreed with the Tygurines or Germaines, or with the church, or with your selfe. Your stubbornnesse commeth of a vaine glorie, which is to no purpose: for it will do you no good when a fagot is in your beard. And we see all by your owne confession, how little cause you have to bee stubbornne, for your learning is in feoffers holde.—The queenes grace is mercifull, if ye will turne."

Latim. "You shall have no hope in mee to turne. I pray for the queene daily even from the bottome of my heart, that shee may turne from this religion."

West. "Here you all see the weaknes of heresie against the truth: he denieth all truth, and all the old fathers."

^a *A runnagate Scot.*] Strype referring to these words of Weston, says, 'But there was no Scot that ever I could read or hear of, that assisted at the review of 'that Communion Book.' " *Eccles. Memor.*, vol. iii. p. 117. The person alluded to by Weston, I doubt not, was Alexander Aless, a Scottish exile, of whose good services we met with some account in the life of Cromwell (see p. 247), and who translated the first liturgy of king Edward into Latin, preparatory to the review in question, for the use of Martin Bucer, and Peter Martyr, who did not possess a sufficient knowledge of the English language, to qualify them to make their remarks upon the original. See *Buceri Scripta Anglicana*.

Here all good readers may see how this glorious prolocutor triumpheth: but whether he hath the victorie, or no, that I suppose that they have not yet neither heard nor seene. And give that he had the victorie, yet what great marvell was it, disputing as he did, *Non sine suo Theseo*; that is, not without his tippling cuppe standing at his elbowe all the time of his disputation, not without a privie noting and smiling of them that beheld the matter but specially at that time, when doctour Ridley disputing with one of the opponents, the said prolocutor tooke the cuppe, and holding it in his hand sayde to the opponent; *Urge hoc, urge hoc. Nam hoc facit pro nobis*. In which words, as he moved no little matter of laughter to the beholders thereof, so I thought heere also not to leave the same unmentioned, somewhat also to delight the reader withall, after his tedious wearinesse in reading the story thereof.

Thus have yee heard in these foresaid disputations, about the holy supper of the Lord, the reasons and arguments of the doctors, the answeres and resolutions of the bishops, and the triumph of the prolocutor, triumphing before the victorie, with *Vicit veritas*, who rather in my minde should have exclaimed, *vicit potestas*; as it happeneth alwaies, *Ubi pars major vincit meliorem*. For else if *potestas* had not helped the prolocutor more than *veritas*, there had been a small *victoria*. But so it is: where judgements bee partiall, and parties bee addicted, there all things turne to victorie, though it bee never so meane and simple, as in this disputation might well appeare.

For first, of the opponents part, neither was there almost any argument in true moode and figure rightly framed: neither coulde the answerers be permitted to say for themselves: and if they answered any thing, it was condemned before they began to speake. Againe, such disturbance and confusion, more like a conspiracy then any disputation, without all forme and order, was in the schooles during the time of their answering that neither could the answerers have place to utter their mindes, neither would the opponents bee satisfied with any reasons.—Concerning the which disturbance of that misruled disputation, you shall heare what M. Ridley himselfe reporteth by his owne description, in maner as followeth.

knowe the trueth thereof, may by this perceive, aswell those things which were chiefly objected, as summarilie that which was answered of mee unto everie of them. Howbeit (good reader) I confesse this to be most true, that it is impossible to set forth either all that was, God knoweth, tumultuously and confusedly objected of their parts beeing so many, speaking many times all together, so thicke that one could not well heare another, either all that was answered on my behalfe, to them so sundry and divers opponents.

“ Moreover, a great part of the time appointed for the disputations, was vainely consumed in opprobrious checks and reviling taunts, with hissing and clapping of hands, and that in the English tongue, to procure the peoples favour withall. All which things, when I with great griefe of heart did behold, protesting openly, that such excessive and outrageous disorder, was unseemely for those schooles, and for men of learning and gravitie, and that they which were the doers and stirrers of such things, did nothing else but bewray the slendernesse of their cause, and their owne vanities; I was so far off by this my humble complaint from doing any good at all, that I was enforced to heare such rebukes, checkes, and taunts for my labour, as no person of honestie without blushing could abide to heare the like spoken of a most vile varlet, against a most wretched ruffian.

“ At the first beginning of the disputation, when I should have confirmed mine answer to the first proposition in few words, and that (after the maner and law of schooles) afore I could make an end of my first probation, which was not very long, even the doctors themselves cried out, *hee speaketh blasphemies, hee speaketh blasphemies*. And when I on my knees besought them, and that hartily, that they would vouchsafe to heare mee to the end (whereat the prolocutor being mooved, cried out on hie, Let him read it, let him reade it) yet when I began to read again, there followed immediately such shouting, such a noise and tumult, and confusion of voices, crying *blasphemies, blasphemies*, as I to my remembrance never heard or

being apparently designed only as a record of the solid and material parts of the disputation. We shall see below, however, in the *Life of Ridley*, that there were copies abroad, which Ridley did not acknowledge. Writing to Grindall, (afterwards archbishop of Canterbury), then an exile at Frankfort, he says; “ My disputation, except yee have that which I gathered myself after the disputation done, I cannot think ye have it truly.”

read the like, except it be that one which was in the Acts of the Apostles, stirred up of Demetrius the silversmith, and other of his occupation, crying out against Paule, *Great is Diana of the Ephesians, great is Diana of the Ephesians*; and except it be a certaine disputation which the Arrians had against the orthodoxes, and such as were of godly judgement in Aphryca, where it is said, that such as the president and rulers of the disputations were, such was the end of the disputations. All were in a hasty burly, and so great were the slanders which the Arrians cast out, that nothing could quietly be heard. This writeth Victor in the second booke of his historie.

“The which cries and tumults of them against me so prevailed, that wild I, mild I, I was inforced to leave off the reading of my probations, although they were short. If any man doubt of the truth hereof, let the same aske any one that was there¹, and not utterly perverted in popery, and I am assured he will say, I speake the least. But to complaine of these things further, I will cease.”

After the disputation of maister Latymer ended, which was the 18. day of Aprill, the Friday following, which was the 20. day of the said moneth, the commissioners sate in Saint Maries church, as they did the Saturday before; and doctor Weston used particularly dissuasions with every of them, and would not suffer them to answer in any wise, but directly and peremptorily, as his words were, to say whether they would subscribe or no.—And first to the bishop of Canturbury hee said, hee was overcome in disputations: whom the bishop answered, that whereas doctor Weston said, he hath answered and opposed, and could neither maintaine his owne errours, nor impugne the verity, all that he said, was false. For he was not suffered to oppose as he would, nor could answer as he was required, unles he would have brawled with them, so thicke their reasons came one after another. Ever foure or five did interrupt him, that hee could not speake.—M. Ridley, and M. Latymer were asked, what they would do: they said they would stand to that they had said.—Then were they all called together, and sentence read over them.

¹ *Aske any one that was there.*] How just these complaints were, is corroborated by the accounts of several persons who were present. See “*A true Mirrour, wherein we maye beholde the wofull State of this our realme.*” Signat. A 3, 4. A. D. 1556.” Jewel’s Controversy with Cole. *Works*, p. 24, &c.

that they were no members of the church. And therefore they, their fautors and patrones were condemned as heretikes : and in reading of it, they were asked whether they would turn or no : and they bade them read on in the name of God, for they were not minded to turne. So were they condemned all three.

After which, sentence of condemnation beeing awarded against them, they answered againe every one in their turne, in manner and effect of words, as followeth, the archbishop first beginning thus :

The archbishop of Canturbury.

“ From this your judgement and sentence, I appeale to the just judgement of God Almightye, trusting to be present with him in heaven, for whose presence in the altar I am thus condemned.”

Doctor Ridley.

“ Although I be not of your companie, yet doubt not I but my name is written in another place, whither this sentence will send us sooner, than wee should by the course of nature have come.”

M. Latymer.

“ I thanke God most heartily, that he hath prolonged my life to this end, that I may in this case glorifie God by that kinde of death.”

Dr. Westons answere unto Latymer.

“ If you go to heaven in this faith, then I wil never come thither, as I am thus perswaded.”

After the sentence pronounced, they were separated one from the other, *videlicet*, the archbishop was returned to Bocardo, doctor Ridley was caried to the shiriffes house, maister Latymer to the baliffes.

On Saturday following, they had a masse with a general procession and great solemnitie. Doctor Cranmer was caused to behold the procession out of Bocardo ; doctor Ridley out of the shiriffes house ; Latymer also being brought to see it, from the bayliffes house, thought that he should have gone to burning, and spake to one Augustine Cooper a catchpoll, to make a quicke

fire. But when he came to Karfox⁴, and saw the matter, he ran as fast as his olde bones would carry him, to one Spensers shop, and would not looke towards it. Last of all, doctor Weston caried the sacrament, and foure doctors caried the canopie over him.

Immediately after the sentence was given, doctor Ridley writeth to the prolocutor, in manner, as followeth :

Dr. Ridley to the Prolocutour.

“ Maister prolocutor, you remember, I am sure, how you promised mee openly in the schooles, after my protestation, that I should see how my answeres were there taken and written of the notaries whom ye appointed, (*me, fateor, nemine recusante*) to write what should be said, and to have had license for to have added unto them, or to have altered them, as upon more deliberation should have seemed me best. Ye granted me also at the delivery of my answer unto your first proposition, a copy of the same:—these promises are not performed. If your sodaine departure be any part of the cause thereof, yet I pray you remember that they may be performed: for performance of promise is to be looked for at a righteous judges hands. Now I send you here my answers in writing, to your second and third propositions. And do desire and require earnestly a copy of the same, and I shall by Gods grace procure the paines of the writer to be paid for and satisfied accordingly.—Maister prolocutor, in the time of my answering in the schooles, when I would have confirmed my sayings with authorities and reasons, yee said then openly, that I should have time and place to say and bring whatsoever I could. another time, and the same your saying was then and there confirmed of other of the commissioners: yea, and (I dare say) the audience also thought then that I should have had another day. ⁴ I have brought and said what I could for the declaration and firmation of mine assertions. Now that this was not done, but suddenly sentence given before the cause was perfectly heard, can not but marvel, &c.”

Munday next insuing, after these things done and past.

Karfox.] “ As many copies of his books, as could be found at Oxford, burnt at the cross-way commonly called *Quatervoir*, or *Carfax*.” *Lewis's life of Bishop Pecock*, p. 248.

being the 23. of the said moneth of Aprill, doctor Weston prolocutor tooke his journey up to London, with the letter certificatorie from the universitie unto the queene, by whom the archbishop of Canterbury directed his letters supplicatorie unto the councell. The which letters after the prolocutor had received, and had caried them welnere halfe way to London, by the way hee opened the same, and seeing the contents thereof, sent them backe againe, refusing to cary them. Likewise bishop Ridley hearing of the prolocutours going to London, writeth to him his letters, wherein hee desireth him to carie his answers up to certaine bishops in London: the forme of which letters, first of doctor Ridley, then of the archbishop, and lastly another letter of doctor Ridley to the archbishop, here in order followeth.

A Letter of bishop Ridley to the Prolocutor.

“ Maister prolocutor, I desire you, and in God’s name require you, that you truely bring forth and shew all mine answers, written and subscribed with mine owne hand, unto the higher house of the convocation, and especially to my lord chancellour, my lords of Duresme, Ely, Worcester, Norwich, and Chichester, and also to shew and exhibit this my writing unto them, which in these few lines heere I write unto you: and that I did make this request unto you by this my writing, know ye that I did take witnesse of them by whome I did send you this writing, and also of those which were then with them present, *videlicet*, the two bailiffs of Oxford, and of M. Irish, alderman, then there, called to be a witnesse.

“ *By me* NICHOLAS RIDLEY,
23. of April, An. 1554.”

The Copie of the Archbishop of Canterbury’s Letters to the Councell, sent by Doctour Weston, who refused to deliver them.

“ In right humble wise sheweth unto your honorable lordships, Thomas Cranmer late archbishop¹ of Canterbury, beseeching the same to be a meanes for me unto the queenes highnes for her

¹ *Late archbishop.*] He was arraigned and condemned of treason at Guildhall, Nov. 13, 1553; immediately after which the see of Canterbury was declared void, and the dean and chapter thereupon assumed the administration of the spiritual jurisdiction. Anth. Harmer’s *Specimen of Errors*, p. 127.

joy and pardon. Some of you knowe by what meanes^{*} I was brought and framed into the will of our late soveraigne lord king Edward the sixth, and what I spake against the same, wherein I have made the reports of your honours and worships. Furthermore, this is to signifie unto your lordships, that upon Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday last past, were open disputations here in Oxford against me, M. Ridley, and M. Latymer, in three matters, concerning the sacrament: first of the reall presence, secondly, of transubstantiation, and thirdly of the sacrifice of the masse: upon Monday against me, upon Tuesday against D. Ridley, and upon Wednesday against M. Latymer. How the other two were ordered, I know not, for we were separated, so that none of us knoweth what the other said, nor how they were ordered. But as concerning my selfe I can report. D. Chadsey was appointed to dispute against me, but the disputation was so confused, that I never knew the like, every man bringing forth what him liked, without order; and such hast was made, that no answer could be suffered to be taken fully to any argument, before another brought a new argument: and in such waighty matters the disputation must needs be ended in one day, which can scanty be ended in three moneths. And when we had answered them, they would not appoint us one day to bring forth our proofs, that they might answer us, being required by me thereunto, whereas I my selfe have more to say, than can be well discussed, as I suppose in twenty daies. The meanes to resolve the truth, had bin to have suffered us to answer fully to all that they could say, and then they againe to answer us fully to all that we can say. But why they would not answer us, what other cause can there be, but that either they feared their matter, that they were not able to answer us; or else for some consideration they made such haste, not to seeke the truth, but to condemne us, that it must be done in poste hast before the matters could be thoroughly heard: for in all haste we were all three condemned of heresie. Thus much I thought good to signifie unto your lordships, that you may knowe the indifferent handling of matters, leaving the judgement thereof unto your wisdomes. And I beseech your lordships to remember me a poore prisoner unto the queenes majesty, and I shall pray as I doe daily, unto God for the long

* *By what meanes.*] These he has himself stated very explicitly, in a letter to the queen. *Letters of the Martyrs*, p. 1—3: and, for further evidence on this subject, see Strype's *Life of Cramer*, b. iii. c. 34.

preservation of your good lordships in all godlinesse and felicitie.
April 23."

Dr. Ridley to the archbishop of Canturbury.

"I wish ye might have seene these mine answeres before I had delivered them, that yee might have corrected them. But I trust in the substance of the matter we do agree fully, both led by one spirit of truth, and both walking after one rule of Gods word. It is reported that sergeant Morgan, the chiefe justice of the common place, is gone mad. It is said also that justice Hales hath recanted^{*}, perverted by D. Moreman. Item, that M. Rogers, D. Crome, and M. Bradford shall be had to Cambridge, and there be disputed with as we were here, and that the doctors of Oxford shall go likewise thither as Cambridge men came hither. When ye have read mine answeres, send them againe to Austen^o, except ye will put any thing to them. I trust the day of our

^{*} *Hales hath recanted.*] "Sir James Hales of Kent, knight, a pious and good man, and a just and able judge, under king Henry and king Edward (whose history is related at large by Fox, p. 1392), was made a prisoner in the King's Bench last year by the bishop of Winchester, lord chancellor; and thence was removed to the Counter in Bread-street, and from thence to the Fleet. Here one Foster, a gentleman of Hampshire, laboured to persuade him to embrace the popish doctrine by this argument, that the error was without danger, but the truth full of peril. When it was known that Hales was inclinable to relent, Day, bishop of Chichester, and Portman, a judge, came to him, it being then the month of April, and did so earnestly deal with him, that they overcame him at last, after his having lain three weeks in that prison of the Fleet. But the trouble that arose in his conscience for what he had done, filled him with great terror, and overwhelmed him with sorrow: so that he attempted, in the absence of his servant, to kill himself with his pen-knife. For being ill, and lying sobbing and sighing, he sent down his servant upon an errand, and in the mean time wounded himself in divers places of his body. But his servant came in on the sudden, and at that time prevented his death.

"Winchester took occasion upon this, the day after, in the Star-chamber, to blaspheme the doctrine of the Gospel, calling it the *Doctrine of Desperation*, and the professors of it, *desperate men*. Whereas, indeed, the blame of Judge Hales's doing was not to be laid upon the true religion, but upon the forsaking of it: for he did this act after he had, in effect, renounced the religion. . . . But to return to this unhappy gentleman: sadder yet was his conclusion. For after his recantation, being dismissed home to his own country and habitation, conquered with grief and despair, he drowned himself in a shallow pond near his own house, which is shewn to this day."—*Strype's Eccles. Memor.* vol. iii. p. 173, 74.

^o *To Austen.*] Austin Bernher, Latimer's faithful Swiss servant.

deliverie out of all miseries, and of our entrance into perpetual rest, and unto perpetuall joy and felicitie, draweth nie. The Lord strengthen us with his mighty spirit of grace ! If you have not to write with, you must make your man your friend. And this bearer deserveth to be rewarded, so he may and will doe your pleasure. My man is trusty, but it greeveth both him and me, that when I send him with any thing to you, your man will not let him come up to see you, as he may to maister Latymer, and yours to me. I have a promise to see how my answers were written in the schooles, but as yet I cannot come by it. Pray for mee I pray you, and so shall I for you. The Lord have mercy of his church, and lighten the eies of the magistrates, that Gods extreame plagues light not on this realm of England.

“ *Turne, or Burne.*”

These disputations¹ being thus discoursed and ended, which

¹ *These disputations.*] After their sentence of condemnation (which was passed April 20, 1554), these illustrious confessors were all remanded to prison; where they were detained, without any further public proceedings against them, until the latter end of Sept. in the following year. The reason of this delay was, that in the vehemence of their zeal their adversaries had forgotten that they had no law to proceed upon, for the authority of the pope had not yet been received. The sentence therefore which they passed was void: a new commission was to be procured from Rome, and a fresh process instituted.

“ On the third of May (1554) the council sate, and resolved that the judges and queen’s highness’ council learned, should be called together, and their opinions demanded, what they think in law her highness may do touching the causes of the said Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, being already by both the universities of Cambridge and Oxford judged to be obstinate hereticks. which matter is the rather to be consulted upon, for that the said Cranmer is already attainted. Thus sensible were they that their zeal had carried them some lengths beyond the point which law and equity would reach. The prisoners had been committed, Cranmer for high treason, Ridley, and Latimer for sedition; the former had been attainted in parliament; the other two had never been called to any account. And now all three were excommunicated for offences of another nature, by an authority that had no support; for the queen claimed no supremacy in ecclesiastical matters, nor did she insert that title in her directions to Bonner to summon this convocation. Bonner, who summoned it, as he could have no authority from the queen, so neither from the pope: he was neither legate *a latere* or *legatus natus*; nay, had he been either, the pope himself had as yet no authority here, and therefore Bonner omitted in his summons to the convocation those customary words *legitime suffultus*, conscious that he called it without any authority at all. They therefore desired aid from the judges and the queen’s learned counsel to extricate them out of this difficulty, in which they had too hastily

were at Oxford in the month of Aprill, as is aforesaid: now let us returne againe to the prosecuting of our storie.

Albeit M. Latimer by reason of the feeblenesse of his age wrote least of them all in this latter time of his imprisonment; yet in praier he was ferventlie occupied, wherin oftentimes so long he continued kneeling, that he was not able to rise without helpe: and among other things, these were three principall matters he praied for.

First, that as God had appointed him to be a preacher of his word, so also he would give him grace to stand to his doctrine untill his death, that he might give his heart bloud for the same.

Secondlie, that God of his mercie would restore his gospell to Englande once againe; and these words *once againe, once againe*, he did so inculcate, as though he had seene God before him, and spoken to him face to face.

The third matter was, to pray for the preservation of the

entangled themselves. We may guess at the lawyers' opinion by the event; none of them were put to death till another parliament had been called, and the pope's supremacy restored. And even then, when they had proceeded to burn some protestants, one in the convocation moved a question by what law could they justify themselves in doing so? The prolocutor Weston answered, 'It forceth not for a law; we have a commission to proceed with them, and when they be dispatched let their friends call for a law.'"
Ridley's Life of Bishop Ridley, p. 513. Compare *Letters of the Martyrs*, p. 67, as follows, from a letter of Ridley to Bradford. "We hear that the parliament is dissolved." (That took place Jan. 16, 1554-5.) "Before the parliament began, it was a rumour here, that certain from the convocation house were appointed, yea, ready to have come to Oxford; and then there was spied out one thing to lack, *for want of a law to perform their intent*. Now, *seeing they can want no law*, we look for them shortly. I trust to God's glory."

"But it was not a case, in which an able defence was of any avail. As he (Cranmer) persisted, together with Ridley and Latimer, in denying the three articles, they were all declared guilty of heresy. It was soon however discovered that this sentence was invalid. The nation had not yet been reconciled to the pope: and the convocation consequently being itself out of the pale of the church, could not presume to sit in judgment on others. This obstacle was removed towards the end of 1554, when absolution was formally pronounced by cardinal Pole. Yet the commission for a new trial of Cranmer was not issued till Sept. 1555. It proceeded, not as before, from the president of the convocation, but from the pope: and it was directed to the cardinal de Puteo, who nominated for his subdelegate, James Brokes, bishop of Gloucester." Jenkyns's preface to *The Remains of Archbishop Cranmer*, vol. i. p. cxv.

called to remembrance his mercy, and forgetting our former iniquitie, made an end of all these miseries and wrought a marvellous change of things ; at the chaunge whereof the saide queene Elizabeth was appointed and anointed, for whome this grey-headed father so earnestlie praied in his imprisonment ; thorough whose true, naturall, and imperial crowne, the brightnesse of Gods word was sette up againe to confound the darke and false visoured kingdome of antichrist, the true temple of Christ re-edified, the captivity of sorrowfull Christians released, which so long was wished for in the praiers of so many good men, specially of this faithfull and true servant of the Lord, master Latimer.

The same God which at the requests of his holie and faithfull saintes, hath poured upon us such benefits of his mercie, peace and tranquillitie, assist our most vertuous and Christian princesse, and her subjects, that wee may everie one in his state and calling serve to his glorie, and walke in our vocation, that we lose not that which they have obtained, but may proceede in all faithfullnesse, to build and keepe uppe the house and temple of the Lord, to the advancing of his glorie, and our everlasting comfort in him !

During the time that the said M. Latimer was prisoner in Oxford, wee reade not of much that hee did write, besides his conference with doctour Ridley, and his protestation at the time of his disputation. Otherwise, of letters wee finde verie fewe or none, that he did write to his friends abroad, save onely these few lines, which he wrote to one mistres Wilkinson of London, a godly matron, and an exile afterward for the gospel's sake. Who so long as she remained in England, was a singular patronesse to the good saints of God, and learned bishops, as to maister Hooper, to the bishop of Hereford, to maister Coverdale, M. Latimer, doctor Cranmer, with manie other. The copy and effect of which his letter to mistres Wilkinson here followeth :

“ If the gift of a pot of cold water, shall not be in oblivion with God, how can God forget your manifold and bountifull gifts, when he shall say to you, *I was in prison and you visited mee?* God grant us all to doe and suffer while we be here, as may be to his will and pleasure, Amen.

“ *Yours in Bocardo, HUGH LATIMER.*”

Touching the memorable actes and doings of this worthie man,

among many other this is not to be neglected. what a bold enterprise was attempted, in sending to king Henry a present, the manner whereof is this. There was then and yet remaineth still an old custome received from the olde Romans, that upon newyears day being the first of Januarie, everie bishop with some handsome newyears gift, should gratifie the king: and so they did, some with golde, some with silver, some with a purse full of money, and some one thing, some an other: but master Latimer being bishop of Worcester then, among the rest presented a New Testament, for his newyears gift: with a napkin having this posie about it, *Fornicadores et adulteros judicabit Dominus.*

And here hast thou gentle reader, the whole life, both of master Ridley and of maister Latimer, two worthy doers in the church of Christ, severally and by themselves set forth and described, with their doings, writings, disputations, sufferings, their painfull travailes, faithfull preachings, studious service in Christs church, their patient imprisonment, and constant fortitude is that which they had taught, with other their proceedings from time to time, since their first springing yeares, to this present time and month of queene Mary, beeing the moneth of October, anno 1555. In the which moneth they were both brought forth together, to their finall examination and execution. Wherefore as we have here declared both their lives severally, and distinctly one from the other, so now jointly to couple them both together, as they were together both joined in one societie of cause and martyrdome, we will by the grace of Christ prosecute the rest that remaineth, concerning their latter examination, degrading, and constant suffering, with the order and maner also of the commissioners, which were master White bishop of Lincoln, master Brookes bishop of Gloucester, with others: and what were their wordes, their objections, their orations there used, and what againe were the answers of these men to the same, as in the processe here followeth to be seene.

The order and maner of the examination of D. Ridley, and M. Latimer, had the 30. day of Septemb. 1555.

First after the appearing of Thomas Cranmer archbishop of Canturburie, before the popes delegate, and the queenes commissioners in S. Maries church at Oxford, about the twelfth day of

September, whereof more shall be said (by the Lordes grace) when we come to the death of the said archbishop; shortly after upon the twenty-eighth day of the saide moneth of September, was sent downe to Oxford an other commission from cardinall Poole legate *a latere*, to John White bishop of Lincolne, to doctour Brookes bishop of Glocester, and to doctour Holiman, bishop of Bristowe. The contents and vertue of which commission was, that the said John of Lincolne, James of Glocester, and John of Bristowe, they or two of them, should have full power and authoritie, to ascite, examine, and judge master Hugh Latimer, and master doctor Ridley, pretended bishops of Worcester, and London, for divers and sundrie erroneous opinions, which the said Hugh Latimer, and Nicholas Ridley, did hold and maintaine in open disputations had in Oxford, in the moneths of May, June, and Julie, in the yeare of our Lord 1554, as also long before in the time of perdition and sithen. The which opinions if the named persons would nowe recant, giving and yeelding themselves to the determination of the universall and catholicke church, planted by Peter in the blessed sea of Rome, that then they deputed judges by the saide authoritie of their commission, should have power to receive the sayde penitent persons, and forthwith minister unto them the reconciliation of the holy father the pope: but if the sayde Hugh Latimer, and Nicholas Ridley would stoutly and stubbornly defend and maintaine these their erroneous opinions and assertions, that then the said lords by their commission, should proceede in forme of judgment, according to the lawe of heretickes; that is, degrading them from their promotion and dignitie of bishops, priests and all other ecclesiasticall orders, they should pronounce them as heretickes, and therefore cleane to cut them off from the church, and so to yeeld them to receive punishments, due to all such heresie and schisme.

Wherefore the last of September, the sayd two persons, Nicholas Ridley, and Hugh Latimer, were ascited to appeare before the sayde lordes, in the divinity schoole at Oxford, at eight of the clocke. At what time thither repaired the lords, placing themselves in the high seate, made for publick lectures and disputations, according to the usage of that schoole, being then faire set, and trimmed with cloth of tissue, and cushins of velvet: and after the sayde lords were placed and set, the said Latimer and Ridley were sent for: and first appeared master doctor Ridley, and anone M. Latimer. But because it seemed good severally to

examine them, M. Latimer was kept backe, untill doctor Ridley was thoroughly examined.—Therefore, soone after the coming of doctor Ridley into the schoole, the commission was published by an appointed notarie, and openly read. But doctor Ridley standing bare headed, humbly expecting the cause of that his appearance, eftscoones as he had heard the cardinall named, and the popes holinesse, put on his cap³. Wherefore after the commission was published, in forme and sense above specified, the bishop of Lincolne spake in sense following.

“ Master Ridley, although neither I, neither my lordes here, in respect of our owne persons, doe looke for cap or knee, yet because we beare and represent such persons as we do, that is, my lord cardinals grace, legate *à latere* from the popes holiness, as well in that he is of a notable parentage (and therewith master Ridley moved his cappe with lowly obeisance), descending from the regall blood, as in that he is a man worthy to be revered with all humility, for his great knowledge and learning, noble vertues and godly life, and especially in that hee is here in England deputie to the popes holinesse, it should have becormmed you at his name, to have discovered your head. Wherefore except you will of your owne selfe. take the paines to put your hand to your head, and at the nomination, as well of the sayde cardinall as of the popes holinesse, uncover the same, least that this your contumacie exhibited now before us, should be prejudiciall to the saide most reverend persons (which thing we may in no case suffer) you shall cause us to take the paine, to cause some man to plucke off your cappe from you.” To whome maister Ridley making his petition for lycence, answered.

“ As touching that you saide (my lord) that you of your owne person desire no cap nor knee, but onely require the same, in consideration that you represent the cardinals graces person, I doe you to wit, and thereupon make my protestation, that I did put on my cap at the naming of the cardinals grace, neither for any contumacy that I beare towards your owne persons, neither for anie derogation of honour towards the lord cardinals grace. For I knowe him to be a man worthie of all humilitie, reverence, and honour, in that he came of the most regall bloud, and in that he is a man indued with manifold graces of learning and vertue:

³ Put on his cap.] The same species of protest, we shall see below, was adopted also by Crammer.

and as touching these vertues and pointes, I with all humilitie" (therwith he put off his cap, and bowed his knee), "and obeysance that I may, will reverence, and honour his grace: but in that he is legate to the bishop of Rome" (and therewith put on his cappe) "whose usurped supremacie, and abused authoritie, I utterlie refuse and renounce, I may in no wise give any obeysance, or honour unto him; least that my so doing and behaviour, might be prejudiciall to mine othe, and a derogation to the veritie of Gods word: and therefore that I might not only by confession, professe the veritie in not reverencing the renounced authority, contrarie to Gods word, but also in gesture, in behaviour, and all my doings expresse the same, I have put on my cap, and for this consideration onely; and not for anie contumacie to your lordships, neither contempt of this worshipfull audience, neither derogation of any honour due to the cardinall his grace, both for his noble parentage, and also his excellent qualities."

Lincolne. "M. Ridley, you excuse your selfe of that, with the which we pressed you not, in that you protest you keepe on your cap, neither for anie contumacie towards us (which looke for no such honour of you) neither for anie contempt of this audience, which although justly they may, yet (as I suppose) in this case do not require any such obeysance of you; neither in derogation of anie honour due to my lord cardinals grace, for his regall descent" at which word M. Ridley moved his cap "and excellent qualities: for although in all the premisses honour be due, yet in these respects we require none of you, but onely in that my lords cardinals grace is here in England, deputie of the popes holiness" at which word the lords and others put off their caps, and maister Ridley put on his, "and therefore we say unto you the second time, that except you take the paines your selfe, to put your hand to your head, and put off your cap, you shall put us to the pain, to cause some man to take it from you, except you alleadge some infirmitie and sickenes, or other more reasonable cause, upon the consideration whereof, we may doe as we thinke good."

Ridley. "The premisses I said only for this end, that it might as well appeare to your lordships as to this worshipfull audience why and for what consideration, I used such kind of behaviour, in not humbling my selfe to your lordships with cap and knee: and as for my sicknes I thanke my Lord God, that I am as wel at ease, as I was this long season: and therefore I doe not pretend that

which is not, but onely this, that it might appeare by this my behaviour, that I acknowledge in no point that usurped suprenacie of Rome, and therefore contemne and utterly despise all authoritie comming from him. In taking off my cap. do as it shall please your lordships, and I shall be content."

Then the bishop of Lincolne, after the third admonition, commaunded one of the bedles (that is an officer of the universitie) to plucke his cappe from his heade. Maister Ridley bowing his head to the officer, gently permitted him to take away his cap.

After this, the bishop of Lincolne in a long oration exhorted M. Ridley to recant and submit himselfe to the universall faith of Christ, in this manner.

"M. Ridley, I am sure you have sufficientlie pondered with your selfe, the effect of this our commission with good advisement, considering both points thereof, how that authoritie is given to us, if you shal receive the true doctrin of the church (which first was founded by Peter at Rome immediatelie after the death of Christ, and from him by lineall succession hath beene brought to this our time), if you will bee content to renounce your former errours, recant your hereticall and seditious opinions, content to yeeld your selfe to the undoubted faith, and truth of the gospell, received and alwaies taught of the catholicke, and apostolike church, the which the king and queene, all the nobles of this realme, and commons of the same, al Christian people have and doe confesse, you onelie standing alone by your selfe;—you understand and perceive, I am sure, that authoritie is given us to receive you, to reconcile you, and upon due penance to adjoyne and associate you again into the number of the catholikes and into Christs church, from the which you have so long straid, without the which no man can bee saved; the which thing I and my lords here, yea and all, as well nobles and commons of this realm most heartilie desire, and I for my part" wherewith he put off his cap, "most earnestly exhort you to doe.

"Remember maister Ridley, it is no strange countrey whither I exhort you to return. You were once one of us. You have taken degrees in the schoole. You were made a priest, and became a preacher, setting forth the same doctrine, which wee doe now. You were made bishop according to our lawes: and to bee short, it is not so long agoe, sith you separated your selfe

from us, and in the time of heresie, became a setter forth of that divellish and seditious doctrine, which in these latter daies was preached amongst us. For at what time the newe doctrine of *enclie faith* began to spring, the counsaile, willing to winne my lord chauncellour⁴ sent you to him (I then being in my lords house unknowne as I suppose to you) and after you had talked with my lord secretly, and were departed, immediately my lord declared certaine pointes of your talke, and meanes of your perswasion, and amongst other this was one, that you should say, "tush my lord, this matter of justification is but a trifle, let us not sticke to condescend herein to them: but for Gods love my lord, stand stoutly in the veritie of the sacrament: for I see they wil assault that also." If this be true (as my lord is a man credible enough in such a matter) hereby it is declared of what minde you were then, as touching the trueth of the most blessed sacrament.

"Also in a sermon of yours at Paules crosse, you as effectually and as catholickly spake of that blessed sacrament, as any man might have done; whereby it appeareth that it is no strange thing, nor unknown place whereunto I exhort you. I wish you to returne thither from whence you came: that is, together with us to acknowledge the truth, to acknowledge the church of God, wherein no man may erre, to acknowledge the supremacy of our most reverend father in God the popes holinesse, which (as I sayd) lineally taketh his descent from Peter, uppon whome Christ promised before his death, to build his church: the which supremacy or prerogative, the most auncient fathers in all ages, in all times did acknowledge."—And here hee brought a place or two out of the doctours, but especiallie staid upon a saying of Saint Augustine, which writeth in this manner, *Totus orbis Christianus in transmarinis, et longe remotis terris, Romanæ ecclesiæ subjectus est*, that is, all the Christian countries beyond the sea, are subject to the church of Rome. "Here you see maister Ridley, that all Christendome is subject to the church of Rome. What should staie you therefore to confesse the same with Saint Austen, and the other fathers?"

Then maister Ridley desired his patience, to suffer him to speake somewhat of the premisses, least the multitude of things

⁴ *Lord chancellor.*] Gardiner, bishop of Winchester. See p. 627, infra.

For this is the foundation and beginning of all Christianity, with word, heart, and minde, to confesse that Christ is the sonne of God. Whosoever beleeveth not this, Christ is not in him; and hee cannot have the marke of Christ printed in his forehead, which confesseth not that Christ is the sonne of God.

“ Therefore Christ said unto Peter, that upon this rocke, that is upon this his confession, that he was Christ the son of God, he would build his church; to declare that without this faith, no man can come to Christ: so that this belief, that Christ is the sonne of God, is the foundation of our Christianitie, and the foundation of our church. Heere you see upon what foundation Christs church is built, not upon the frailty of man, but upon the stable and infallible word of God.

“ Now as touching the lineall descent of the bishops in the sea of Rome, true it is, that the patriarke of Rome in the apostles time, and long after, was a great maintainer, and a setter forth of Christs glorie, in the which above all other countries and regions there especiallie was preached the true gospell, the sacraments were moste dylie ministered; and, as before Christs comming, it was a citie so valiant in prowesse, and martiall affaires, that all the world was in a manner subject to it, and after Christs passion, divers of the apostles there suffered persecution for the gospels sake; so after that the emperours, their hearts being illuminated, received the gospell, and became Christians, the gospell there, as well for the great power and dominion, as for the fame of the place, flourished most; whereby the bishops⁶ of that place were had in more reverence and honour, most esteemed in all counsels and assemblies: not because they acknowledge them to bee their head, but because the place was moste revered and spoken of, for the great power and strength of the same. As now here in England, the bishop of Lincolne in sessions and sittings hath the preheminance of the other bishops, not that hee is the head and ruler of them, but for the dignitie of the bishopricke” (and therewith the people smiled⁷). “ Wherefore the doctours in their

⁶ *Whereby the bishops.*] Compare Barrow *On the Pope's Supremacy*, Works, vol. vi. p. 292, &c., or *Christian Institutes*, vol. iv. p. 209, &c.

⁷ *The people smiled.*] Ridley's remark probably applied to the recent foundation of the sees filled by the two coadjutors of the bishop of Lincoln in this commission, viz., Gloucester and Bristol, which were two of the six bishopricks erected in 1541 by Henry VIII., and endowed either with part of the spoils of the dissolved monasteries, or with portions of other sees. He pro-

the sea. In this sense S. Austen saith, all the countries beyond the sea are subject to the sea of Rome, declaring thereby that Rome was one of the seas of the foure patriarches, and under it Europe. By what subjection I praie you? onely for a preeminence, as we here in England say, that all the bishoprics in England, are subject to the archbishopricks of Canturbury and Yorke.

"For this preeminence also the other doctors (as you recited) say, that Rome is the mother of churches, as the bishopricke of Lincolne is mother to the bishopricke of Oxford, because the bishopricke of Oxford came from the bishopricke of Lincolne, and they were both once one⁹; and so is the archbishoprick of Canturbury, mother to the other bishoprickes, which are in her province. In like sort the archbishopricke of Yorke, is mother to the north bishoprickes: and yet no man will say, that Lincolne, Canturbury, or Yorke, is supreme head to other bishoprickes: neither then ought we to confesse the sea of Rome to be supreme head, because the doctors in their writings, confesse the sea of Rome to be mother of churches.

"Now where you saie, I was once of the same religion, which you are of, the truth is, I cannot but confesse the same. Yet so was Saint Paule a persecutor of Christ. But in that you say, that I was one of you not long agone, in that I doing my message to my lord of Winchester¹, should desire him to stand stout in that grosse opinion of the supper of the Lord, in verie deede I was sent (as your lordship said) from the counsaile to my lord of Winchester, to exhort him to receive also the true confession of justification; and because he was verie refractorious, I said to him, Why my lord, what make you so great a matter herein? You see many anabaptists rise against the sacrament of the altar: I pray you my lord be diligent in confounding them; for at that time my lord of Winchester and I had to do with two anabaptists of Kent. In this sense I willed my lord to be stiffe in the defence of the sacrament, against the detestable errorrs of anabaptistes²,

⁹ *Both once one.*] The see of Oxford was erected out of part of the ancient diocese of Lincoln in 1541. See the note at p. 625.

¹ *Message to my lord of Winchester.*] See p. 623.

² *Errorrs of anabaptistes.*] "All doe also condemne these wicked anabaptistes which putte no difference between the Lordes table and the Lordes meate, and their own." Ridley, *against Transubstantiation*. *Backiridion Theologicum*, vol. i. p. 116. edit 1792.

“ Ye must consider that the church of Christ lieth not hidden, but is a citie on the mountaine, and a candle on the candlestick. Ponder with your selfe, that the church of Christ is *catholica*, catholick, which is deducted of *κατὰ ὅλον*, that is, *per omnia* ; so that Christs church is universallie spread throughout the world, not contained in the alligation of places, not comprehended in the circuite of England, not contained in the compasse of Germanie and Saxonie, as your church is.

“ Wherefore maister Ridley, for Gods love be ye not singular : acknowledge with all the realme the trueth. It shall not be (as you alledge) prejudiciall to the crowne, for the king and queen their majesties have renounced that usurped power taken of their predecessors, and justly have renounced it. For I am sure you knowe that there are two powers, the one declared by the sword, the other by the keies³. The sword is given to kings, and rulers of countries : the keies were delivered by Christ to Peter, and of him left to all the successours. As touching our goods, possessions, and lives, wee with you acknowledge us subjects to the king and queene, who hath the temporall sword : but as concerning matters of religion, as touching Gods quarrell and his word, we acknowledge an other head : and as the king and the queene their highnesses doe in all worldlie affaires, justly challenge the prerogative and primacie, so in spiritual and ecclesiastical matters they acknowledge themselves not to be heades and rulers, but members of Christ's bodie. Why therefore should yee sticke at that matter, the which their majesties have forsaken and yelded ?

“ Wherefore master Ridley, you shall not onely not doe injurie to the crowne, and be prejudiciall to their majesties honour, in acknowledging with all Christendome the popes holinesse to bee supreme head of Christs church here militant in earth, but doe a thing most delectable in their sight, and most desired of their highnesses. Thus if you will doe, revoking together all your errorrs, acknowledging with the residue of the realme, the common and the publicke fault, you shall doe that all men most heartily desire : you shall bring quietnesse to your conscience, and health to your soule : then shall wee with great joy, by the authoritie committed to us from the cardinalls grace, receive you into

³ *By the keies.*] Of the power of the keys, see Barrow's *Works*, vol. vi. p. 476—90 ; or *Christian Institutes*, vol. iii. p. 168—85.

the church again, acknowledging you to bee no longer a rotten, but a livelie member of the same. But if you shal stil be singular, if you shall still and obstinatelie persever in your errours, stubbornely maintaining your former heresies, then we must against our will, according to our commission, separate you from us, and cut you off from the church, least the rottennesse of one parte in processe of time, putrifie and corrupt the whole bodie : then must we confesse and publish you to be none of ours : then must we yeeld you up to the temporal judges, of whom except it otherwise please the king and queenes highnesse, you must receive punishment by the lawes of this realme, due for heretickes.

"Wherefore maister Ridley consider your state, remember your former degrees, spare your body, especially consider your soule, which Christ so dearely bought with his precious blood, do not you rashly cast away that which was precious in Gods sight: enforce not us to doe all that we may doe, which is onlie to publish you to be none of us, to cut you off from the church; for we doe not, nor cannot condemne you to die⁴ (as most untruelie hath been reported of us) but that is the temporall judges office, we onely declare you to be none of the church, and then must you, according to the tenour of them, and pleasure of the rulers, abide their determination; so that we, after that we have given you up to the temporall rulers, have no further to do with you.

"But I trust master Ridley, we shall not have occasion to doe that wee maie. I trust you will suffer us to rest in that point of our commission, which wee most heartilie desire, that is, upon recantation and repentance to receive you, to reconcile you, and againe to adjoine you to the unities of the church."

Then maister Ridley, with often interruption, at length spake.

"My lord, I acknowledge an unspotted church of Christ, in the which no man can erre⁵, without the which no man can be saved, the which is spread throughout all the world, that is, the congregation of the faithfull: neither do I alligate or bind the same to any one place, as you said, but confesse the same to be spread throughout all the world: and wheras Christs sacraments are duely ministred, his gospell truely preached and followed,

⁴ *Condemne you to die.*] Compare under *Life of Rogers*, above, p. 328, and note.

⁵ *No man can erre.*] "He meaneth, in which no general error can be finally." Fox's margin.

there doth Christs church shine⁶ as a citie upon an hill, and as a candle in the candlesticke. But rather it is such as you, that would have the church of Christ bound to a place, which appoint the same to Rome, that there and no where else is the foundation of Christs church. But I am fully perswaded that Christs church is every where founded, in every place where his gospell is truely received, and effectually followed. And in that wherein the church of God is in doubt, I use the wise counsaile of Vincentius Lyranensis, whom I am sure you will allowe, who giving preceptes howe the catholicke church may bee in all schismes and heresies knowne, writeth in this manner: *When (saith hee) one part is corrupted with heresies, then preferre the whole world before that one part: but if the greatest part be infected, then preferre antiquitie.*

"In like sort now, when I perceive the greatest part of Christianity to be infected with the poyson of the sea of Rome, I reparaire to the usage of the primitive church, which I finde cleane contrary to the popes decrees: as in that the priest receiveth alone; that it is made unlawfull to the laitie to receive in both kinds, and such like. Wherefore it requireth that I prefer the antiquity of the primitive church, before the novelty⁷ of the Romish church."

Linc. "Maister Ridley, these faultes which you charge the sea of Rome withall, are indeede no faultes. For first it was never forbid the laity⁸, but that they might, if they demaunded,

⁶ *Christs church shine.*] See Art. XIX. of the Church of England; *Of the Church.*

⁷ *Before the novelty.*] "Ye say, it is the *new* learning. Now, I tell you, it is the *old* learning. Yea, ye say, it is old heresy new scoured. Now, I tell you, it is the old truth, long rusted with canker, and now new made bright and scoured." Latimer, *Serm.* on 21st Sund. after Trinity.

"Our faith and doctrine have as many yeeres on their backes, as have the Scriptures whereon they are grounded, as hathe the primitive church, and old aunient doctours, wherewith in all necessary pointes of religion they agree throughly. It is the pope and his supremacie and other popery, that is builded upon a late and sandie foundation, and therefore shortly to be subverted and rooted up." Nowell's *Reproof of M. Dorman's Proof*, fol. 105, 6. 1565. 4to.

⁸ *Forbid the laity.*] The bishop can mean only that the cup had never been forbidden to the laity by any special decree of a provincial council, or otherwise, in England. But even here, by the constitutions of archbishop Peckham, A. D. 1281, it is declared, that in small churches, it is allowed to none but the officiating priest, to receive the blood under the species of consecrated wine. See Johnson's *Eccelesiastical Laws*, vol. ii. Wilkins, &c. And it is

the matter with you, but have certaine instructions ministered unto us, according to the tenour of the which we must proceed, proposing certaine articles, unto the which we require your answers directly, either affirmatively, either negatively, to every of them, either denying them, either granting them without farther disputations or reasoning: for we have already stretched our instructions, in that we suffered you to debate and reason the matter, in such sort as we have done: the which articles, you shal heare now, and to morrow at eight of the clock in S. Maries church we wil require and take your answers; and then according to the same proceede: and if you require a copie of them, you shall have it, pen, inke, and paper, also such books as you shall demand, if they be to be gotten in the universitie."

The Articles.

1 We do object to thee Nicholas Ridley, and to thee Hugh Latimer, jointly and severally, first that thou Nicholas Ridley in this high universitie of Oxford, Anno 1554, in the moneths of Aprill, May, June, July, or in some one or mo of them, hast affirmed, and openly defended and maintained, and in many other times and places besides, that the true and naturall bodie of Christ, after the consecration of the priest, is not really present in the sacrament of the altar.

2 Item, that in the yeare and moneths aforesaid, thou hast publickly affirmed and defended, that in the sacrament of the altar, remaineth still the substance of bread and wine.

3 Item, that in the said yeare and moneths, thou hast openly affirmed, and obstinately maintained, that in the masse is no propitiatory sacrifice for the quicke and the dead.

4 Item, that in the yeare, place, and moneths aforesaid, these thy foresaid assertions solemnly have been condemned, by the scholasticall censure of this schoole, as hereticall and contrarie to the catholicke faith, by the worshipfull M. doctor Weston, prolocutor then of the convocation house, as also by other learned men, of both the universities.

5 Item, that all and singular the premisses be true, notorious, famous, and openly knowne by publike fame, as well to them neere hand, and also to them in distant places farre off.

Examination upon the sayd Articles.

All these articles I thought good here to place together, that as often as hereafter rehearsall shall be of any of them, the reader may have recourse hither, and peruse the same, and not to trouble the storie with severall repetitions thereof.

After these articles were read, the bishops tooke counsaile together. At the last the bishop of Lincoln said; "These are the very same articles which you in open disputation here in the universitie did maintaine and defend. What say you unto the first? I pray you answer affirmatively, or negativelie."

Rid. "Why my lord, I supposed your gentlenesse had bene such, that you would have given mee space untill to morrow, that upon good advisement, I might bring a determinate unswere."

Linc. "Yea M. Ridley, I meane not that your answers now shall be prejudiciall to your answers to morrow. I will take your answers at this time, and yet notwithstanding it shall be lawful to you to adde, diminish, alter, and change of these answers to morrow what you will."

Rid. "Indeed, in like manner at our last disputations I had many things promised, and few performed. It was saide that after disputations I should have a copie thereof, and licence to change mine answers, as I should thinke good. It was meete also that I should have seene what was written by the notaries at that time. So your lordship pretended great gentlenes in giving mee a time: but this gentlenesse is the same that Christ had of the high priests. For you, as your lordship saith, have no power to condemne me, neither at any time to put a man to death: so in like sort the high priests said, *that it was not lawfull for them to put any man to death*, but committed Christ to Pilate, neither would suffer him to absolve Christ, although he sought all the meanes therefore that he might." Then spake D. Weston, one of the audience.

West. "What? doe you make the king Pilate?"

Rid. "No, master doctor, I doe but compare your deedes with Iaphas his deedes and the high priests, which would condemne a man to death, as ye will not, and yet would not suffer Pilate to absolve and deliver Christ."

Linc. "M. Ridley, wee mind not but that you shall enjoy the benefite of answering to morrow, and will take your answers now

as now; to morrow you shall change, take out, adde, and alter what you will. In the meane season wee require you to answer directly to everie article, either affirmatively or negatively."

Rid. "Seeing you appoint me a time to answer to morrow, and yet will take mine answeres out of hand; first, I require the notaries, to take and write my protestation*, that in no point I acknowledge your authority, or admit you to be my judges, in that point you are authorised, from the pope. Therefore whatsoever I shall say or do, I protest, I neither say it, neither do it willingly, thereby to admit the authoritie of the pope: and if your lordship will give me leave, I wil shew the causes, which moveth me thereunto.

Linc. "No M. Ridley, we have instructions to the contrary. We may not suffer you."

Rid. "I will be short: I pray your lordships suffer mee to speak in few words."

Lincolne. "No master Ridley, we may not abuse the hearers cares."

Rid. "Why my lord, suffer me to speake three words."

Linc. "Well M. Ridley to morrow you shall speake forty. The time is farre past: therefore we require your answer determinately. What say you to the first article?" and thereupon rehearsed the same.

Rid. "My protestation alwaies saved, that by this mine answer I do not condescend to your authoritie, in that you are legate to the pope, I answer thus: In a sense the first article is true, and in a sense it is false: for if you take really for *verè*, for spiritually by grace and efficacie, then it is true that the naturall bodie and bloud of Christ is in the sacrament *verè et realiter*, in deed and really: but if you take these tearmes so grosselie, that you would conclude thereby a naturall bodie having motion, to be contained under the formes of bread and wine *verè et realiter*, then really is not the bodie and bloud of Christ in the sacrament, no more then

* *Write my protestation.*] "And yet I will doe it under this protestation: —Call me *protestant* who liste,—I doe not passe thereof: my *protestation* shall be this." Ridley *against Transubstantiation*, in *Enchirid. Theol.*, vol. i. p. 126. "Hitherto all do agree, whether they be newe or olde (and to speake plaine, and as some of them odiously either do call other), whether they be *protestantes*, papistes, pharisees, or gospellers." Ibid. p. 116. See also *Christian Institutes*, Index, under *Protestant religion, name of*.

of being, enclosing a naturall, a lively and a mooving bodie under the shape or forme of bread and wine.

“ Now, this difference considered, to the question thus I answer; that in the sacrament of the aultar is the naturall bodie and bloud of Christ *verè et realiter*, in deed and really, if you take these tearmes in deede and really for spiritually by grace and efficacie; for so everie worthie receiver receiveth the verie true bodie of Christ: but if you meane really and in deed, so that thereby you would include a lively and a moveable body under the formes of bread and wine, then in that sense is not Christs body in the sacrament really and in deed.”

This answer taken and penned of the notaries, the bishop of Lincolne proposed the second question or article. To whom he answered.

Rid. “ Alwaies my protestation reserved, I answer thus: that in the sacrament is a certaine chaunge, in that that bread which was before common bread, is now made a lively representation of Christs bodie: and not only a figure, but effectuously representeth his bodie; that even as the mortall bodie was nourished by that visible bread, so is the internall soule fed with the heavenly foode of Christs bodie, which the eye of faith seeth, as the bodily eie seeth only bread. Such a sacramentall mutation I grant to bee in the bread and wine; which truely is no small chaunge, but such a chaunge as no mortall man can make, but onelie that omnipotency of Christs word.”

Then the bishop of Lincolne willed him to answer directly, either affirmatively or negatively, without further declaration of the matter. Then he answered:

Rid. “ That notwithstanding this sacramentall mutation of the which he spake, and all the doctors confessed, the true substance and nature of bread and wine remaineth, with the which the bodie is in like sort nourished, as the soule by grace and spirite, with the bodie of Christ. Even so in baptisme the bodie is washed with the visible water, and the soule is clensed from al filth by the invisible Holie Ghost, and yet the water ceaseth not to be water, but keepeth the nature of water still. In like sort in the sacrament of the Lords supper the bread ceaseth not to bee bread.”

Then the notaries penned, that he answered affirmativelie to the second article. The bishop of Lincolne declared a difference betweene the sacrament of the altar and baptisme, because that

This answer penned of the notaries, the bishop of Lincolne rehearsed the fift article. To the which hee answered:

Rid. "That the premisses were in such sort true, as in these his answers he had declared. Whether that all men spake evill of them, he knew not, in that he came not so much abroad to heare what every man reported."

This answer also written of the notaries, the bishop of Lincolne said :

"To morrow at eight of the clock you shall appeare before us in S. Maries church; and then, because we cannot well agree upon your answer to the first article (for it was long before he was understood) if it will please you to write your answer, you shall have penne, inke, and paper, and bookes, such as you shall require, but if you write any thing saving your answeres to these articles, we will not receive it:" so hee charging the maior with him, declaring also to the maior that he should suffer him to have a penne and inke, dismissed M. Ridley, and sent for master Latimer; who being brought to the divinitie schoole, there taried till they called for him.

Master Latimer appeareth before the commissioners.

Now after master Ridley was committed to the maior, then the bishop of Lincolne commanded the bailiffes to bring in the other prisoner, who eftsoones as he was placed, said to the lords.

"My lords, if I appeare againe, I pray you not to send for me untill you be readie. For I am an old man, and it is great hurt to mine old age to tarrie so long gazing upon the cold walles." Then the bishop of Lincolne said :

"M. Latimer, I am sorie you are brought so soone, although it is the balyffes fault, and not mine: but it shall be amended."

Then master Latimer bowed his knee down to the ground, holding his hat in his hand, having a kerchiefe on his head, and upon it a night cappe or two, and a great cap (such as townes mens use, with two broad flaps to button under the chin) wearing an old threed bare bristow frise gown girded to his body, with a penie leather girdle, at the which hanged by a long string of leather his Testament and his spectacles without case, depending about his necke upon his breast. After this the bishop of Lincolne began on this manner :

" M. Latimer, you shall understand that I and my lord have a commission from my lord cardinall Pooles grace, legat *apostolicus*, to this realme of England, from our most reverent father in God the popes holinesse, to examine you upon certaine opinions and assertions of yours, which you as well beere openlie in disputations in the yeare of our Lord 1554, as at sundrie and divers other times did affirme, maintaine, and obstinatelie defend. In the which commission bee specialie two pointes: the one which we must desire you is, that if you shall now recant, revoke, and disannull these your errours, and together with all this realme, yea all the worlde, confesse the truth, we upon due repentance of your part should receive you, reconcile you, acknowledge you no longer a strayed sheepe, but adjoine you againe to the unity of Christs church, from the which you in the time of schismes fell: so that it is no new place to the which I exhort you: I desire you to returne thither from whence you went.

" Consider M. Latimer, that without the unitie of the church is no salvation, and in the church can be no errours. Therefore what should stay you to confesse that which all the realme confesseth, to forsake that which the king and queene their majesties have renounced and all the realme recanted? It was a common errour, and it is now of all confessed: it shall bee no more shame to you, than it was to us all. Consider master Latimer, that within these twenty yeeres this realme also with all the world confessed one church; acknowledged in Christes church an head; and by what meanes and for what occasion it cut off it selfe from the rest of Christianitie, and renounced that which in all times and ages was confessed, it is wel known, and might be now declared upon what good foundation the sea of Rome was forsaken, save that we must spare them that are deade, to whome the rehearsall would be opprobrious. It is no usurped power, as it hath been tearmed, but founded upon Peter by Christ, a sure foundation, a perfect builder, as by divers places as well of the ancient fathers, as the expresse word of God may be proved."

With that master Latimer, which before leaned his head to his hand, began somewhat to remove his cappe and kerchiefe from his eares.

The bishop proceeded saying: " for Christ spake expressly to Peter saying, *pasce oves meas, et rege oves meas*, the which word doth not onelie declare a certaine ruling of Christs flocke, but includeth also a certaine preeminence and government, and there-

fore is the king called *rex à regendo*: so that in saying *rege*, Christ declared a power which he gave to Peter, which jurisdiction and power Peter by hand delivered to Clement; and so in all ages hath it remained in the sea of Rome. This if you shall confesse with us; and acknowledge with all the realme your errorrs and false assertions, then shall you doe that which wee most desire, then shall we rest upon the first part of our commission, then shall we receive you, acknowledge you one of the church, and according to the authoritie given unto us, minister unto you upon due repentance, the benefit of absolution, to the which the king and queene their majesties were not ashamed to submitte themselves, although they of themselves were unspotted, and therefore needed no reconciliation: yet least the putrification and rottennesse of all the bodie might be noysome, and doe dammage to the head also, they (as I saide) most humbly submitted themselves to my lord cardinall his grace, by him, as a legate to the popes holinesse, to bee partakers of the reconciliation.—But if you shall stubbornly persever in your blindnes, if you will not acknowledge your errorrs, if you, as you stand now alone, will be singular in your opinions, if by schisme and heresie you will divide your selfe from our church, then must we proceede to the second part of the commission, which wee would be loath to doe, that is, not to condemne you, for that we cannot doe (*that* the temporall sword of the realme, and not we, will do) but to separate you from us, acknowledge you to be none of us, to renounce you as no member of the church, to declare that you are *filius perditionis*, a lost childe, and as you are a rotten member of the church, so to cut you off from the church, and so to commit you to the temporall judges³, permitting them to proceede against you, according to the tenour of their lawes.

“ Therefore master Latimer, for Gods love consider your estate, remember you are a learned man, you have taken degrees in the schoole, borne the office of a bishop; remember you are an old man, spare your body, accelerat not your death, and especially remember your soules health, and quiet of your conscience; consider that if you should die in this state, you shall be a stinking sacrifice to God, for it is the cause that maketh the martyr, and not the death: consider that if you die in this state, you die without grace, for without the church can be no salvation. Let not vaine glorie have the upper hand, humiliate your selfe,

³ Commit you to the temporall judges.] See note at p. 389 of vol. i.

captivate your understanding, subdue your reason, submit your selfe to the determination of the church, doe not force us to doe all that we may doe, let us rest in that part which we most heartilie desire, and I, for my part" (then the bishop put off his cap) "againie with all my heart exhort you."

After the bishop had somewhat paused, then M. Latimer lift up his head (for before he leaned on his elbowe) and asked whether his lordshippe had said: and the bishop answered yea.

Lati. "Then will your lordship give me leave to speake a word or two?"

Linc. "Yea master Latimer, so that you use a modest kind of talke, without railing or taunts."

Lati. "I beseech your lordship, licence me to sit downe."

Linc. "At your pleasure master Latimer, take as much ease as you will."

Lati. "Your lordship gentlie exhorted me in many wordes to come to the unitie of the church. I confesse (my lord) a catholicke church, spread throughout all the world, in which no man may erre, without the which unitie of the church no man can be saved: but I know perfectly by Gods word that this church is in all the world, and hath not his foundation in Rome onelie, as you say: and me thought your lordship brought a place out of the Scriptures to confirme the same, that there was a jurisdiction given to Peter, in that Christ bade him *regere*, governe his people. Indeede my lord, saint Peter did well and truelie his office, in that he was bidde *regere*: but since the bishoppes of Rome have taken a new kinde of *regere*. Indeed, they ought to *regere*, but how my lord? not as they will themselves: but this *regere* must be hedged in, and diked in. They must *regere*, but *secundum verbum Dei*: they must rule, but according to the word of God.

"But the bishops of Rome have turned *regere secundum verbum Dei*, into *regere secundum voluntatem suam*; they have turned the rule according to the word of God, into the rule according to their owne pleasures, and as it pleaseth them best. There is a booke set forth which hath divers points in it, and amongst other, this point is one, which your lordship went about to prove by this word *regere*, and the argument which hee bringeth forth for the prooffe of that matter, is taken out of Deuteronomie, where it is said⁴:

⁴ It is said.] "Veniesque ad sacerdotes Levitici generis, et ad judicem qui fuerit illo tempore: quæresque ab eis, qui indicabant tibi iudicii veritatem."

If there riseth anie controversie among the people, as the priests of the order of Leviticus shall decide the matter according to the law of God; so it must be taken. This booke perceiving this authoritie to bee given to the priests of the olde lawe, taketh occasion to proove the same to be given to the bishops and other the clergie of the new law: but in proving this matter, where as it was said there, as the priests of the order of Leviticus should determine the matter according to Gods law, that (*according to Gods law*) is left out, and onelie is recited, *as the priests of the order of Leviticus shall decide the matter, so it ought to be taken of the people:* a large authoritie I ensure you. What clipping of Gods coine is this?" with the which tearmes the audience smiled. "This is much like the *regere* which your lordship talked of. Nay, nay, my lords, we may not give such authoritie to the clergie, to rule all things as they will. Let them keepe themselves within their commission.—Now I trust my lord, I do not raile yet."

Linc. "No M. Latimer, your talke is more like taunts then railing: but in that I have not read the book which you blame so much, nor knowe not of any such, I can say nothing therein."

Lati. "Yes my lord, the booke is open to be read, and is intituled to one which is bishop of Glocester, whom I never knew, neither did at any time see him to my knowledge." With that the people laughed, because the bishop of Glocester sate there in commission.

Then the bishop of Glocester stode up, and saide it was his booke¹.

Et facies quodcumque dixerint qui præsunt loco quem elegerit Dominus, et docuerint te juxta legem ejus; sequerisque sententiam eorum; nec declinabis ad dexteram neque ad sinistram." Deut. xvii. 9—11. It is necessary to give this extract from the *Vulgate Latin*, in order that the reader may understand Latimer's argument. Our English translation gives a different sense to the passage in question.

¹ *Was his booke.*] The book referred to is the sermon of Brookes, which we have had occasion more than once to cite in the progress of these notes; and is intituled, a "Sermon very notable, fruitful, and godly, made at Pauls Crosse, the 12th day of Novemb. in the first year of the gracious reign of our sovereign lady Q. Mary." The place to which Latimer alludes is as follows:

The catholic church hath "authoritie to judge, and decide all maters of controversy in religion. For if the Scripture of the olde lawe in Moses time was not made the highe judge of controversies (being a thinge itselfe in divers pointes called in controversy), but authority in judgements was given alwaies

Lat. "Was it yours my lord! In deed I knewe not y^r lordship, neither ever did see you before, neither yet see you now; through the brightnes of the sunne shining betwixt you and me." Then the audience laughed againe: and M. Latimer spake unto them saying, "Why my masters, this is no laughing matter. I answere upon life and death. *Vos vobis qui ridetis nunc, quoniam fletibitis!*"

The bishop of Lincolne commaunded silence, and then said:

"Master Latimer, if you had kept your selfe within y^r bounds, if you had not used such scoffes and taunts, this had not been done."

After this the bishop of Gloucester saide in excusing of his booke,

"M. Latimer, hereby every man may see what learning^a you have."

Then M. Latimer interrupted him saying:

"Loe you looke for learning at my hands, which have gone as long to the schoole of oblivion, making the bare walles my library, keeping me so long in prison without booke or pen and inke: and now you let me loose to come and answere to articles. You dealt with mee as though two were appointed to fight for life and death, and over night the one through friends and favour is cherished, and hath good counsaile given him how to encounter with his enemy: the other for envy or lacke of friends, all the whole night is set in the stocks. In the morning when they shall meet, the one is in strength and lustie; the other is starke of his limbes, and almost dead for feeblenesse. Think you, that to run through this man with a speare is not a goodly victorie?"

by Gods owne mouthe to the learned, and elders of the synagogue, to whose judgement all were bounde to stande, and that under pain of present death, as appeareth in the booke of Deuteronomie (chap. 17); if we Christians will not be counted in a woorsse state and condition, than the Jewes were, needes must wee grant to the catholike church like authoritie of judgemente, for the decision of all controversies in our religion; whom if God didde not assist evermore with the true intelligence of Scripture, then should the Scripture stande the church in as good stede, as a paier of spectacles shoulde stande a blinde frier," &c. Signat. B 4.

In connection with this extract, and the argument between Brookes and Latimer, the reader will do well to consult the XXth Article of the Church of England.

^a *What learning.*] The reader will do well to refer to the numerous and valuable writers in the *Christian Institutes*. Index, under Art. Church; Church Authority, &c.

But the bishop of Gloucester interrupting his answer proceeded, saying ;

“ I went not about to recite any places of Scripture in that place of my book : for then if I had not recited it faithfully, you might have had just occasion of reprehension : but I only in that place formed an argument *à majeure*, in this sense : that if in the olde lawe the priests had power to decide matters of controversies, much more then ought the authoritie to be given to the clergie in the newe lawe : and I pray you in this point what availeth the rehearsall, *secundum legem Dei* ? ”

Lati. “ Yes my lord, very much. For I acknowledge authoritie to be given to the spirituality to decide matter of religion, and as my lord said even now, to *regere* : but they must doe it *secundum verbum Dei*, and not *secundum voluntatem suam*, according to the word and lawe of God, and not after their owne will, after their own imaginations and fantasies.”

The bishop of Gloucester would have spoke more, saving that the bishop of Lincolne said, that they came not to dispute with M. Latimer, but to take his determinate answers to their articles ; and so began to propose the same articles which were proposed to M. Ridley. But M. Latimer interrupted him, speaking to the bishop of Gloucester : “ well my lord, I could wish more faithfull dealing with Gods word, and not to leave out a part, and snatch a part here and another there, but to rehearse the whole faithfully.”

But the bishop of Lincolne not attending to this saying of maister Latimer, proceeded in rehearsing the articles in forme and sense as I declared before in the examination of the articles, proposed to M. Ridley, and required maister Latimers answer to the first.—Then M. Latimer, making his protestation that, notwithstanding these his answeres, it should not be taken that thereby he would acknowledge any authoritie of the bishop of Rome, saying that he was the king and queene their majesties subject and not the popes, (neither could serve two masters at one time, except he should first renounce one of them) required the notaries so to take his protestation, that whatsoever he should say or doe, it should not be taken as though he did thereby agree to any authoritie that came from the bishop of Rome.

The bishop of Lincoln said, that his protestation should be so taken : but hee required him to answer briefelie, affirmatively or

negatively, to the first article, and so recited the same againe: and M. Latimer answered as followeth.

"I doe not deny (my lord) that in the sacrament by spirite and grace is the verie body and blood of Christ, because that every man by receiving bodily that bread and wine, spiritually receiveth the body and blood of Christ, and is made partaker thereby of the merits of Christs passion: but I denie that the body and blood of Christ is in such sort in the sacrament as you would have it."

Linc. "Then maister Latimer, you answere affirmatively."

Lati. "Yea, if you meane of that grosse and carnall being, which you do take."

The notaries tooke his answere to be affirmatively.

Linc. "What say you M. Latimer to the second article? and recited the same.

Lati. "There is, my lord, a change in the bread and wine, and such a change as no power, but the omnipotencie of God can make, in that that which before was bread, should now have that dignity to exhibite Christs body¹, and yet the bread is still bread, and the wine still wine: for the change is not in the nature, but in the dignitie, because now that which was common bread hath the dignitie to exhibit Christs body; for where as it was common bread, it is now no more common bread, neither ought it to bee so taken, but as holie breade sanctified by Gods word."

With that the bishop of Lincolne smiled, saying:

"Loe master Latimer, see what stedfastnesse is in your doctrine: *that* which you abhorred and despised most, you now most establish: for whereas you most railed at holie bread, you now make your communion holy bread."

Lati. "Tush, a rush for holy bread. I say the bread in the communion is an holy bread indeed."

¹ *To exhibite Christs body.*] "Bread and wine be signes exhibitve, *that is to say*, such signes as do give, the things signified."—Martin Bucer, in Strype's *Memorials of Cranmer*, p. 131, Appendix. See also p. 133, *ibid*. "But in the other signes, which some call *exhibitivæ*, is there not only a signification of the thing, but also a declaration of a gift, yea, in a certain manner, a giving also. As baptisme signifieth not onely the cleansing of the conscience from sinne, by the merits of Christs blood, but also is a verie cleansing from sinne."—*Sermon on the Lord's Supper*, by John Bradford. Edit. 1581. Signat. H 1.

But the bishop of Lincolne interrupted him and sayd :

" O, you make a difference betweene holy bread and holy bread" (with that the audience laughed). " Wel master Latimer, is not this your answer, that the substance of bread and wine remaineth after the words of consecration ?"

Lati. " Yes verily, it must needs be so. For Christ himselfe calleth it bread, S. Paul calleth it bread, the doctors confesse the same, the nature of a sacrament confirmeth the same ; and I call it holy bread, not in that I make no difference betwixt your holy bread and this, but for the holy office which it beareth, that is, to be a figure of Christs body, and not only a bare figure, but effectually to represent the same."

So the notaries penned his answer to bee affirmativelie.

Linc. " What saie you to the third question ?" and recited the same.

Lati. " No, no, my lord, Christ made one perfect sacrifice for all the whole world, neither can any man offer him againe, neither can the priest offer up Christ againe for the sinnes of man, which he tooke away *by offering himselfe once for all* (as saint Paul saith) upon the crosse, neither is there any propitiation for our sinnes, saving his crosse only."

So the notaries penned his answer to this article also to be affirmatively.

Linc. " What say you to the fourth, master Latimer ?" and recited it. After the recitall whereof, when maister Latimer answered not, the bishoppe asked him whether hee heard him or no ?

Lati. " Yes, but I doe not understand what you meane thereby."

Linc. " Mary only this, that these your assertions were condemned by M. doctor Weston as heresie : is it not so M. Latimer ?"

Lat. " Yes, I thinke they were condemned. But how unjustly, he that shall be judge of all knoweth."

So the notaries tooke his answer, to this article also to be affirmatively.

Linc. " What say you, maister Latimer, to the fifth article ?" and recited it.

Lat. " I knowe not what you meane by these tearmes ; I am no lawyer, I would you would propose the matter plainly."

Linc. " In that we proceed according to the lawe, we must

use their tearmes also. The meaning onely is this, that these your assertions are notorious, evill spoken of, and yet common and frequent in the mouthes of the people."

Lat. "I cannot tell how much nor what men talke of them. I come not so much among them, in that I have been secloded a long time. What men report of them I know not, nor care not."

This answer taken, the bishop of Lincolne said :

"M. Latimer, we meane not that these your answeres shall be prejudiciall to you. To morrow you shall appear before us againe, and then it shall be lawfull for you to alter and change what you will. We give you respite till to morrow, trusting that after you have pondered well all things against to morrowe, you will not be ashamed to confesse the truth."

Lati. "Now my lord I pray you give me licence in three words to declare the causes why I have refused the authoritie of the pope."

Linc. "Nay M. Latimer, to morrow you shall have licence to speake forty words."

Lati. "Nay my lords, I beseech you to doe with mee now as it shall please your lordships : I pray you let not me be troubled to morrow againe."

Linc. "Yes M. Latimer, you must needes appeare againe to morrow."

Lati. "Truely my lord, as for my part I require no respite. for I am at a point ; you shall give me respite in vaine. Therefore I pray you let me not trouble you to morrow."

Lincolne. "Yes, for wee trust, God will worke with you against to morrowe. There is no remedie, you must needes appeare again to morrow at eight of the clocke in S. Maries church." And forthwith the bishop charged the maior with M. Latimer, and dismissed him, and then brake up their session for that day. about one of the clocke at afternoone.

Here followeth the second session.

The next daie following (which was the first daie of October) somewhat after eight of the clocke, the said lords repaired to saint Maries church, and after they were set in a high throne well trimmed with cloth of tissewe and silke, then appeared maister Ridley, who was set at a framed table a good space from the

bishops feete, which table had a silke clothe cast over it, the which place was compassed about with framed seates in quadrate forme, partlie for gentlemen which repaired thither (for this was the session day also of gaile delivery) and heades of the universitie to sit, and partly to keepe off the prease of the audience: for the whole bodie as well of the universitie as of the towne, came thither to see the end of these two persons. After M. Ridleyes appearance, and the silence of the audience, the bishop of Lincolne spake in manner following.

“ Master Ridley, yesterday when that we challenged you for not uncovering your head, you excused your self of that wherof no man accused you, in saying you did not put on your cap for anie obstinacie towards us, which as touching our own persons desired no such obedience of you, but onelie in respect of them whose persons we beare; neither (you said) for anie contempt that you beare to this worshipfull audience, which although justlie maie, yet in this case require no such humilitie of you; neither for anie derogation of honour to my lord cardinals grace, in that he descended from the regall bloud, in that hee is a man most noble, both for his excellent qualities and singular learning: for as touching those points, you said you with all humilitie would honour, reverence, and worship his grace: but in that he is legate to the most reverent father in God the popes holinesse” (with that the bishop with all then present put off their cappes, but M. Ridley mooved not his) “ you sayd you ne could, ne would by anie meanes be induced to give him honour: but forasmuch as this is the point, as we told you yesterday, why we require honour and reverence of you, we tell you now as we did then, except you take the paines to moove your bonet, we will take the paines to cause your bonet to be taken from you: except you pretend sicknesse, as yesterdaie you did not.”

Ridl. “ I pretend now none other cause, than I did yesterdaie, that is, onely that hereby it maie appeare that not only in word and confession, but also by all my gesture and behaviour, in no point I agree or admit anie authoritie or power that shal come from the pope, and not for anie pride of minde (as God is my judge) neither for contempt of your lordships, or of this worshipfull audience, neither for derogation of honor due to my lord cardinals grace as concerning those points which your lordship spake of, that is, his noble parentage and singular graces in learning.

BISHOP LATIMER.

And as for taking my cappe away, your lordship may doe as it shall please you: it shall not offend me, but I shall bee content with your ordinance in that behalfe."

Lin. "Forasmuch as you do answer now as you did yesterdaie, we must do also as we did then;" and forthwith one of the bedles verie hastilie snatched his cap from his head.

After this the bishop of Lincolne began the examination in sense following.

"Master Ridley, yesterday we tooke your answer to certaine articles, which we then proposed unto you: but because we could not be thorowlie satisfied with your answers then to the first article, neither could the notaries take anie determinate answers of you, we (you requiring the same) granted you licence to bring your answer in writing, and thereupon commanded the maier that you should have pen, paper, and inke, yea anie books also that you would require, if they were to be gotten: wee licensed you then also, to alter your former answers this daie at your pleasure: therefore we are come now hither, to see whether you are in the same minde now that you were in yesterdaie (which wee would not wish), or contrarie, contented to revoke al your former assertions, and in all points content to submit your selfe to the determination of the universall church; and I for my part most earnestlie exhort you" (and therewith he put off his cap) "not because my conscience pricketh me, as you saide yesterday, but because I see you a rotten member, and in the way of perdition.

"Yesterdaie I brought forth amongst other Saint Austen, to prove that authoritie hath alwaies beene given to the see of Rome, and you wrested the words farre contrarie to S. Austens meaning, in that you would have *totus mundus* to bee applied onelie to Europe, which is but the third part of all the world, whereas in deed the processe of S. Augustines words will not admit that your interpretation. For he sayth not *totus mundus Christianus in transmarinis*, &c. but first, *totus mundus Christianus Romana Ecclesie subiectus est*; all the Christian world is subject to the church of Rome, and afterward addeth *in transmarinis partibus*, beyond the sea, but onelie to augment the dominion of the sea of Rome."

But maister Ridley still persevered in his former answer, saying: "I am sure my lord you have som skill in cosmographie, in the which you shall understand that there is a sea called *Mov*

mediterraneum, cast betweene Europe and Africa, in the which he meant Europe beyond the sea, even as I should saie the whole world beyond the sea, excepting England in the which I stand :” and here manie words were spent upon the interpretation of the same place of S. Austen.

After long disceptation, the bishop of Lincolne saide, that the meaning of S. Augustine might be knowne by the consent of other the doctors, and rehearsed divers.

But maister Ridley required the rehearsall of the places, and to reade the very words of the doctors, saying, that perhaps those which the bishop rehearsed, being proponed in other tearmes in the doctors, would admit a contrarie meaning and interpretation : but in that the booke out of the which the bishop rehearsed them, was none of the doctors, but only the sentences drawne out of the doctors by some studious man, he could not recite the verie words of the doctors.

Then after he came to Cyrillus, which (as he said) made against master Ridley in the sacrament, even by Philip Melancthon his owne alledging in his Common Places ; and forthwith called for Melancthon, but in vaine, because all such bookes were burned a little before *, wherefore he passed it over.

“Cyrillus also in another place proving to the Jewes that Christ was come, useth this reason, aultars are erected in Christs name in Britaine and in farre countreies : *Ergo*, Christ is come. But we may use the contrarie, of that reason : altars are plucked downe in Britaine : *ergo*, Christ is not come. A good argument *à contrariis* : I will stand to it in the schooles by and with anie man. Yee see what a good argument this your doctrine maketh for the Jewes, to prove that Christ is not come.”

Doctor Ridley smiling, answered : “your lordship is not ignorant that this word *altars* in the Scripture signifieth as well the altar whereupon the Jewes were wont to make their burnt sacrifices, as the table of the Lords supper. Cyrillus meaneth there by this word *altare* not the Jewish altar, but the table of the Lord, and by that saying (*aultars are erected in Christs name, ergo Christ is come*) hee meaneth that the communion is ministred in his remembrance, *ergo*. Christ is come : for the strength of his

* Burned a little before.] Wood's *Hist. and Antiq. of Oxford*, vol. ii. p. 132, edit. 1790. Warton's *Life of Sir Thomas Pope*, p. 124. Compare Strype's *Cranmer*, p. 346 ; Fox's *Acts*, p. 1450.

argument is, because the remembrance of a thing cannot bee, except the thing it selfe bee past: then could not all countries celebrate the communion in the remembrance of Christs passion, except Christ had been come and suffered. As for the taking down of the altars, it was done upon just considerations¹, for that they seemed to come too nigh to the Jewes usage. Neither was the supper of the Lord at any time better ministred, or more duly received, than in these latter daies when all things were brought to the rites and usage of the primitive church."

Lin. "A godly receiving I promise you, to set an oyster table in steed of an altar, and to come from puddings at Westminster to receive: and yet when your table was constituted, you could never bee content, in placing the same nowe east, now north, now one way, now another, untill it pleased God of his goodness to place it cleane out of the church."

Rid. "Your lordships unreverent tearmes do not elevate¹ the thing. Perhaps some men came more devoutly from puddings than other men now do from other things."

Lin. "As for that M. Ridley, you ought to be judge of as man: but by this your reasoning you cause us to stretch and enlarge our instructions. We came not to reason, but to take your determinate answeres to our articles:" and eftsoones hee read the first article in maner above specified.

"Now M. Ridley, what say you to the first article? if you have brought your answer in writing, we will receive it: but if you have written any other matter, we will not receive it."

Then M. Ridley tooke a sheet of paper out of his bosome, and began to reade that which he had written: but the bishop of Lincolne commanded the bedle to take it from him. But he desired licence to reade it, saying that it was nothing but his answers, but the bishop would in no wise suffer him.

Rid. "Why my lord, will you require my answer, and not

¹ *Just considerations.*] In Fox's *Acts*, p. 1211, 12, is printed a letter from the council to bishop Ridley, to which are subjoined six reasons, transmitted to him by the same authority, upon which this practice was to be adopted. Compare Heylin's *Hist. of the Reformation*, p. 95—8; Strype's *Eccles. Memor.*, vol. ii. p. 227, 8; Strype's *Cranmer*, p. 227—30. In the same year came out a treatise against Altars, and in vindication of Tables, intitled, "*The Bateria of the Popes Botereulz, commonly called the High Altars, compiled by W. S. (William Salisbury) in the year of our Lorde 1550.*"

¹ *Do not elevate.*] "To lessen by detraction. This sense, though legitimately deduced from the Latin, is not now in use." Johnson's *Dict.*

suffer me to publish it? I beseech you my lord, let the audience beare witness in this matter. Your lordships may handle it at your pleasures: therefore let the audience be witnesses to your doings."

Lin. "Well M. Ridley, we will first see what you have written: and then if we shall thinke it good to be read, you shall have it published; but except you will deliver it first, wee will take none at all of you."

With that M. Ridley, seeing no remedie, delivered it to an officer, which immediately delivered it to the bishop of Lincoln, who after hee had secretly communicated it to the other two bishops, declared the sense, but would not read it as it was written, saying, *that it contained words of blasphemie, therefore he would not fill the eares of the audience therewithall and so abuse their patience*; notwithstanding M. Ridley desired very instantly to have it published, saying, that except a line or two, there was nothing contained but the ancient doctors sayings for the confirmation of his assertions.

After the said bishops had secretly viewed the whole, then the bishop of Lincolne saide; "In the first part M. Ridley, is nothing contained but your protestation, that you would not have these your answeres so to be taken, as though you seemed thereby to consent to the authoritie or jurisdiction of the popes holinesse."

Rid. "No my lord, I pray you read it out, that the audience may heare it;" but the bishop of Lincolne would in no wise, because (he said) there were contained words of blasphemie.

Then the bishop of Lincolne recited the first article, and required maister Ridleies answer to it. Then maister Ridley said, that his answer was there in writing, and desired that it might be published; but the bishop would not reade the whole, but here and there a peece of it. So the notaries tooke his answer, that hee referred him to his answer in writing exhibited now, and also before at the time of disputation, M. Doctor Weston being prolocutor.

In like wise the bishop of Lincoln recited the second article, and required an answer, and maister Ridley referred him to his answer in writing, exhibited nowe, and also before at the time of disputation: and like answeres were taken to all the residue of the articles.

These answers in this maner rehearsed, taken and penned of

the notaries, the bishop of Gloucester began an exhortation to move M. Ridley to turne.

" If you would once emptie your stomacke, captivate your senses, subdue your reason, and together with us consider what a feeble ground of your religion you have, I do not doubt but you might easily bee perduced to acknowledge one church with us, to confesse one faith with us, and to beleewe one religion with us. For what a weak and feeble stay in religion is this, I pray you! Latimer leaneth to Cranmer, Cranmer to Ridley, and Ridley to the singularitie of his owne wit: so that if you overthrowe the singularitie of Ridleys witte, then must needes the religion of Cranmer and Latimer fall also. You remember wel M. Ridley, that the prophet speaketh most truly, saying, *wo, wo be to them which are singular and wise in their owne conceites!*

" But you will say here, it is true that the prophet saith: but how knowe you that I am wise in mine owne conceite? Yea, maister Ridley, you refuse the determination of the catholicke church: you must needes be singular and wise in your own conceit, for you bring Scriptures for the probation of your assertions, and we also bring Scriptures: you understand them in one sense, and we in another. How will yee know the truth herein? If you stand to your owne interpretation, then you are singular in your own conceit: but if you say you will follow the minds of the doctors and ancient fathers, semblably you understand them in one meaning, and we take them in another: how will ye know the truth herein? If you stand to your owne judgement, then are you singular in your own conceit, then can you not avoide the woe which the prophet speaketh of.

" Wherefore, if you have no staie but the catholicke church in matters of controversie, except you will rest upon the singularitie and wisdom of your owne braine, if the prophet most trueke saith, *wo, wo be to them that are wise in their owne conceits*: then for Gods love maister Ridley stand not singular, bee not you wise in your owne conceite, please not your selfe over much. How were the Arrians, the Manicheis, the Eutichians, with other divers heretikes which have been in the church, how I pray you were they suppressed and convinced? by reasoning in disputations? No, truly the Arrians had mo places^e of Scriptures for

^e *Had no places.* No sacrifices are to be considered too great, any thing is to be attempted, if only the *authority of the church* may thereby be maintained.

the confirmation of their heresie, than the catholikes for the defence of the trueth. How then were they convinced! only by the determination of the church. And indeed except we do constitute the church our foundation, stay, and judge, we can have no end of controversies, no end of disputations. For in that wee all bring Scriptures and doctors for the probation of our assertions, who should be judge of this our controversie? If we our selves, then be we singular and wise in our owne conceits, then cannot we avoide the woe that the prophet speaketh of.

“It remaineth therefore that we submit our selves to the determination and arbitrement of the church, with whome God promised to remaine to the worlds end, to whom hee promised to send the Holy Ghost which should teach it the truth. Wherefore M. Ridley, if you will avoid the woe that the prophet speaketh of, be not you wise in your judgement: if you will not be wise and singular in your owne judgement, captivate your owne understanding, subdue your reason, and submit your selfe to the determination of the church.”

This is briefly the sum of the oration of the bishop of Gloucester, by the which he indevoured in many moe words, amplifying and enlarging the matter eloquently with sundry points of rhetoricke, to move affections, to perswade M. Ridley to recant and forsake his religion.

To whom M. Ridley answered in fewe words, that he saide most truly with the prophet, wo be to him which is wise in his owne conceit, but that hee acknowledged no such singularitie in

The Scriptures themselves shall be betrayed, and scandalized. This was no sudden fanatical flight of the bishop of Gloucester. He was wont to maintain it in his solemn discourses: and we shall find below that he again repeated it in the next year, in a set oration addressed to Cranmer. See *Sermon made at Pauls Crosse the 12th daie of Novembre*, signat. D 2, 3. Watson, afterwards bishop of Lincoln, touches upon the same argument, but with much more moderation, in his two famous sermons, preached A.D. 1554, signat. B 7. Compare *Life of bishop Stillingfleet*, p. 64. A.D. 1710. “Soon after this former tract came forth *A Dialogue between a new Catholic convert and a Protestant, concerning the doctrines of the Trinity and Transubstantiation*. For so bent were the Romanists upon pursuing their own interest by all methods whatsoever, that they would chuse rather, as they have too frequently done since, to undermine the Trinity and other fundamental doctrines of Christianity, than yield themselves baffled, when all unbiassed readers could not but see they were so to a great degree. But this wicked and antichristian pamphlet was in a little time worthily chastised by this great man.”

him. he knew any cause why he should attribute so much to himself. And whereas hee sayd M. Cranmer leaned to him. that was most untrue. in that hee was but a yong scholler in comparison of M. Cranmer: for at what time he was a young scholler. than was M. Cranmer a doctor: so that he confessed that M. Cranmer might have bin his schoolemaster these manie yeeres. It seemed that he would have spoken more. but the bishop of Gloucester interrupted him. saying.

— Why M. Ridley. it is your owne confession; for M. Latimer at the time of his disputations confessed his learning to ly in M. Cranmers books. and M. Cranmer also said. that it was your doing."

Likewise the bishop of Lincolne with many words and gently bidding his cap in his hand. desired him to turne. But maister Ridley made an absolute answer. that he was fullie perswaded. the religion which he defended to be grounded upon Gods word. and therefore without great offence towards God. great perill and damage of his soule. he could not forsake his maister and Lord God: but desired the bishop to performe his grant. in that his lordship sayd the day before. that he should have licence to shewe his cause. why hee could not with a safe conscience admit the authority of the pope: but the bishop of Lincolne saide. that whereas then he had demanded licence to speake three words. he was contented then that he should speake fortie. and that grant he would performe.

Then stepped forth doctor Weston which sate by. and saide. why my lord he hath spoken foure hundred alreadye.

Maister Ridley confessed he had. but they were not of his prescribed number. neither of that matter. The bishop of Lincolne bade him take his licence: but he should speake but fortie. and he would tell them upon his fingers: and eftsoones maister Ridley beganne to speake: but before hee had ended halfe a sentence. the doctours sitting by cryed and sayde. that his number was out. and with that he was put to silence.

After the bishop of Lincoln which sate in the middest. began to speake as followeth:

"Now I perceive M. Ridley. you will not permit ne suffer us to staie in that point of our commission which wee most desired: for I ensure you. there is never a word in our commission more true than *dolentes et poenitentes*. For. indeed I for my part. I take God to witnesse. am sorry for you." Whereunto M. Ridley answered.

"I beleeeve it well my lord, forasmuch as one day it will be burdenous to your soule."

Lin. "Nay not so maister Ridley, but because I am sorry to see such stubbornesse in you, that by no meanes you may be perswaded to acknowledge your errors, and receive the truth; but seeing it is so, because you will not suffer us to persist in the first, we must of necessitie proceed to the other part of our commission. Therefore I pray you harken what I shall say:" and forthwith he did reade the sentence of condemnation, which was written in a long processe: the tenour of which because it is sufficientlie alreadie expressed before, wee thought meete in this place to omit, for asmuch as they are rather wordes of course, than things devised upon deliberation. Howbeit indeed the effect was, that forasmuch as the saide Nicholas Ridley did affirme, maintaine, and stubbornlie defend certaine opinions, assertions and heresies, contrary to the word of God, and the received faith of the church, as in denying the true and naturall body of Christ, and his naturall blood to bee in the sacrament of the altar: *Secundarily*, in affirming the substance of breade and wine to remaine after the words of the consecration: *Thirdly*, in denying the masse to be a lively sacrifice of the church for the quick and the dead, and that he by no meanes would bee perduced and brought from these his heresies: they therefore the said John of Lincolne, James of Gloucester, John of Bristowe, did judge and condemne the said Nicholas Ridley, as an heretike, and so adjudged him presentlie both by word, and also in deed to bee degraduated from the degree of a bishop, from priesthood and all ecclesiasticall order: declaring moreover the saide Nicholas Ridley to bee no member of the church, and therefore committed him to the secular powers, of them to receive due punishment according to the tenour of the temporall lawes: and further excommunicating him by the great excommunication.

The last appearance and examination of maister Latimer before the commissioners.

This sentence being published by the bishop of Lincolne, master Ridley was committed as a prisoner to the maior, and immediately M. Latimer was sent for; but in the mean season the carpet or cloth which lay upon the table whereat M. Ridley stood, was removed because (as men reported) M. Latimer had

deliberation bee taken. And again being demanded of them sitting in judgement, which was most like to bee of the church of Christ, either he which was persecuted, either they which did persecute? *Christ*, said he, *hath foresheued, that hee that doth follow him, must take up his crosse and follow him.* Christ gave knowledge that the disciples should have persecution and trouble. How thinke you then my lords, is it like that the sea of Rome, which hath bin a continuall persecutor, is rather the church, or that small flocke which hath continually beene persecuted of it even to death? Also the flock of Christ hath beene but few in comparison to the residue, and ever in subjection ;” which hee proved, beginning at Noes time even to the apostles.

Lin. “ Your cause and saint Cyprian is not one, but cleane contrarie, for he suffered persecution for Christes sake and the gospell : but you are in trouble for your errors and false assertions, contrarie to the word of God, and the received truth of the church.”

M. Latimer interrupting him said, “ Yes verilie, my cause is as good as saint Cyprians ; for his was for the word of God, and so is mine.”

But Lincolne goeth forth in his talke.

“ Also at the beginning and foundation of the church, it could not be but that the apostles should suffer great persecution. Further, before Christs comming continually there were very fewe which truelie served God, but after his comming began the time of grace, then began the church to increase, and was continually augmented, untill it came into this perfection, and now hath justlie that jurisdiction which the unchristian princes before by tyrannie did resist : there is a divers consideration of the estate of the church now in the time of grace, and before Christs comming. But master Latimer, although wee had instructions given us determinately to take your answer to such articles as we should propose, without any reasoning or disputations, yet wee hoping by talke somewhat to prevaile with you, appointed you to appeare before us yesterdaie in the divinity schoole, a place for disputations. And whereas then notwithstanding you had licence to say your minde, and were answered to every matter, yet you could not be brought from your errors ; we thinking that from that time ye would with good advisement consider your state, gave you respite from that time yesterdaie when wee dismissed

you, untill this time, and now have called you againe here in this place, by your answeres to learne whether you are the same man you were then or no. Therefore we will propose unto you the same articles which we did then, and will require of you a determinate answer, without further reasoning?" and eftsoones he recited the first article.

Lati. "Alwaies my protestation saved, that by these mine answers, it should not be thought that I did condescend and agree to your lordships authoritie in that you are legaced by authoritie of the pope, so that thereby I might seeme to consent to his jurisdiction; to the first article I answere now as I did yesterday, that in the sacrament the worthie receiver receiveth the very bodie of Christ, and drinketh his bloud by spirit and grace. But after a corporall being which the Romish church prescribeth, Christs bodie and bloud is not in the sacrament under the formes of bread and wine."

The notaries tooke his answer to be affirmativelie. For the second article hee referred himself to his answeres made before.

After this the bishop of Lincolne recited the third article, and required a determinate answer.

Lati. "Christ made one oblation and sacrifice for the sins of the whole world and that a perfect sacrifice, neither needeth there to be any other, neither can there be any other propitiatory sacrifice."

The notaries tooke his answer to be affirmativelie.

In like maner did he answer to the other articles, not varying from his answeres made the day before.

After his answers were penned of the notaries, and the bishop of Lincolne had exhorted him in like sort to recant as he did master Ridley, and revoke his errors and false assertions, and master Latimer had answered that he ne could, ne wold denie his master Christ, and his veritie, the bishoppe of Lincolne desired master Latimer to hearken to him: and then master Latimer harkning for some new mater and other talk, the bishop of Lincolne read his condemnation, after the publication of the which, the said three bishops brake up their session, and dismissed the audience.

But M. Latimer required the bishop to performe his promise in saying the daie before, that he should have licence brieflie to declare the cause why he refused the popes authoritie.

But the bishop said, that now hee could not heare him, neither ought to talke with him³.

Then master Latimer asked him whether it were not lawfull for him to appeale from this his judgement. And the bishop asked him againe to whom he would appeale. "To the next generall councell," (quoth M. Latimer) "which shall be truelie called in God's name." With that appellation the bishop was content: but he said it would be a long season before such a convocation as he meant would be called⁴.

Then the bishop committed M. Latimer to the maior, saying, "now he is your prisoner master maior."—Because the prease of people was not diminished, each man looking for farther processe, the bishop of Lincolne commanded avoidance, and willed M. Latimer to tarrie till the prease were diminished, least he should take hurt at his egression, as he did at his entrance.—And so continued B. Ridley, and M. Latimer, in durance till the sixteenth day of the said moneth of October.

A Communication between D. Brookes and D. Ridley, in M. Irish his house, the fifteenth day of October, at which time he was degraded.

In the meane season upon the fifteenth daie in the morning, and the same yeare abovesaid (1555), the bishop of Glocester,

³ *To talke with him.*] Because he was now cast out of the church: As the bishop of Winchester (Gardiner) said to Gibson, "He would not talk with him because he was an heretic and excommunicate."—*Strype's Eccles. Memor.*, vol. iii. p. 412. And, as Bonner "bade Fecknam to hold his peace; and to call Greene no more *Master Greene*: for, sayd he, you ought not to call an hereticks *Maister*."—*Fox's Acts*, p. 1683. These excommunications were a fruitful source of fresh troubles to a vast number of individuals, for actions in other respects innocent, or virtuous. To mention only one instance. John, brother of the famous William Tindal, was abjured, in the year 1530. For what? "For sending five markes to his brother beyond the sea; and for receiving and keeping with him certaine letters from his brother."—*Fox's Acts*, p. 950.

⁴ *Would be called.*] "The popes have now for three centuries governed the church, without the impediments of a council."—*Digest of Evidence* (Phelan and O'Sullivan's) taken before Committees on the State of Ireland, 1824, part ii. p. 104. Again: "Councils, which might have had somewhat of the air of parliamentary estates, have been discontinued since the Reformation."—*Ibid.* p. 125.

D. Brokes¹, and the vice chancellor of Oxford doctor Marshall², with divers other of the chiefe and heades of the same universitie, and manie other moe accompanying them, came unto master Irish his house then maior of Oxford, where doctor Ridley late bishop of London was close prisoner. And when the bishop of Glocester came into the chamber where the said doctor Ridley did lie, hee tolde him for what purpose their comming was unto him, saying, that yet once againe the queenes majesty did offer unto him by them, her gracious mercie, if that he would receive the same, and come home againe to the faith which he was baptized in, and revoke his erroneous doctrine that he of late had taught abroad to the destruction of many. And further said that if hee would not recant and become one of the catholike church with them, then they must needs (against their will) proceed according to the law, which they would be verie loath to doe if they might otherwise. "But," saith he, "we have been oftentimes with you, and have requested that you would recant this your fantastical and devellish opinion, where hitherto you have not, although you might in so doing win manie, and do much good. Therefore good master Ridley, consider with your self the danger that shall insue both of bodie and soule, if that you shall so wilfully cast your self away in refusing mercie offered unto you at this time."

"My lord," quoth doctor Ridley, "you know my minde fullie herein: and as for the doctrine which I have taught, my conscience assureth me that it was sound, and according to Gods word (to his glory be it spoken), the which doctrine, the Lord God being my helper, I will maintaine so long as my tongue shall wag, and breath is within my bodie, and in confirmation thereof seale the same with my blood."

Brook. "Well, you were best M. Ridley not to doe so, but to become one of the church with us. For you know this well enough, that whosoever is out of the catholike church, cannot bee saved: therefore I say once againe that whiles you have time and mercie offered you, receive it, and confesse with us the popes holinesse to be the chiefe head of the same church."

¹ D. Brokes = James Brookes, master of Balliol College, consecrated bishop of Gloucester, 1 April, 1554. See p. 582.

Rid. "I marvel that you will trouble me with any such vaine and foolish talk. You know my minde concerning the usurped authoritie of the Romish antichrist. As I confessed openly in the schooles, so do I now, that both by my behaviour and talk, I do no obedience at all unto the bishop of Rome, nor to his usurped authoritie, and that for divers good and godlie considerations." And here D. Ridley would have reasoned with the saide Brookes bishop of Glocester, of the bishop of Romes authoritie, but could not be suffered; and yet he spake so earnestlie against the pope therein, that the bishop told him if he would not holde his peace, he shold be compelled against his will. "And seeing," saith he, "that you will not receive the queenes mercie now offered unto you, but stubbornlie refuse the same, we must, against our wils, proceede according to our commission to disgrading, taking from you the dignitie of priesthood. For wee take you for no bishop⁷, and therefore we will the sooner have done with you: so, committing you to the secular power, you knowe what doth follow."

Rid. "Do with me as it shal please God to suffer you, I am wel content to abide the same with all my heart."

Brok. "Put off your cap, master Ridley, and put upon you this surples."

Rid. "Not I truelie."

Broke. "But you must."

Rid. "I will not."

Broke. "You must, therefore, make no more ado, but put this surples upon you."

Rid. "Truelie if it come upon me, it shall be against my will."

Brok. "Will you not doe it upon you?"

Rid. "No, that I will not."

Brok. "It shall be put upon you by one or other."

Rid. "Doe therein as it shall please you. I am well contented with that, and more than that: the servant is not above

⁷ *For no bishop.*] This is contrary to the acknowledgment made in Fox's *Acts*, p. 1545, or above, p. 622, by another of these commissioners, the bishop of Lincoln, who says, "You were made bishop, according to our lawes." See also the abstract of the sentence of condemnation, Fox, 1603. Compare Ridley's *Life of Bishop Ridley*, p. 659—61; Prideaux's *Validity of the Orders of the Church of England, &c.*, where this point is discussed at large.

his master. If they dealt so cruelly with our Saviour Christ, as the Scripture maketh mention, and he suffered the same patiently, how much more doth it become us his servants?" and in saying of these words, they put upon the said D. Ridley the surplice, with all the trinkets appertaining to the masse. And as they were putting on the same, D. Ridley did vehemently inveigh against the Romish bishop and all that foolish apparell, calling him anti-christ, and the apparell foolish^a and abominable, yea too fond for a vice in a play^b, insomuch that Brokes was exceeding angry with him, and bade him holde his peace, for he did but rail. Doctor Ridley answered him again, and said, "so long as his tongue and breath would suffer him, he would speake against their abominable dooings, whatsoever hapned unto him for so doing."

^a *The apparell foolish.*] Ridley's conduct upon this occasion has been frequently exulted in by the non-conformists (Neal's *Hist. of the Puritans*, vol. i. p. 190-226. edit. 2. Peirce's *Vindication of the Dissenters*, p. 31. edit. 2), as demonstrative of a retraction of the former zeal and steadiness with which, in his controversy with Hooper, and on other occasions, he maintained the usage of the cap and surplice, and the ceremonial distinctions, which were so much the abhorrence of the puritans. And a similar interpretation has been put upon the behaviour of other conforming divines in like circumstances. But the triumph, I apprehend, has no foundation more solid, than the mistakes, the narrow views, and the imperfect knowledge of those who indulge in it. They make an outcry, and begin with totally misrepresenting the state of the question. It was the ostentatious and multifarious apparatus of the popish massing-priest, which was disclaimed by Ridley and the rest; and from which, it having been restored under queen Mary, they were now to be formally degraded: all which apparatus, how far it differed from the simple and modest ornaments retained by the English reformation, we need not go further to show, than by referring to an extract given above, p. 598, from the work of one who was soon after himself a bishop: the difference being so great, that Christopherson has hardihood enough to affirm, that the reformation of king Edward had abolished *all* ecclesiastical habits and distinctions. As to Ridley himself, it will appear below, that he went to his execution in a square cap, and in the gown and tippet of a bishop, and so gave the last testimony of adherence which he could to the laws of his country, and also to the wise and worthy part which he had borne in this unhappy controversy.

^b *A vice in a play.*] The mimic or buffoon of the old moralities which preceded the regular drama.

"A vice of kings—a cutpurse of the empire."—*Hamlet*.

Brok. "Well, you were best to hold your peace, lest your mouth be stopped." At which words one Edridge¹ the reader then of the Greeke lecture standing by, saide to doctor Brookes, "sir, the law is he should be gagged, therefore let him be gagged." At which wordes doctor Ridley lookeing earnestlie upon him that so said, wagged his head at him, and made no answer againe, but with a sigh said, "Oh well, well, well."

So they proceeded in their doings; yet neverthelesse doctor Ridley was for ever talking things not pleasant to their eares, although one or other bad him holde his peace, least he should be caused against his will.

Whenas they came to that place whereas doctor Ridley should hold the chalice and the wafer cake (called the singing bread), they bade him hold the same in his hands. And doctor Ridley said, "they shall not come in my hands: for if they doe, they shall fall to the ground for all me." Then there was one appointed to holde them in his hand, while bishop Brookes read a certain thing in Latine, touching the degradation of spiritual persons according to the popes law.

Afterward they put a booke in his hand, and withall read (as is before said) a certaine thing in Latine, the effect therof was, "We doe take from you the office of preaching the gospell, &c." At which words doctor Ridley gave a great sigh, looking up towards heaven, saying, "Oh Lord God forgive them this their wickednesse."

And as they put upon him the masse geare, so they beganne with the uppermoste garment, in taking it awaie againe, reading a thing in Latine, according to the order contained in the said booke of the popes law. Now when all was taken from him, saving onelie the surples left on his backe, as they were reading and taking it away, doctor Ridley said unto them, "Lord God, what power be you of, that you can take from a man that which he never had? I was never singer in all my life, and yet you will take from me that which I never had."

So when all this their abhominable and ridiculous degradation was ended verie solemnlie, D. Ridley said unto doctour Brookes, "have you done? If you have done, then give mee leave to talke

¹ *One Edridge.*] George Edridge, or Etheridge, from March 1547 to Oct. 1550, and again from Nov. 1554 to April 1559. He was deprived under Elizabeth, and died about 1588.

with you a little concerning these matters." Brookes answered and said, " M. Ridley, wee may not talk with you ; you be out of the church, and our law is that we may not talke with anie that be out of the church." Then master Ridley said, " Seeing that you will not suffer me to talke, neither will vouchsafe to heare me, what remedie but patience? I refer my cause to my heauenly Father, who will reforme things that bee amiss, when it shal please him."

At which words they would have beene gone, but master Ridley said, " My lord, I would wish that your lordship would vouchsafe to read over and peruse a little booke of Bertrams doings', concerning the sacrament. I promise you, you shal find much good learning therein, if you will read the same with an indifferent judgement." Doctor Brookes made no answer to this, but would have bin gone away. Then M. Ridley saide, " Oh, I perceiue that you cannot away with this manner of talke. Well, it bootes not, I will say no more. I will speake of worldlie affairs. I pray you therefore my lord heare me, and be a meane to the queenes majestie, in the behalfe of a great many poore men, and especially for my poore sister and her husband which standeth there. They had a poore living granted unto them by me, while I was in the sea of London, and the same is taken away from them, by him that now occupieth the same roome, without all law or conscience. Here I have a supplication to the queens majestie in their behalves. You shall heare the same read, so shall you perceiue the matter the better." Then he reade the same, and when he came to the place in the supplication, that touched his sister by name, then he wept, so that for a little space he could not speake for weeping. After that he had left off weeping, he said, " This is nature that mooveth me. But I have now done," and with that read out the rest, and delivered the same to his brother, commanding him to put it up to the queens majesty, and to sue, not only for himself, but also for such

* *Bertrams doings.* I suppose of Bertram's doinge is meant. It is the celebrated work of Bertramus, or Ratramnus, *de corpore et sanguine Domini*; of which Cave well says, " in quo quam aperte, quam diserte, de re eucharistica agitur, et transubstantiationis dogma, prout in scholis pontificiis explicatur, quam dilucide refellit, norunt quotquot vel prima theologiae tyrocinia posuerunt." An English translation by William Hugh had shortly before this time, viz. in 1548, been printed under the title of " A Booke of Bertram the Priest." &c. See also p. 377 and p. 381 of this volume.

as had any leases or grants by him, and were put from the same by doctor Boner, then bishop of London. Whereunto Brookes said, "Indeed M. Ridley, your request in this supplication is verie lawfull and honest; therefore I must needes in conscience speake to the queenes majestie for them."

Rid. "I pray you for Gods sake doe so."

Brooks. "I think your request will be granted, except one thing let it; and that is, I feare, because you do not allow the queenes proceedings, but obstinatelie withstand the same, that it will hardlie be granted."

Rid. "What remedie? I can doe no more but speake and write. I trust I have discharged my conscience therein, and Gods will be done."

Brok. "I will doe what lieth in me."

The copy of thie supplication written to the queene heere followeth.

Master Ridley to the Queenes Majestie.

"It may please your majestie for Christ our saviours sake, in a matter of conscience (and now not for myself, but for other poore men) to vouchsafe to heare and understand this mine humble supplication.—It is so (honourable princesse) that in the time whiles I was in the ministry of the sea of London, divers poore men tenants thereof, have taken new leases of their tenantries, and holdings, and some have renewed and chaunged their old, and therefore have paied fines and summes of money, both to me, and also to the chapter of Paules, for the confirmation of the same.

"Now I heare say that the bishop which occupieth the same roome now, wil not allow the aforesaid leases, which must rebound to many poore mens utter ruine and decay. Wherefore this is mine humble supplication unto your honourable grace, that it may please the same for Christs sake to be unto the foresaid poore men their gracious patronesse and defender, either that they may enjoy their foresaid leases and yeares renewed, as I suppose when their matter shall be heard with conscience, both justice, conscience, and equity shall require, for that their leases shal be found (I trust) made without fraud or coven, either of their part, or of mine, and alwaies also the old rents reserved to the sea without any kind of damage thereof: or if this will not

be granted, then that it may please your gracious highnesse, to command that the poor men may be restored to their former leases and yeares, and to have rendred to them againe such sums of money as they paid to mee, and to the chapter house for their leases and yeres, so now taken from them. Which thing concerning the fines paid to me, may be easily done, if it shal please your majesty to command some portion of those goods which I left in my house when I fled in hope of pardon for my trespassse towards' your grace, which goods (as I have heard) be yet reserved in the same house. I suppose that halfe of the value of my plate which I left in mine offices, and especially in an iron chest in my bed-chamber, wil go nigh to restore al such fines received, the true sums and parcels whereof, are not set in their leases: and therefore if that way shal please your highnes they must be known by such waies and means, as your majesty by the advise of men of wisdom and conscience shal appoint: but yet for Christs sake I crave and moste humbly beseech your majesty of your most gracious pity and mercy, that the former way may take place.

"I have also a poore sister that came to me out of the North with three fatherlesse children, for her reliefe, whome I married after to a servant' of mine own house: she is put out of that I did provide for them. I beseech your honourable grace, that her case may be mercifully considered, and that the rather, in contemplation that I never had of him, which suffered indurance at my entrance to the sea of London, not one peny of his moveable goods: for it was almost halfe a yeaere after his deposition, afore I did enter into that place: yea, and also if any were left, known to be his, he had licence to carry it away, or there for his use it did lie safe, as his officers do know. I paid for the lead which I found there, when I occupied any of it to the behoofe of the church or of the house. And moreover, I had not onely no part of his moveable goods, but also (as his old receiver and then mine, called M. Stanton, can testify) I paid for him towards his servants common liveries and wages, after his deposition, fifty-three or fifty-five pounds, I cannot tel whether. In all these matters I beseech your honourable majesty to heare the advise of men of

¹ *My trespassse towards.* That is, in the part he took to promote the succession of lady Jane Grey: of which some account is given below, in *Rudely's Life*, (and in the notes—near the beginning

² *To a servant.* "Master Shespeale." See p. 574.

conscience, and in especiall the archbishop of Yorke, which for that he was continually in my house^a a yeaere or more, before mine imprisonment, I suppose he is not altogether ignorant of some part of these things: and also his grace doth knowe my sister, for whose succour and some releefe, now unto your highnes I make most humble sute.

“ The 16. of October. An. 1555.

N. R.”

This degradation being past, and all thinges finished, doctor Brookes called the bailiffes, delivering to them M. Ridley with this charge, to keep him safelie from any man speaking with him, and that he should be brought to the place of execution when they were commanded. Then M. Ridley in praising God brast out with these words and said, “ God I thanke thee, and to thy praise be it spoken, there is none of you all able to lay to my charge any open or notorious crime: for, if you could, it should surelie be laid in my lap, I see verie well.” Whereunto Brookes said, he plaid the part of a proud Pharisey, exalting and praising himselfe.

But M. Ridley saide, “ No, no, no, as I have said before, to Gods glorie be it spoken. I confesse my selfe to be a miserable wretched sinner, and have great need of Gods helpe and mercie, and doe dailie call and crie for the same: therefore I pray you have no such opinion in me.”—Then they departed, and in going awaie, a certain warden of a colledge, of whose name I am not very sure, bade D. Ridley repent him, and forsake that erroneous opinion. Whereunto M. Ridley said, “ Sir, repent you, for you are out of the truth: and I praie God (if it be his blessed will) have mercie upon you, and grant you the understanding of his word.” Then the warden being in a chafe thereat, said, “ I trust that I shall never be of your erroneous and divellish opinion, neither yet to be in that place whether you shal go. He is,” saith he, “ the most obstinate and wilfullest man that ever I heard talke since I was borne.”

^a *In my house.*] Dr. Nicholas Heath. He was committed to Ridley's custody, on account of his popish opinions, and his refusal to submit to the proceedings of king Edward. See *Ridley's Life*, below.

The behaviour of D. Ridley at his supper, the night before his suffering.

The night before he suffered, his beard was washed, and his legs, and as he sate at supper the same night at M. Irishes (who was his keeper) he bade his hostesse, and the rest at the boord, to his marriage: "for," saith hee, "to morrow I must be married;" and so shewed himselfe to be as merie as ever he was at any time before. And wishing his sister at his marriage, he asked his brother sitting at the table, whether shee could finde in her heart to be there or no: and he answered, yea, I dare say, with all her heart: at which word hee saide, hee was glad to heare of her so much therein. So at this talke mistris Irish wept.

But M. Ridley comforted her, and said, "Oh mistresse Irish you love me not now, I see well enough. For in that you weep, it doth appeare you will not be at my marriage, neither are content therewith. Indeed you be not so much my friende, as I thought you had bene. But quiet your selfe, though my breakfast shall be somewhat sharpe and painefull, yet I am sure, my supper shall be more pleasant and sweet."

When they arose from the table, his brother offered him to watch all night with him. But he said, "No, no, that you shall not. For I minde (God willing) to go to bed, and to sleepe as quietlie to night, as ever I did in my life." So his brother departed, exhorting him to be of good cheere, and to take his crosse quietlie, for the reward was great, &c.

The behaviour of D. Ridley and M. Latimer, at the time of their death, which was the 16. of October, 1555.

Upon the north side of the towne, in the ditch over against Baily college, the place of execution was appointed: and for feare of any tumult that might arise, to let the burning of them, the lord Williams* was commanded by the queenes letters, and the householders of the city to be there assistant, sufficientlie appointed, and when every thing was in readinesse, the prisoners were brought forth by the maior and the bayliffes.

Master Ridley had a faire blacke gowne furred, and faced with

* Lord Williams.] Sir John Williams, recently created lord Williams of Thame.

foines, such as he was wont to weare beeing bishop, and a tippet of velvet furred likewise about his neck, a velvet night cap upon his head, and a corner cap upon the same, going in a paire of slippers to the stake, and going between the maior and an alderman.

After him came master Latimer in a poor Bristow freeze frock all worne, with his buttoned cap, and a kerchiefe on his head, all readie to the fire, a newe long shrowde hanging over his hose downe to the feet: which at the first sight, stirred mens hearts to rue upon them, beholding on the one side, the honour they sometime had: on the other, the calamitie whereunto they were fallen.

Master doctour Ridley, as he passed towards Bocardo, looked up where M. Cranmer did lie, hoping belike to have seene him at the glasse windowe¹, and to have spoken unto him. But then

¹ *At the glasse windowe.*] We are here reminded of the last parting scene between two other illustrious friends and fellow-confessors, at a subsequent period of our history. "The lord Strafford the night before the execution, sent for the lieutenant of the tower, and asked him, whether it were possible he might speak with the archbishop (Laud). The lieutenant told him, he might not do it without order from the parliament. Wherefore the earl replied, 'You shall hear what passeth between us: for it is not a time now, either for him to plot heresy, or me to plot treason.' The lieutenant answered, that he was limited; and therefore desired, that his lordship would petition the parliament for that favour. 'No,' said he, 'I have gotten my dispatch from them; and will trouble them no more. I am now petitioning an higher court, where neither partiality can be expected, nor error feared. But my lord,' said he, turning to the primate of Ireland, whose company he had procured of the houses in that fatal exigent, 'I will tell you what I should have spoken to my lord's grace of Canterbury. You shall desire the archbishop to lend me his prayers this night; and to give me his blessing when I do go abroad to-morrow; and to be in his window, that by my last farewell I may give him thanks for this, and all other his former favours.' The primate having delivered the message without delay, the archbishop replied, that in conscience he was bound to the first, and in duty and obligation to the second: but he feared his weakness and passion would not lend him eyes to behold his last departure. The next morning at his coming forth he drew near to the archbishop's lodging, and said to the lieutenant, 'though I do not see the archbishop, yet give me leave I pray you to do my last observance towards his rooms.' In the mean time the archbishop, advertised of his approach, came out to the window. Then the earl bowing himself to the ground, 'My lord,' said he, 'your prayers and your blessing.' The archbishop lift up his hands, and bestowed both: but overcome with grief, fell to the ground in *animi deliquio*. The earl bowing the second time, said, 'Farewell my lord; God protect your innocency.' And because he feared that it might

men that stood before him would doe. But he cried still to the people to beware of them, for they were heretikes, and died out of the church. And on the other side, he declared their diversities in opinions, as Lutherians, Oecolampadians, Zuinglians, of which sect they were he said, and that was the worst: but the old church of Christ, and the catholike faith beleevd far otherwise. At which place they lifted uppe both their hands and eies to heaven, as it were calling God to witnes of the truth. The which countenance they made in many other places of his sermon, whereas they thought he spake amisse. Hee ended with a verie short exhortation to them to recant and come home againe to the church, and save their lives and soules, which else were condemned. His sermon was scant in all a quarter of an houre.

Doctor Ridley said to M. Latimer, "Will you begin to answer the sermon, or shall I?" Master Latimer said, "Begin you first I pray you." "I will," said master Ridley.

Then the wicked sermon being ended, doctor Ridley and master Latimer kneeled downe upon their knees towards my lord Williams of Tame, the vice-chancellour of Oxford, and divers other commissioners appointed for that purpose, which sate upon a forme thereby. Unto whom M. Ridley said, "I beseech you my lord even for Christs sake, that I may speake but two or three wordes." And whilst my lord bent his head to the maior and vice-chancellour, to know (as it appeared) whether he might give him leave to speake, the bailiffes and doctor Marshall vice-chancellour, ran hastily to him, and with their handes stopped his mouth and said, "Maister Ridley, if you will revoke your erroneous opinions, and recant the same, you shal not onely have liberty so to doe, but also the benefite of a subject, that is, have your life." "Not otherwise?" said maister Ridley. "No," quoth doctor Marshall: "therefore, if you will not so doe, then there is no remedy but you must suffer for your deserts." "Well," (quoth M. Ridley) "so long as the breath is in my bodie, I will never denie my Lord Christ, and his knowne truth: Gods will be done in me." And with that he rose up, and said with a loud voice, "Well, then I commit our cause to Almightye God, which shall indifferently judge all."

To whose saying, maister Latimer added his sole posie, "Well, there is nothing hid but it shall be opened:" and hee saide he

about both doctor Ridleyes, and maister Latimers middles: and as he was knocking in a staple, doctor Ridley tooke the chaine in his hand and shook the same, for it did girde in his belly, and looking aside to the smith, said; "Good fellow knocke it in hard: for the flesh will have its course." Then his brother did bringe him gunnepowder in a bagge, and would have tied the same about his necke. Maister Ridley asked what it was. His brother sayde gunnepowder. "Then," sayd he, "I take it to be sent of God: therefore I will receive it as sent of him. And have you any," sayd he, "for my brother," meaning master Latimer: "Yea sir, that I have" (quoth his brother): "then give it unto him," sayd he, "betime, least yee come too late." So his brother went, and carried of the same gunnepowder unto maister Latimer.

In the meane time doctor Ridley spake unto my lord Williams, and said, "My lord, I must be a suter unto your lordshippe in the behalfe of divers poore men, and speciallie in the cause of my poore sister: I have made a supplication to the queenes majestie in their behalves. I beseech your lordship for Christs sake, to be a mean to her grace for them. My brother here hath the supplication, and will resort to your lordshippe to certifie you herof. There is nothing in all the world that troubleth my conscience (I praise God) this only excepted. Whiles I was in the sea of London, divers poore men tooke leases of me, and agreed with me for the same. Now I heare say the bishop that now occupieth the same roome, will not allow my grants unto them made, but contrarie unto all lawe and conscience, hath taken from them their livings, and will not suffer them to enjoy the same. I beseech you my lord, be a meane for them: you shall doe a good deed, and God will reward you."

Then they brought a faggotte, kindled with fire, and laid the same downe at doctor Ridleyes feete. To whome M. Latimer spake in this manner. "Bee of good comfort master Ridley, and play the man; wee shall this day light such a candle by Gods grace in England, as I trust shall never be putte out."

And so the fire being given unto them, when doctor Ridley saw the fire flaming up towards him, he cried with a wonderful lowd voice, *In manus tuas, Domine, commendo spiritum meum: Domine, recipe spiritum meum*, and after repeated this latter part

often in English, *Lord, Lord, receive my spirit*: M. Latimer crying as vehementlie on the other side, *Oh Father of heaven, receive my soule*: who received the flame as it were imbracing of it. After that he had stroaked his face with his handes, and as it were, bathed them a little in the fire, he soone died, (as it appeared) with verie little paine or none⁴.—And thus much concerning the end of this olde and blessed servant of God, master Latimer, for whose laborious travailes, fruitfull life, and constant death the whole realme hath cause to give great thanks to almightie God.

But master Ridley, by reason of the evill making of the fire unto him, because the wodden fagots were laide about the gosse, and over high built, the fire burned first beneath, being kept downe by the wood. Which when he felt, he desired them for Christes sake to let the fire come unto him. Which when his brother in law heard, but not well understood, intending to rid him out of his paine (for the which cause hee gave attendance) as one in such sorrow, not well advised what hee did, heaped fagots upon him so that he cleane covered him, which made the fire more vehement beneath, that it burned cleane all his neather parts, before it once touched the upper, and that made him leape up and downe under the fagots, and often desire them to let the fire come unto him, saying, “I cannot burne.” Which indeed appeared well: for after his legges were consumed by reason of his struggling through the paine (whereof hee had no release, but onelie his contentation in God) he shewed that side towards us cleane, shirt and all, untouched with flame. Yet in all this torment hee forgate not to call unto God still, having in his mouth. “Lord have mercie upon mee,” intermingling this cry, “let the fire come unto me, I cannot burne.” In which paines he laboured till one of the standers by with his bill pulled off the fagots above, and where he saw the fire flame up, he wrested himselfe unto that side. And when the flame touched the gunpowder, he was seene stirre no more, but burned on the other

⁴ *Little paine or none.*] “Though Latimer came after Ridley to the stake, he got before him to heaven. His body, made tinder by age, was no sooner touched by the fire, but instantly this old Simeon had his *sanc dimittis*: and brought the news to heaven that his brother was following after.” Fuller’s *Holy State*, p. 282.

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